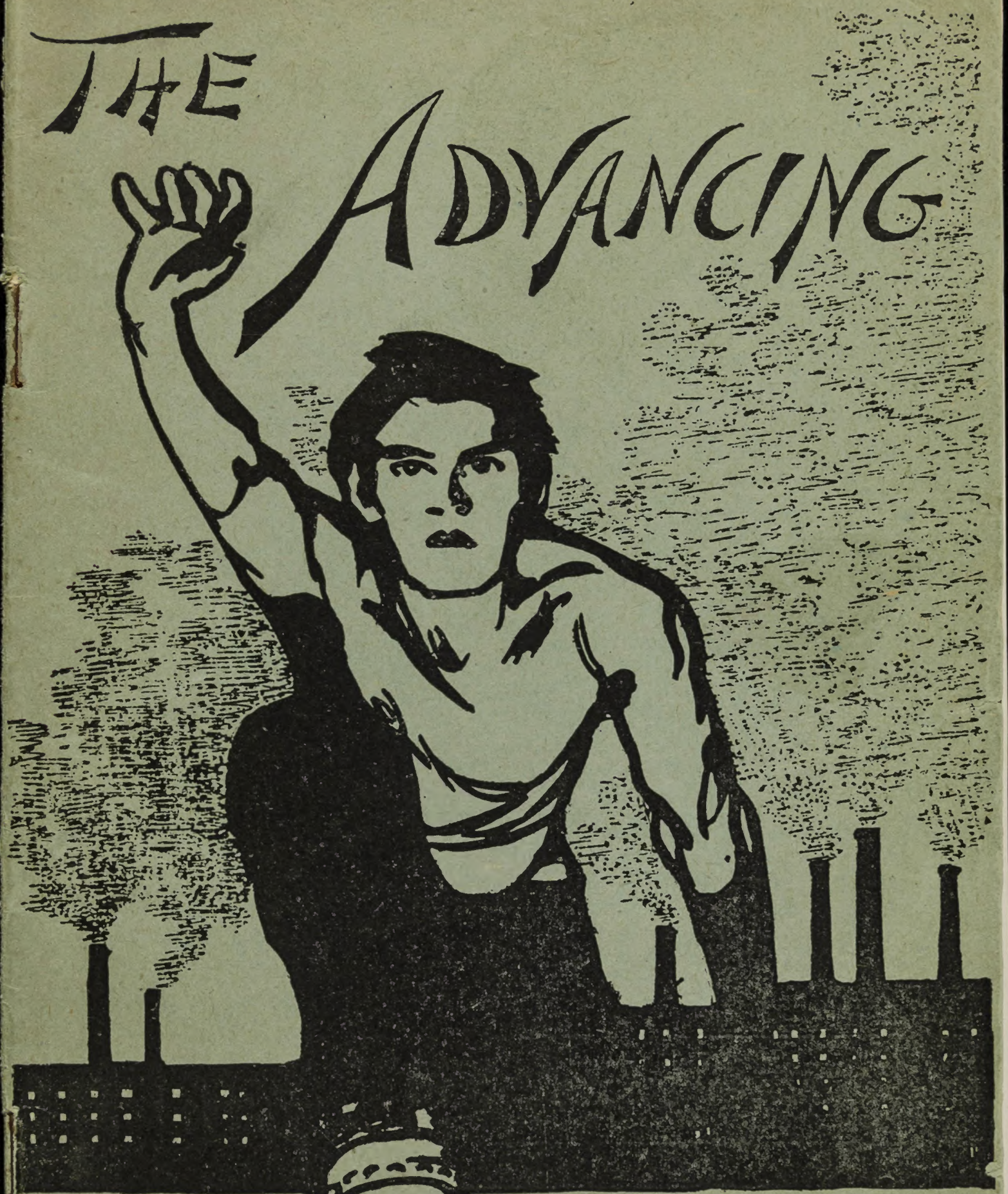
THE ADVANCING



PROLETARIAT.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

Of The INDUSTRIAL WORKERS Of The WORLD

PUBLISHERS OF

SOLIDARITY

BOOKS PAMPHLETS JOB PRINTING

THE TRIAL OF A NEW SOCIETY

By Justus Ebert

This is a fitting work to be the first book published by the I. W. W.

In this book Fellow-Worker Ebert gives the best exposition of the constructive and social philosophy of the I. W. W. that has yet appeared in print. It is not a work of fiction nor of speculation, but a matter-of-fact practical treatment of recent phases of the industrial, social and political life, as revealed by the great textile strike at Lawrence, Mass., and the trials of Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso growing out of same.

Handsome full cloth gold stamped Binding, 160 pages with eight full-page Illustrations. 75c.

Syndicalism And The Co-operative Commonwealth—(How we shall bring about the Revolution)

By Emile Pataud, Secretary of the Electrical Workers of France and Emile Pouget, Editor of the Official Organ of the General Confederation of Labor of France. This book is the result of a series of questions sent out by the General Confederation to all members asking them to give their conception as to how the Social Revolution is to be brought about, and also as to the probable procedure in the reorganization of society. The authors have woven a story out of the returns from the questions and present a story of the Revolution and reconstruction as having already occurred. This book is the best yet, as it is up-to-date, using as a basis organization and the general Strike as the instrument of the Revolution.

English edition, illustrated, 240 pages, paper, 75c

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

THE ADVANCING PROLETARIAT

A Study of The Movement of The Working Class From Wage Slavery to Freedom

By ABNER E. WOODRUFF C. E.

Price Ten Cents

CLEVELAND
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
AUGUST 1914

INTRODUCTORY

The object of any system of Philosophy is to furnish a rational explanation of the facts of the Universe from a knowledge of general principles that apply to the facts and existences within the Universe; therefore, it is the purpose of this pamphlet to clearly and simply trace the development of the Proletarian Psychology, and to indicate the Evolutionary character of Proletarian organization in the terms of Industry on the basis of the general principles of the modern Positive Scientific Philosophy.

I have to thank Mr. Austin Lewis and others for the thoughts here expressed, and can only hope that I have been able to accentuate a fact that must be carefully considered by both Socialists and Industrialists in discussing the Proletariat: namely, THE LAW OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM.

Abner E. Woodruff, C. E.

The Advancing Proletariat

The Law of Evolution

An examination of the facts of the orderly Universe leads with precision to an understanding of the laws of that Universe, and it may be said that these laws find their supreme expression in the Law of Evolution—the great immutable "law of change." This law may be stated as follows: ALL THINGS IN THE UNIVERSE TODAY ARE THE RESULTS OF THE ACTIONS

OF THE FORCES OF THE UNIVERSE UPON THE MATTER OF THE UNIVERSE, APPLIED THROUGHOUT THE EONS OF TIME, PRODUCING INNUMERABLE CHANGES, WHICH HAVE FINALLY DEVELOPED HIGHER AND MORE PERMANENT FORMS OF LIFE OUT OF THOSE WHICH WERE LOWER AND LESS STABLE. The physical conditions which compelled changes in ANIMATED NATURE, and under which they occurred, are usually denominated "the environment"—the surrounding influences.

Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace are regarded as the co-discoverers of this great Law of Life. They not only observed the changes in the material Universe, but also the efforts of animated nature to place itself in harmony with the physical world by adjusting itself to these changes. These efforts at adjustment and re-adjustment are now termed "the struggle for existence"; for ANIMATED NATURE MUST CONFORM TO THE CONDITIONS OF THE PHYSICAL WORLD IN ORDER TO SURVIVE. Those forms of life which conform the most successfully are regarded as the most adaptable and, therefore, the best; from which we have the expression "the survival of the fittest" or, "natural selection." In other words, Nature selected these forms as being the fittest to survive.

Man a Product of Evolution

From a study of plants and the lower forms of animals, it is but a step to the study of the highest form—Man; and, in a state of nature, we find man responding unconsciously to the law of Evolution: changing to correspond to his environment, and persisting in those forms which are in closest harmony with the requirements of nature. Of all creatures, man is probably the most complex, and this complexity was his most baffling problem until the statement of the

law of evolution with its corrollaries, "the struggle for existence" and "the survival of the fittest." Here was a basis on which to conduct the most rigid examination and, from the gathered facts, construct a definite, a positive philosophy. Anthropology became at once an intimate and particular branch of Biology. Man commenced to be studied from the viewpoint of his place in nature, and his differentiation from the other animals began to be ferreted out. Man picked himself to pieces, studied his own parts and decided on the laws of his being. From the facts, and by reasonable analogies, his history, from the day his arboreal ancestor swung down from the trees and walked upright on the ground, was constructed, and forms a record, so simple, so rational, so decisive, that few are now left to question it.

Man's physical structure is a result, traceable to definite and known causes, and the laws of his being are codified. His brain, with its powers of observation, association, co-ordination and determination, is no longer a mysterious thing—the gift of an equally mysterious and baffling "first cause"—but a development of the spinal marrow, the culmination of an infinite series of changes and adjustments to environment taking place through the ages during which the Earth has been the seat of life. Man, in both body and brain, is therefore a creature of environment, evolved out of the Cosmos. The flower of the Cosmos, yet subject to the Cosmos, his particular differentiation from the other animals lies in the complexity and refinement of his nervous organization, and the consequent close co-ordination of his muscular and mental reactions. Yet, basically, he is no different, for, even in his mental processes, he is moulded and formed by the influences of the things around him.

The Mind—A Result

Joseph Dietzgen, in his Philosophical works, has

demonstrated the fact that all of man's ideas come from the OUTSIDE—that no thought ever sprang spontaneous in the human brain. In other words—HUMAN THOUGHTS, HUMAN IDEAS, SPRING FROM HUMAN CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WITH THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE ABOUT US. Man's ability to think—his consciousness—the thing we call the "Ego"—the mind—is a natural development through the orderly operation of the laws of the Universe, and, as such, it may be studied, analysed and classified. The science of Psychology takes its place naturally as part of the larger and more extended sciences of Biology and Anthropology.

Here then is a basis for the study of the actions of men. Whim and caprice disappear, and the laws of cause and effect are seen operating in an orderly and rational sequence. The individual takes his place as a resultant of the experiences of his forebears and his own contacts with the world around him. His environment and the history of his race have made him what he is. Knowing the intimate history of any man, and with a given human situation, we may confidently predict what his actions will be.

The Common Mind

But man is a gregarious creature. He herds with his kind in social organizations, and his history is not complete without an examination of the relations which men sustain towards each other. Immediately our studies are shifted from the individual to the race. The sciences of Ethnography, Ethnology, Anthropography, Glossology, Technology, History, Archeology, Sociology and Economics are opened up to us. Through them all runs that wonderful law of human development—the Law of Evolution. Through them all we are continually brought round to the dictum of Dietzgen, that "human thoughts and ideas spring from human experiences."

SIMILAR EXPERIENCES BEGET SIMILAR IDEAS. The average of the experiences of a community, or a class, a nation, or a race begets the central idea of that community, or class, or nation, or race; therefore, in attempting to explain the tendency of any such community, class, nation, or race to gyrate about some central idea, or concertedly move towards some definite goal, we must discover those similarities of experience which furnish the common ground for similarity of thought and unity of action.

Economic Determinism

History furnishes us with many instances of great popular and class movements, but it was not until Marx enunciated the Law of Economic Determinism, that a rational basis for the interpretation of these events was secured. In his researches into history, he observed certain classes of men always standing together—always appearing upon the same side of the great historical arguments—and, upon a careful analysis, he promulgated this law, that THE THOUGHTS AND ACTIONS OF MEN ARE DETERMINED BY THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY OBTAIN THEIR LIVING. The same being only another way of stating the evolutionary truths, that man is a product of his environment; and that his thoughts and ideas are generated by his contacts and experiences with the world around him.

Materialist Conception of History

Carried over into the field of Historical Economics and applied to the Science of Sociology this law is translated into the Theory of the Materialist Conception of History which declares that ALL THE SOCIAL PHENOMENA IN ANY HISTORICAL EPOCH MAY BE EXPLAINED UPON THE BASIS OF THE METHOD OF WEALTH PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE EXISTING AT THAT TIME. Imme-

diately History ceases to be a mere record of the achievements of individuals. Instead, it becomes a moving panorama of the progress of the race as depicted in the struggles for supremacy of the various classes that have successively dominated society. Fundamental causes are seen at work, continuously and methodically shaping the trend of events. All the apparently disjointed and unrelated facts marshal themselves into orderly array, and take their places as guide boards along the high-road of history. The fall of Babylon, the Roman invasion of Gaul, even the Medieval Crusades, are reasonably and fully explained.

The pre-eminent fact of History, from the viewpoint of Economics and Sociology, is the institution of Private Property. Upon it Marx predicated the disestablishment of the Communal Tribes and the rise of the Nations, with the division of the people into classes in the terms of wealth and power—the separation of society into opposing camps—which carry on a continuous warfare among themselves. A warfare which he was pleased to call "the class struggle." And in each civilization we find a dominant class imposing its will upon the balance of society and maintaining the basic method of wealth production and distribution of that time. All the laws, the religion, the educational system or lack of educational system were designed to retain that class in its position of power and privilege. Internal peace depended upon the relative degrees of acquiescence in the general scheme manifested by the secondary and subject classes, and their ability to wrest concessions from the dominant class by a display of their organized strength.

Successive Ruling Classes

It is characteristic of all civilizations based on Private Property and Class Privilege, that a secondary or subject class developed within each society and eventually displaced the dominant class. The new

dominant class warped the old institutions to its own purposes, introduced a new method of production and exchange, imposed its will upon the balance of society and thereby established a new civilization. The Chattel Slave System of the Roman Patriciate gave way to Serf System of the Feudal Lords. Feudalism disappeared before Capitalism with its Wage Slave System of factory and machine production. The lesser Capitalism now moves aside for Plutocracy with its highly centralized form of Corporate Ownership and Industrial Control, and we seem about to enter upon a new era—the age of Industrial Feudalism.

The Chattel Slave, working with the simplest of hand tools, produced practically all the wealth of the Roman world. Upon his labor was built the power, luxury and culture of the privileged classes; and so essential was this kind of labor to the development of the civilization that we find the Romans waging wars of conquest for the special purpose of procuring it. Caesar's invasion of Gaul apparently had no other object than the capture of slaves for the Roman shops and fields.

The drying up of Western Asia forced the great migration of the Communal Tribes, and the tribesmen, descending in hordes upon the Roman lands, brought with them institutions and customs that were totally repugnant to the Roman system. For several hundred years the struggle between them proceeded with varying degrees of fierceness, and finally ended in a condition bordering on social and industrial chaos. Out of this catastrophy arose the Feudal System, which was a compromise—a partial amalgamation of Roman and Tribal customs and institutions. Its distinguishing feature was the translation of obligations owed to the nation or tribe into obligations owed to persons, and rendered as a payment of rent for the use of land. The Roman slaves and *coloni*, and the Tribal freemen were held as serfs and were bound to the soil. En-

forced labor upon the land or in the shops attached to the castle of the Feudal Lord was the chief method of wealth production—the serf producing a certain portion for his master that he might produce another portion for himself.

Two classes among the Romans were continued almost intact into Feudalism, and apparently were strong enough or necessary enough to preserve a great measure of their ancient rights and privileges. These were the classes of merchants and handicraftsmen known as the Guilds Merchant and Craft Guilds. They carried on a certain portion of production for use of their time, and conducted in a great measure the system of exchange then existing. As they grew stronger, they erected cities of their own for the purposes of defense, manufacture and trade; and 57 of these cities, or "bourgs," known as the Hanseatic League, maintained a government which was sufficiently powerful to engage in war and dictate terms of peace to the loosely organized Feudal States and Nations round about them.

The introduction of the factory system of production into these cities, with the attendant subdivision of labor in the shop, broke up the craft guilds and introduced a new element into production—the factory owners, or manufacturers—and out of these and the merchant class were developed the Capitalists. Vigorous, resourceful and militant, these led the attack upon Feudalism and called to their banners all the oppressed and dissatisfied in the other classes. Prating of "human rights" and screaming for "freedom," they seized the ancient institutions and either destroyed them, or warped them to purposes of their own. Everything became converted into terms of cash. Money payments settled every human obligation. Even the agonies of injured honor might be assuaged in terms of gold.

The breaking up of the Feudal relations changed

the method of land tenure. Many of the serfs became peasant proprietors, while others were transformed into mere farm laborers, or drifted into the factory towns. The handicraftsmen thronged the factories and under the new "divine" (?) right of contract, sold their labor-power at whatever price the Capitalists chose to pay for it. Property in the lands and tools of production still continued. The Wages System was, in essence, another form of servitude, and fiercely aggravated by the fact that the payment of the stipulated wage cancelled all the obligations between the man and his master. The freedom so loudly proclaimed was, for the workers merely a freedom to change from a bad master to a worse one, or at the worst to starve. Realization of PROFITS was the sole consideration for continuing production. When profits ceased, industry ceased, or the scale of wages went down until there was a sufficient margin of surplus value to induce the proprietor to again open the factory doors.

Slave, Serf and Laborer

The Chattel Slave and Feudal Serf were, economically, more secure than the Wage Earner. They were never denied the privilege of producing for use. The more they labored, the more powerful and luxurious their masters became. But the Wage Slave may be denied the right to produce. He may be excluded from the lands, tools and machinery of production; and the more productive he is, the more likely is this fate to overtake him: for now he produces to sell, and if production passes the purchasing power of society, production must cease until the relative positions of the supply and demand may be naturally reversed and purchasing begin again. In fact it may even occur that the master class is forced to feed, clothe and shelter a portion of the workers in order to help reduce the surplus and tide over the workers to such time as pro-

duction for sale can be profitably resumed.

Labor-power a Commodity

Free trade—free competition in buying and selling commodities—is the basic principle of the Capitalist system of exchange of private property, and it is but natural that the labor-power of the working class should also be regarded as a commodity. In fact it is inevitable that, under a system of production for PROFIT, labor-power should take on such a character and that it should be bought and sold in the open market according to the law of supply and demand of commodities. Nor is it surprising that in a competitive market, where the seller with the greatest necessity for cash fixes the market price, the price of labor-power should always tend to sink to the level of a bare subsistence for the workers; and that those workers with the ability to exist at the lowest standard of living should dictate the terms on which the others may also continue to exist. The whole tendency of the wage system has been to drag all the workers down to the same dead level of poverty. The fact that a certain portion of them still manage to maintain a comparatively decent standard of living is due to certain conditions which Capitalism has not as yet been able to overcome, and not to any intelligently applied powers of resistance inherent in that portion of the working class.

The Skilled Workman

Up to recent times the specialized skill of the craftsman protected him in a large measure against material reductions in his standard of living and, as he regarded his skill as a PROPERTY, he naturally accepted the capitalist property notions and attempted to apply them to the crafts. His Craft was his capital—the means of his life—and any raise in its position benefited him. Anything that threatened the exist-

ence of his skill, or his exclusive possession of that skill, threatened him. Therefore he joined his fellows in the organization of Craft Unions for the purpose of preserving the crafts and maintaining the standard of living of the Craftsmen. He had a property—a commodity—to be bought and sold in the market, and through his union, he felt himself able to control the supply of that commodity and thereby affect the market to his own advantage. He resisted the encroachment of the machine upon the hand tool; he sought to limit the numbers of those possessing skill; and he endeavored to set a slow standard of production among the craftsmen. Contracts, closed shops, limited apprenticeships, high initiation fees and dues, and onerous conditions of membership were a natural result of his property ideas—the supply of his commodity must be limited, in order to boost the price. Working with tools that moved only as he applied his own skill and strength to them, and turning out a product that could be identified as the result of the labor of an individual, he thought strictly in individual terms. His craft was supreme, because all-necessary to his individual existence, and so extreme was this individual viewpoint that it was only when jurisdictional quarrels between the related crafts had become unbearable, that a federation of the craft unions was possible.

The craftsman had nothing to do with the unskilled. He looked upon them as inferior beings, and though their condition might sink to the lowest, he was not sufficiently interested in them to feel either sympathy or regret—they must look out for themselves as he did for himself. "It is the misfortune of the craftsman, that, having been compelled to operate in terms of property, the great HUMAN MOVEMENT has been lost upon him." His dread has always been that he might become "as one of these," for no matter how great his skill, or how close-knit his brotherhood, capitalism, through machine production, continually

threatened the security of his position. Any economic system built upon the RIGHTS OF PROPERTY is a confiscatory system, and little property disappears before big property. The property of the craftsman—his skill—tends to evaporate. A new mechanical device, a newly discovered chemical process, or a new combination of industrial forces may scatter that skill among the insensate machines, or absolutely displace it. "The whole tendency of skill is away from the individual and in the direction of the group" where, through the agency of the machine, it translates itself into mere quickness of action coupled with a mild form of manual dexterity.

Stripped of his PROPERTY the "aristocrat of labor" sinks to the level of the common herd. The machine process of production racks the structure of Craft Unionism. Built upon the basis of a transitory property, it cannot withstand the aggressions of the vastly superior property of the Industrial Plutocracy. However, the craft union notion, like many others, dies hard, and we see the surviving craftsmen attempting to fortify themselves by organizing the machine operatives in the terms of the crafts. Such organizations cannot be permanent for THE PROPERTY IDEA IS UNTENABLE AMONG MACHINE WORKERS. The very soul of private property is its accompanying right of EXCLUSION; and exclusion cannot be practiced at the machine—any one can function there. A few weeks of experience makes a machine operator of the common laborer; and furthermore, SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT AND THE SPEEDING UP PROCESSES DESTROY INDIVIDUALITY. The loss of individuality destroys all notions of property—cuts the last thread that binds the interests of the worker to the present system.

Craft unionism cannot survive. The development of industry—the perfection of the machine processes—has doomed it. To the machine operative, it is

an anachronism—a thing out of date.

The ancient slave and serf classes were not essentially revolutionary, and if they had been their ignorance and isolation was sufficient to prevent any concert of action. Mere physical revolution against an irksome environment cannot be called a revolutionary spirit, and while the slaves and serfs indulged in rebellions, they were usually planless and contained no germ of a constructive nature. At the most some measure of participation in the benefits of the existing system was all they sought. There was no idea of the establishment of a new order of society, which should promote a greater diffusion of culture, and thereby create a better and nobler race. Success upon their part would have meant only social chaos and a recession in the scale of civilization.

Let us now examine the modern laborers and machine operatives in this connection and endeavor to arrive at an understanding of their characteristic psychology, as derived from the common experience of their class.

The Proletariat

Unskilled laborers and non-specialized machine operatives are now usually denominated "Proletarians," and by "the proletariat" we mean A CLASS OF LABORERS, POSSESSING NEITHER PROPERTY NOR SPECIALIZED SKILL, WHO SELL THEIR LABOR-POWER IN THE OPEN MARKET TO THE HIGHEST BIDDER, AND ARE ABLE TO SELL THAT POWER ONLY SO LONG AS IT WILL PRODUCE A PROFIT FOR THE PURCHASER. The Proletariat is the subject class in modern society—the special human product of the capitalist system—and, to obtain its view of life, we must know how it obtains its living, for, as we have seen by the law of Economic Determinism, "the thoughts and actions of men are determined by the manner in which they

make their living;" and "the common experience of a class creates the characteristic mental attitude of that class towards the world in which it lives."

Under the Guild system, the Journeyman worked in the small shop and, so long as he was unmarried, usually lived in the house of his master as a member of the family. All the different parts of the process of manufacture were usually carried on in the same place; as for instance, the shoemaker was a tanner also. The completed product was the handiwork of one man—an individual production—and as such, the workman might well take a large measure of pride in this evidence of his patience, industry and skill. But the capitalists introduced the factory system of production, and the journeyman, though still working with hand tools, did only a portion of the labor on an article and passed it on to another to do another portion. The completed product was the handiwork of a number of men—a group production—and as such, the workman took pride in it only to the extent that he could trace his own labor in the completed article. Otherwise, it was a matter of indifference to him whether it was well or poorly made. His interest in the whole thing ceased when he received his stipulated wage.

The development of the steam engine stimulated invention and, within the last 100 years, machinery has so vastly supplanted hand labor, that the average proletarian attending the machine turns out a product about twenty times greater than the product of the old time journeyman. Yet, with all these great modern aids to his productivity, the average proletarian finds himself in a state of chronic poverty many removes below the journeyman. The small factory of the early capitalist has become the great industrial plant of a group of Plutocrats, and the small group of fairly skilled mechanics has become a veritable army of industry. Where formerly the individual touch

might be seen upon an article, now the raw material passes in at one end of the machine and the finished product pours out at the other. Everything is thoroughly standardized and no man can say, "I did this—I did that." The individual effort is completely swallowed up—obliterated in the process of production. The workers themselves are grouped according to their peculiar mental or physical characteristics and guided in their tasks by "scientific" bosses, who prescribe by a fixed rule even the motions of their limbs and bodies. During the hours of their labor, they are no longer thinking men, but mere automatons, performing their functions mechanically and completely dominated by the will of another. BY GROUP EFFORT, OR SCIENTIFIC TEAM WORK ABOUT THE MACHINES, THE PROLETARIAT EARNS ITS BREAD.

The Proletarians necessarily touch the world at the point of production—their very lives depend upon gaining access to the machinery and processes of production—hence they think in terms of industry. Grouped about the machines they soon come to realize that the bulk of their product goes to the owners of the machines. Any increase in productive capacity does not redound to their advantage, but merely means the displacement of a portion of their number from industry and a consequent effort on the part of those so displaced to return to the machines on any terms that will prevent starvation. The workers yet employed view this event with alarm because they find themselves threatened from two directions: on the one hand, by a possible further improveemnt of the machines with the subsequent displacement of yet another portion of their numbers; and, on the other hand, by the displacement of themselves through the return to industry of those previously displaced, whose stomachs have compelled them to agree to yield up a greater portion of the product of toil for the PRIVILEGE OF WORKING. They see a vicious spiral of displacements, on

which the wage scale constantly descends and, down which they are plunged to ever greater physical exertions, to ever increasing privations, to ever more revolting degradations.

The war amongst the capitalists themselves thrusts large numbers of the defeated into the ranks of the proletariat; the invention of new processes and machines deprives whole sections of the craftsmen of their skill; standardization and improved methods of accountancy and management dump numerous intellectual workers into the limbo of the unskilled. All of which means a corresponding increase in the numbers of the absolutely dislocated—the "army of the unemployed." Machine production, the great levelling influence of the age, looms fierce and gaunt. It is master and decides all things for all men.

Property—either material, or in the form of a specialized skill—has ceased to exist for the Proletarian; access to the machine is the sole basis of his life: and following the loss of the property idea comes a complete revolution in the mental attitude of the worker. MAN becomes the dominant factor and all his problems are again translated in terms of Human Rights. He denies the right of the machine or the owner of the machine to longer hold him in subjection. He seeks a way to seize the means whereby he lives and turn it to his own uses and purposes. He thinks in the terms of a class, for he now realizes his class position and knows that only as such can he hope to survive. He finds that he must attack the structure of a society based on private property and his point of attack is at the point of production, the point where he daily meets his enemy. His whole attitude is one of opposition—opposition to the property of the master class—an attitude utterly subversive of all modern ethics, morals, religions and laws, an utterly Revolutionary attitude.

"THE PROLETARIAN IS A REVOLUTION-

IST BECAUSE HE IS A PROLETARIAN" and, in order to secure unity and efficiency, he organizes at the machine, the only place where he appreciably functions in the scheme of modern life.

The Proletariat and Politics

Any force in society that lacks a constructive program is a useless—a futile force. If it merely defends a set position and does not keep pace with the progress of the age by means of a positive policy of its own, it cannot function for the proletariat; for the proletariat is fundamentally revolutionary; therefore aggressively progressive. An alien class in modern society, it finds itself unable to function agreeably, even tolerably, in conjunction with any other class. Its whole attitude is one of uncompromising antagonism. With the loss of the property idea it also lost the idea of "contract," which is an inseparable feature of the craft unionist property foundation. Clearly then, the craft union, with its circumscribed property and contractual notions, its acceptance of capitalist proprietorship, its lack of a constructive policy, cannot function for the proletariat.

Political parties, with their methods of nose counting, are not acceptable to the proletariat; not only because the economically powerful are prone to disregard the noses of slaves, but because the methods of the ballot box are too much the methods of the mob; and THE PROLETARIAT REALIZES THAT ITS FORCES MUST BE MARSHALED, DRILLED AND DISCIPLINED FOR THE DUTIES OF PRODUCTION AND INDUSTRIAL ADMINISTRATION. It realizes that the modern "government" is but a shadow and not a substance—that it is merely a committee acting for the economically powerful—and that it will dissolve of its own motion whenever its economic support is withdrawn. Representation in such a government has no value to the proletariat, since it

does not care to trade or traffic with the other classes, for whom it possesses only hatred and contempt.

Furthermore, THE POLITICAL PARTY IS MERELY AN ARTIFICIAL GROUPING OF PEOPLE OF ALL CLASSES, UNITED BY A TEMPORARY AGREEMENT OF OPINION—fickle, uncertain, undisciplined, irresponsible, catering to votes and evaporating its sympathy whenever its popularity is threatened; while THE CLASS IS AN ORGANIC DIVISION OF THE PEOPLE, COMPOSED OF THOSE SUBJECTED TO THE SAME ECONOMIC INFLUENCES, THOSE WHO LIVE AND WORK ON THE SAME PLANE OF MATERIAL INTEREST—therefore, constant, stable, harmonious, and capable of discipline and responsibility. These facts appeal with irresistible force to the proletariat, which finds itself in the midst of a continuous and cumulative economic warfare, requiring the constant and harmonious efforts of all its units. Back of the political skirmishers lies a vast economic army and it can only be opposed with organized economic power. Organization on the field of production is therefore the proletariat's means of expression—there is where it functions—there is where it daily meets its enemy.

That Apocalyptic vision of a future condition known as the Socialist State, or Co-operative Commonwealth, is rather too vague a notion to convey much to the minds of the proletarians, who, living at the base of modern society and functioning at the machinery of production, deal constantly with the CONCRETE. They have neither time nor inclination for speculation, and the usual cry of the Socialist Politician "Vote the Co-operative Commonwealth into existence at the polls" lacks practicality, so far as they can see, because they, who need that commonwealth, are in a sad minority at the polls through lack of the electoral qualifications; and it is quite unbelievable that the privileged classes would abate one jot or tittle

the power and privilege they now enjoy. The retention of the territorial "State" in the Socialist scheme of social regeneration marks it as a middle class conception, quite in keeping with middle class experience and psychology, and, therefore, largely out of harmony with any conception the proletariat may evolve from its own experience. The representative character of the territorial State does very well for a class engaged in trade and which has heretofore used the state as a medium for adjusting trade frictions, but to a class functioning directly in production and at the mechanical end of distribution, such a State is utterly out of date and useless. The Proletariat proposes the Industrial Democracy—a society based primarily upon production—equality in production coupled with equality in distribution—each necessary industry the equal of every other necessary industry—and it is quite evident that territorial representatives cannot legislate intelligently for the industries. Bureaucratic administration would necessarily result in the Socialist "State"—democratic participation and control by the people would be set aside—a new slavery would ensue, for bureaucrats are inherently despotic. Further—the State, (the primary function of which has always been to protect private property) as an entity set over and above the people, has so long represented the proletarian idea of despotism that any scheme retaining it must surely meet with proletarian opposition.

The machine dominates the lives of the proletariat, therefore the proletarian conception is that, in a society based on universal participation in industry and the benefits of industry, the machine must beneficially influence the lives of all men. Indeed, the major portion of the questions arising in such a society would be automatically settled by the machines, and, among a people living on the same plane of material interest and subjected to the same economic in-

fluences, there must arise such a similarity of psychology, such a singleness of viewpoint and unity of purpose, that the moral and religious lives of the people would all rise to the same high and noble standard. In fact, administration in such a society would most probably resolve itself into the collection, classification and dissemination of industrial statistics, and the enforcement of the moral code would be a function of the Industry of Public Health and Sanitation.

Two facts stand out prominently in an examination of modern society; 1st, THE PROLETARIAT IS THE SUBJECT CLASS, and 2nd, THE SPECIAL FUNCTION OF THE STATE IS TO KEEP THE PROLETARIAT IN SUBJECTION. Therefore, any organization of the proletariat as a class must at once be considered a menace to the privileged classes and be declared illegal. All the activities of the proletariat furthering its program for a new society must necessarily be revolutionary and be beyond the "Law." Therefore, the Socialist Politician's "legal revolution" idea is regarded as absurd, by the proletariat; and since the proletariat realizes that all its forces must be closely co-ordinated and drilled in production and co-operation in order to function in the new society, the idea that the whole economic structure of this present society can be changed by going to the polls once every two or four years is especially absurd.

The proletariat makes no appeal to any but the wage earning class, though it realizes that the growth of the Social Consciousness among all classes must bring thousands to its standard, whose immediate personal interests would be conserved by an opposite course. It realizes how great a task it is to persuade men against their material interests, and how small the chance is to secure a majority at the polls—a majority, helpless in its strength because undisciplined in co-operation and composed of potentially discordant elements. But more it realizes, that the prole-

tariat, operating the machinery of production and really in possession of the wealth of the world, is in a position to dictate the terms of life to all society, if it merely secures the consent and co-operation of the members of its own class. It proposes that the ballot box shall repose first in the Union hall, and then in the shop; and one needs only to function in industry to be a voter there. The recently landed immigrant, who has a "job," is equal to the descendant of the Pilgrim Fathers, who also works for bread.

The future society comes only at the desire and with the consent of the proletariat, for it is evidently the only class able to safeguard humanity by means of a new society; and the revolution can properly occur, only after the proletariat has had sufficient training in voluntary co-operation and self-government to be able to demonstrate its ability to successfully continue production and handle distribution so that all may be fed. Voting EN MASSE at the polls is no evidence whatsoever of such ability, and to teach this class that its way to freedom lies primarily through the ballot box is a most miserable miseducation and paves the way to the most desperate catastrophy that humanity could ever suffer.

The Socialist Philosophy bases itself upon the proletariat. The needs and aspirations of the proletariat are the justification of the Social revolution. So, why attempt to lead this class in a way it cannot go? Why forget the fundamental fact of proletarian life—the law of Economic Determinism? The method of getting the proletariat's living determines its thoughts and actions. Machine production—group effort—scientific team work—class experience—these are the determining factors, and all the fine-spun theories go glimmering when confronted with these. Middle class meddling and interference with the proletariat—giving it a program tainted with middle class traditions—is an impertinence that is excusable only on the

grounds of misguided but philanthropic zeal.

In a class society, the powers of the government are derived from the economic power of the dominant class, and, for that reason, the prime necessity of the proletariat, in its struggle, is to develop its economic power, for it is really opposed only by economic power. Organization on the economic field, at the point of production, and contending for the product of the machines is the only method of developing economic power for the proletariat; and participation in purely political propaganda and campaigns is a criminal waste of time and energy. In the field of politics, the program of the proletariat should be "PRESSURE, RATHER THAN PARTICIPATION;" a program heretofore ably pursued by the Plutocrats.

The proletariat cannot conceive of an acceptable society without machine production. It cannot conceive of men producing efficiently except in groups around machines. Consequently its form of organization to carry on the class struggle and build the society of the future must preserve the unity of the groups now working about the machines. Any other method would be foreign to it and doomed to failure because inconsistent with proletarian experience.

No class ever yet successfully dominated society unless it demonstrated its ability to direct industry. Only on this basis could a following be secured and power be established. The proletariat is in no different case. It MUST demonstrate its efficiency. To merely destroy modern society without substituting something better would be the most monstrous of crimes. To achieve emancipation only to plunge the world into economic chaos would be the bitterest of travesties upon human intelligence. The proletariat must recognize and be prepared to assume the responsibilities of production and distribution, and of social and industrial administration; otherwise, it had better submit and accept such ameliorations as a Benevo-

lent Feudalism may be willing to accord to it. It must have a positive scientific philosophy, a definite conception of the future society, and a practicable program. Lacking these, it fails.

Modern science, based upon the law of evolution, now furnishes a Philosophy of Life, positive and definite in its character and acceptable to the proletariat, because it offers a connected and rational explanation of the phenomena of the Universe. The proletarian conception of the Industrial Democracy, harmonizing man with the method of wealth production and distribution, finally harmonizes him with his environment and therefore, through universal well being, guarantees the generation of a highly cultured race, which from its viewpoint, is the purpose of human life upon this planet. The program of the proletariat is necessarily dependent upon the industrial system and upon the degree of its own intelligence. Its watchwords are "Agitate—Educate—Organize," and, as organization is fundamentally necessary to unity of action and the working out of a program, we will now consider that phase of the question.

Proletarian Organization

Marx declares that the Historic Mission of the working class is to overthrow capitalism and establish a new order of society; therefore, the method of its organization is of the first importance. We have seen that TO FUNCTION AT THE MACHINES IS THE BASIS OF THE PROLETARIAN RELATIONS TO MODERN SOCIETY, and it must now be borne in upon our minds that, THE BASIS OF PROLETARIAN RELATIONS TO THE FUTURE SOCIETY WILL BE FUNCTIONING AT THE MACHINES. The future society will produce and distribute its living by machinery just as we do now, except that the machinery will be greatly improved; therefore it is a perfectly natural and a highly necessary step for the Proletariat

to organize at the machines and in the terms of modern industry. The handicraftsmen—users of hand tools—organized in the terms of those tools as craftsmen; the proletarians—groups of non-specialized workers around the machines—now organize in the terms of the machines as Industrialists.

Syndicalism in Europe and Industrialism in America were evolved out of the struggles and defeats of the rebellious working class and have many things in common. Both hold the needs and aspirations of the proletariat as the basis of their organizations. Both declare "Labor alone is fruitful" and "to the worker belongs the full social value of his toil." Both propose the abolition of the wages system and the conversion of PRIVATE property into universal SOCIAL possession. Both demand that all normal adult persons shall function in industry, so that the same may be Democratically managed and controlled, and all men have that reasonable leisure and education which makes for a truly cultured race. Both have a vision of the future civilization, and the organization of their Syndicate and Unions have three cardinal purposes which are identical; namely,

(1) To resist the master class;
(2) To build the new society; and
(3) To function as units of production, distribution and administration in the new society.

The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World (the American organization) says; "It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with Capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when Capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the new society within the shell of the old."

From my notes on an address by Leon Jouhaux, Secretary of the Confederation General du Travail

(France) I quote the following:

"Aims of C. G. T.

Section 1. Grouping of wage workers for the defense of their moral and material interests, both economic and professional.

Section 2. Outside every political school it organizes every worker, who is conscious of the struggle, for the abolition of the wages system and the employing class."

***** "It proposes to become the local administrator and regulator of production in the new society."

***** "Syndicalism must be self-sufficient in the task it has laid down for itself, therefore it develops class consciousness. It develops and strengthens the working class through the everyday struggles. It promotes class education towards the expropriation of the employers."

***** "Economic transformation only is sought, therefore the ability of the workers for production and self government must be developed."

***** "The C. G. T. forms the new society within the shell of the old."

You will observe that both these official utterances are practically the same in the expression of PURPOSE, and that they show a complete realization and acceptance of the duties and responsibilities imposed upon the working class by their revolutionary programs. But, at this point, the two organizations diverge, fundamental differences of conception and tactics distinguish them to such an extent, that it is a grave error to say that the two are really identical. The recent formation of the Syndicalist League of North America has accentuated this difference in the United States and there is no longer any reason why any inquiring person should fail to distinguish between them. The anarchistic element are strong and active in the C. G. T., and have developed their DEFENSIVE TACTICS to a remarkable degree; while

the Socialistic element hold the balance of power in the American Industrial Unions and have devoted themselves very largely to questions and problems of STRUCTURE; so that the conception of the future society seems to be much clearer and more rational in this country than in Europe. The French AUTONOMOUS local, unassisted and unrestrained, does not appeal to the American with his ideas of CENTRALIZED authority and responsibility. Furthermore the American idea of efficiency necessitates a system that can use and practice the most scientific economy in the administration of affairs, and such economy is not promoted by the use of an autonomous system.

However, it is not the purpose of this pamphlet to enter into a discussion of the relative merits and demerits of Syndicalism and Industrial Unionism, but rather to point out the structure of the One Big Union, without reference to the other. For that purpose then, let us proceed.

Industrial Unionism

So long as industry was, relatively, in an undeveloped state and great areas of land were available for settlement, the craft unions met the requirements of the organized portion of the working class; but, when the development of inventions brought on the "machine age" and the desirable lands were occupied, craft unionism ceased to function advantageously. It had developed at a time when the man and his master worked together on the job, as is the case now on the ordinary small farm, and there was a belief that the employer and employee had interests in common. The workman had visions of a time when he should set up in business for himself, and become the employer of a man or two; and it was quite natural that he should adopt the motto "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work"—the only question being "what is fair?" The right to privately own property was not questioned;

in fact, skill in the crafts was regarded as a property and the workman imagined that he met his employer on the plane of equality. For this reason he readily entered into contracts for the sale of his services—he being a free man and competent to make conditions for himself. The tools of his trade were fitted to his hands and moved only so far and so fast as he propelled them, and, the article when finished was a monument to himself; all of which tended to exalt him in his own estimation. He looked down upon the unskilled as distinctly inferior beings, unfit and undesirable. Foreigners, negroes and Chinese were beasts to be especially abhorred; women were desirable only as satellites to men; and children would grow up and help to make him rich when they were able to go to work.

The Union was a defensive weapon only. It organized the strength of those who gained their bread by the use of the same kind of tools. It opposed the introduction and development of machinery, and retarded the spread of technical knowledge by limiting apprentices. It entered into closed shop agreements with employers, and limited the number of operating craftsmen by excessive initiation fees and dues, and by refusing to recognize cards issued by unions in other or distant places. It regarded itself as a distinct entity in the world of labor, and held aloof from association with other craft unions. In case of a strike or lockout affecting some one craft, the other craftsmen regarded it with indifference, for they were bound by a CONTRACT which prevented interference on their part, if for any reason they had cared to do so. Notice of intention to strike was always given ahead of time; great war, or strike benefit funds were provided; and every effort was made to keep the strike within the bounds of legality.

Jurisdictional quarrels finally forced the formation of the Federation of Labor in order to have a means of preserving the peace; and through this Fed-

eration the craftsmen have maintained lobbies at the State and National Capitals to advocate and promote the enactment of "more and better laws for labor."

Despite the organized opposition of the crafts, machinery began more and more to dominate industry; destroying whole crafts as the Glass Bottle Blowers, and bringing others into existence, as the Electricians; but always the tendency has been to sub-divide labor and scatter the skill of the craftsmen into the hands of a number of men working around machines. The despised foreigners, and finally women and children, have, in a large measure, taken the places of the ancient craftsmen through the simplification of industry by the use of the machine instead of the hand tool.

The New Working Class—the Machine Proletariat—differs essentially from the Craftsmen. The machine having scattered skill and converted its remnants into mere rapidity of motion and mild manual dexterity, the idea of an exclusive property in skill has disappeared and along with it has gone the contractual notion, the aristocracy of labor idea, pride in production, contempt for foreigners, and intolerance of women and children in industry. The new unionism, organizing on the basis of the machine, welcomes every improvement and development in industry, excludes no worker from the machines on any grounds of undesirability (there being no barriers of race, creed, color, sex, age or skill), makes no closed shop agreements or binding time contracts of employment, depresses its initiation fees and dues to a bare expense basis, and issues universal transfer cards which are acceptable in all industries and in all civilized countries of the world. The Industrial Unions group all the workers in a given industrial plant in one local union without reference to any other consideration than this, that they take part in the production of the plant's output. Laborers, craftsmen, office force and salesmen—all are eligible, because all are necessary to

efficient production. No one is so great or so humble that he should be excluded. No one is of finer clay than another—all function in industry, therefore all are equal. All work in the same plant; all draw their pay from the same window; the labor of all is wrapped up in the same product; therefore all should be in the same union.

The interests of the proletarians are mutual because they are a class and are subject to the same economic influences, therefore "an injury to one is the concern of all." A strike means that every worker shall walk out and stay out until an agreement has been reached whereby all may return.

The method of organization is a process of centralization and is effected in the following manner (in the Department of Mining for instance); all workers employed about a mine, whether under or above ground, all employees in the stamp mills, roasters, cyaniding plant, or smelter; all woodsmen employed by the mine to produce timbers, lumber or wood for its use; all workers employed on a railroad owned by the mine and used to transport its output and supplies, would be members of the Local Industrial Union of Metal Miners. The various craftsmen (engine drivers, firemen, carpenters, blacksmiths, cyaniders, amalgamators, etc.) would all be MINERS along with the drill-runners, hammersmen, timbermen, trammers and muckers.

Local Unions of Metal Miners are grouped in the National Industrial Union of Metal Miners; hard coal miners in the National Industrial Union of Anthracite Miners; soft coal miners in the Nat'l Ind. Union of Bituminous and Clay Miners; salt and other chemical miners in the Nat'l Ind. Union of miscellaneous mining; and oil field workers in the Nat'l Ind. Union of Oil and Asphalt Miners.

All these National Industrial Unions are federated in the National Industrial Department of Mining.

The Department of Mining is then federated with the National Departments of Wood Products, Textiles, Leather Products, Agriculture, Machinery and Metal Manufacturing, Transportation, Fisheries, etc., etc. in the general organization of The Industrial Workers of the World, which, in its turn, is affiliated with other similar organizations in the other civilized countries.

By this means all the workers are brought together upon the basis of their group relations to modern industry. It is a class organization, and, as such, coordinates the forces of the proletariat to the end that it may consciously develop its inherent powers and proceed, through education, discipline and pressure, to the consummation of its manifest high destiny.

A fundamental advantage of the Industrial method of organization is the fact that such organization allows the use of those tactics which are peculiarly and characteristically proletarian and permits it to go directly towards the object of proletarian attack. All shields and subterfuges are thrown aside—the proletariat resists in its own proper person and wages the class war openly upon the economic field, the only place where exploitation occurs.

The dual slogan of the proletariat, "an injury to one is an injury to all" and "workingmen of all countries—unite," means something when uttered by an Industrial organization. United upon the economic field and without holy contracts, one portion of the workers cannot be used to defeat another portion when the struggle becomes acute. Ease of initiation and reasonable dues are an inducement to all workers to join—no worker should ever be an industrial outcast. The free and close association of all the workers; their discussion and co-operation for mutual economic and social purposes tend to break down the ancient craft, national and race antagonisms. The universal free transfer card enables the ready adjustment of labor to industrial conditions, and contributes in

the highest degree to perfecting the fluidity of the working class. Furthermore, among students of the class struggle, the opinion is coming more and more to be held that the culmination of the struggle will be the Social General Strike, or at least, a threat of the same, and the industrial method seems to be the only one that can properly marshal, drill and discipline the workers for that event.

The mutual economic interests, the daily association, the common experiences of the social conflict must surely develop that SOLIDARITY, without which the proletariat may struggle in vain, but with which it must inevitably assert its supremacy. Organized at first upon the outside, it must eventually move the union meeting place into the shop, and function there producing and distributing the living of the world.

Like the bird in the egg, the physical portion of the Industrial Democracy already exists within the framework of modern society. The lands, the tools and the machinery of production and distribution are well nigh perfect, and a working population, trained in the processes of industry, functions at the machines. The quickening of this mass into life is the next necessary step. An awakened Social Conscience, a realization of power, and a desire for true economic freedom must bring about the great change.

Earthwide in the scope of its activities, Industrial Unionism points to a new civilization where the forces of production and distribution will be nicely adjusted and co-ordinated—where those who labor will enjoy—where childhood will be free—where manhood will be secure—where age will rest in peace—where man, the flower of the Earth, shall be in harmony with the world about him.

The New Unionism

By Andre Tridon

"A clear statement of the philosophy and practice of Syndicalism, its history and present status all over the world."
200 pages, cloth $1.10, paper 30c.

I. W. W. SONG BOOKS

Seventh Edition Now 64 Pages. Price Ten Cents

PAMPHLETS

THE I. W. W. ITS HISTORY. STRUCTURE AND METHODS By Vincent St. John. The title of this pamphlet explains the contents. This is a new, revised edition. Now 32 pages with diagram, price 5c.

ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS By B. H. Williams. A reply to "leading socialists" on the subjects: "Co-operatives", "Government Ownership", "Labor Legislation", and "Revolutionary Industrial Unionism." 32 pages, price 10c.

THE FARM LABORER AND THE CITY WORKER, A Message To Both, By Edward McDonald. This pamphlet is unequaled for distribution among the workers in the most important of the basic industries, the agriculture industry. 16 pages, illustrated with cartoons dealing with conditions on the job. Price 5c.

THE REVOLUTIONARY I. W. W. By Grover H. Perry. A clear and forcible exposition of the new unionism in plain language. 24 pages, price 5c.

ONE BIG UNION IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY By Ewald Koettgen. Written by a practical worker in that industry. Shows development of the machine process, eliminating craft divisions, and making necessary One Big Union. Explains some of the methods successfully used in fighting the boss for better conditions. 16 pages, price 5c.

BOOKLETS

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM AND THE I. W. W. By Vincent St. John. A fine piece of propaganda literature for general distribution. 16 pages, price 2c. $1.00 per hundred to Locals.

HOW TO OVERCOME THE HIGH COST OF LIVING By T. F. G. Dougherty. By means of "The One Big Union" of the workers using direct action on the job, as against the palliatives of the reformers. 16 pages, price 2c.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
112 Hamilton Avenue Cleveland, Ohio

SOLIDARITY

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

SOLIDARITY presents a weekly review of the activity of labor the world over. Accounts from all the important strike centers by the workers engaged. News of all the labor cases on trial. Sparkling editorial comment on current industrial events. Discussion of form, aim and tactics of revolutionary industrial unionism. Clever Cartoons

Weekly

$1.00 per year. 50c six months

Subscribe Today

PUBLISHED BY

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

112 HAMILTON AVENUE · CLEVELAND, OHIO

A FAIR TRIAL?

A Record of the Prejudice and Passion that Dominated the Legal Profession and the Press in the Famous

Centralia Labor Case

Tried at Montesano, Washington,
Jan. 26th—March 15th
1920

By FRANK WALKLIN
Of the Seattle Union Record

PRICE 10 CENTS

30

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

A FAIR TRIAL?

WHAT IS THE TRUTH ABOUT CENTRALIA?

On Nov. 11, 1919, an Armistice Day parade was held at Centralia, Wash. As the marchers passed the I. W. W. hall many of them rushed the place and in the firing that followed three men were killed. Later one member of the I. W. W., Wesley Everest, was hunted down and captured. He was put in jail for a few hours, then taken out and lynched.

Hundreds of persons were arrested by a "vigilance posse" and eleven of them finally indicted on the charge of murder in the first degree for the killing of Warren O. Grimm, one of the commanding officers in the parade. This was done under the Washington laws which say that in such cases the accused may be tried once for each person slain. Thus the state might bring to trial these men four separate times unless they were found guilty of the first charge.

The men killed among the marchers were Grimm, Dale Hubbard, Arthur McElfresh and Ben Cassagranda. Dale Hubbard was killed while pursuing Everest.

The eleven men accused were Elmer Smith, attorney-at-law, Britt Smith, secretary of the I. W. W. but not related to Elmer Smith, Eugene Barnett, John Lamb, Bert Bland, O. C. Bland, Mike Sheehan, Ray Becker, Bert Faulkner, James McInerney and Loren Roberts.

Faulkner was released by the court at the close of the state's case. Roberts was acquitted on the grounds of insanity. Elmer Smith and Mike Sheehan were unconditionally acquitted and the others were found guilty of murder in the second degree. They were sentenced to the penitentiary for from twenty-five to forty years.

The writer went to Montesano for the Seattle Union Record to report the trial of the men accused of murder in connection with the shooting at Centralia on Nov. 11, 1919. At that time I knew nothing about the merits of the case excepting as I had read them in the newspapers of the day. I was located in Detroit, Mich., and did not have access to immediate facts.

It was not until late in December that I came to the Coast and not until the day of the trial that I began work for the Union Record, a paper owned by the Central Labor Council of Seattle. I did not receive one word of instruction as to how to handle this case. E. B. Ault, editor of the paper, knew I was a newspaperman and he left the trial matter entirely in my hands.

Under these circumstances it will be seen that there should have been nothing in the case to give me prejudice. To bear out this statement let me say that during eighteen years of newspaper work I never have worked for a radical paper; I never had contributed a line to a radical organ, nor had I ever so much as attended a socialistic meeting.

But after hearing the evidence and having witnessed the passion and prejudice that prevailed in and about Southwest Washington, I have had my radical leanings strengthened. I have become convinced that no man can remain at peace with the commercially controlled authorities of that section unless he is willing to bend the knee and assume a belief that no self respecting American will countenance.

My ancestors fought for English freedom, Irish freedom, Scotch freedom and American freedom. I find nothing to be ashamed of in any of these things, nor do I find anything to be ashamed of in helping to carry on a fight for industrial freedom, no matter how it may be described as "unpatriotic, anti-American or Bolshevik," so long as it is a battle for freedom.

When I got to Montesano, where the trial took place, I went to George F. Vanderveer, attorney for the defense. Vanderveer smiled cynically and told me "to stick around and see whether we can get a fair trial."

I went to Herman Allen, prosecuting attorney for Lewis County. When he learned I was with the Union Record he refused to discuss the case with me. He refused absolutely to give me any news concerning plans, although he daily did give out statements to correspondents for other papers.

A FAIR TRIAL?

The first day of the trial, while things still were in the shaping, attorneys for the prosecution set in motion machinery to tie me hand and foot in the matter of getting and disseminating news. Correspondents of other papers, and news associations, began to cultivate me. They asked all sorts of questions. They covertly tried to pry into my family history and former connections. They sought my political beliefs. They left nothing undone that would give them a line on me and immediately they carried the reports to Frank P. Christensen, assistant attorney general, who was aiding in the prosecution.

Let me say that Christensen is the man of the group of prosecutors whom I consider rises to the dignity of manhood in the conduct of a case. He was manifestly unfair in this trial, but he looked upon it as his duty, being an assistant attorney general. And he was the one man of the group who could stand the gaff of criticism and come back with a smile and handshake.

After my first article appeared, accusing the state attorneys of unfair methods in the prosecution, not one of them ever spoke a dozen words to me excepting Christensen, and I saw them every day for seven weeks.

When I had sat for two days hearing the efforts to select a jury I became convinced that the state attorneys did not want a fair trial. I was new to Washington but I saw a sinister motive back of all these mad

attempts to get in to the jury box men who were manifestly prejudiced in their opinions.

I was startled into action at the end of the second day when I heard Vanderveer tell Judge Wilson that he did not propose to go through with a trial that would be merely a judicial murder.

"If we cannot have a fair trial, let us have none at all," he shouted. "I will not sit here and your honor cannot make me sit here and witness a judicial murder. If there cannot be a semblance of justice I shall withdraw from the case."

The rulings of Judge Wilson were so unfair they became common discussion among the correspondents who were friendly to the state and generally these men agreed with the remarks of Vanderveer.

As to Judge Wilson, my observations led me to believe he never should have been given the case for trial. He struck me as a man of mediocre ability; of no social vision worthy the name, and altogether in sympathy with contentions of the commercial interests of the section. Also, he had delivered an eulogy at the funeral of three of the men who had been shot at Centralia.

Wilson had at first thought himself named actually to try the case. After hearing argument for a change of venue from Montesano, to which place it had been removed from Centralia, and reading the affidavits of prejudice, he said:

"This case cannot and must not be tried in Grays Harbor County."

He then indicated it should go to Olympia or Tacoma.

Two days later he reversed his former words and insisted it be tried at Montesano, in the County most notoriously prejudiced against the I. W. W.

LUMBER TRUST BARBARITIES

One of the blackest chapters in the whole affair after the killing is that which relates to the arrests of persons in Centralia. They were herded into crowded pens, with poor sanitation, rotten ventilation, and were given brutal guards. They were underfed and little attention paid their physical comforts.

This was as true of the women as of the men, one of them being held in jail for three weeks without a charge being filed against her.

The man rounded up by such individuals as the notoriously yellow Preston McDonald and his gang, were shoved and hauled about the cells and subjected to every indignity in harmony with the humanitarian views of their captors.

Guards were placed about the jails, armed with rifles. They marched to and fro past the windows of the jail and discussed what they expected to do with the prisoners. They openly threatened lynching and torture and told each other that in case a raid came on the jail they would give up the men inside without a struggle.

All this was within the hearing of the accused men and had a terrible

effect upon the more hysterical. Loren Roberts, who comes of mentally weak stock, was so affected by this treatment that Vanderveer charged in open court that it was this action of the business interests of Centralia that sent Roberts insane.

Mike Sheehan said that during three days he slept but three hours. Mobs of howling men kept about his window and cursed and swore concerning what they were about to do with him. He related how his temples pounded and how he felt himself going insane. Nor is this to be wondered at for Sheehan is past 65 years of age. He came out of jail a physical wreck and three months of kindly treatment could not offset this. Nor did he fully recover under the care at the jail at Montesano where Sheriff Jeff Bartell, of Grays Harbor County, gave exceptional treatment.

And all this treatment was accorded a man who was acquitted and who proved he never had fired a gun in his life. He had been in the hall when the raid came, but was reading a newspaper during the shooting.

Ropes were placed about the necks of many of the men and lynching promised unless they "came clean." McInerney's neck was scraped raw and later he laid against the wall in the darkness of the night when the jail was opened and Everest dragged out to be brutally unsexed and then lynched. He heard the mob talk of "getting McInerney" but he was overlooked in the darkness.

In the capture of Eugene Barnett there came to light the methods of the notorious Preston McDonald who made his boasts that he spent two weeks in the woods "hunting wobblies" until he was made to confess that he had thirty deputies with him to take the wife of one of the accused men, while she was unarmed.

McDonald led the posse that went out to bring in Barnett. He sneaked up to the house and was met by Mrs. Barnett who told him Gene had gone up the hill. McDonald went inside the house, armed with a rifle with fixed bayonet. As he entered the wind rustled the curtain of a window and this heroic "hunter" leaped forward and jabbed his bayonet into the flimsy lace and shouted:

"Come out of there."

The posse divided and part went up the hill. Barnett, seeing them, voluntarily surrendered.

JURYMEN AND LEGIONAIRES

It took two weeks to get a jury and during that time Vanderveer was crossed at every attempt to get men who might be fair. Judge Wilson permitted Thomas Connor to remain on the jury after he had sworn he hated the I. W. W. and that at the present time Abel was his attorney in a law suit in which he had $14,000 at stake.

This is but one incident. Other men who said they believed the I. W. W. should be hanged or run out of the state were kept on the jury until removed by a peremptory.

Orton Glenn, one juror, was asked if he had not said he believed the men guilty and that they should hang, admitted he might have said this, yet Judge Wilson refused to remove him for cause. Vanderveer brought in

witnesses to prove this man had made the statement and the prosecutors fearing what the expose might lead to asked to have Glenn removed.

Every prospective juror was investigated by the state and where one was found who might be fair he was subjected to indignities of various kinds. Strangers would ask his opinions and seek to influence him against the accused. In case he stood for fairness he was accused of being an I. W. W. or a traitor to the government. Often he was threatened with a perjury charge but no such action ever was taken.

During the selection of the jury the court room was crowded with men in uniform. Not one of these men was supposed to be connected with the trial excepting as an observer until Vanderveer brought out in evidence that they were paid $4.00 a day and expenses to sit in the court room to intimidate jurors and witnesses.

At first these men took seats inside the railing and sat throughout the hearings with eyes fixed directly upon the jurors, with arms crossed and hatred evident. It was necessary for Vanderveer to object forcibly to Judge Wilson to have the men kept outside the railing and then they sat directly in front of the jury box.

There were more than 500 of the members of the American Legion present during the trial. They were paid from funds taken up over the state, the bulk of it coming from the lumber interests.

It might be well here to say a word concerning the attorneys for the state. Allen, as prosecuting attorney, spoke but once during the trial. This was to make the opening statement to the jury. The actual work was done by W. H. Abel and C. D. Cunningham, lumber trust attorneys hired for the occasion as "special prosecutors." Christensen was the detective of the force and is a capable lawyer. L. L. Thompson, attorney general of the state, frequently was in court in conference with the prosecutors. Then there was John Jahnke, a Centralia lawyer of fair ability, who at times seemed to loath the work he was doing. John Dunbar, clerk in the office of Thompson, was at the trial as a matter of experience. He has no particular ability and trades on the reputation of his father, a former judge.

With the jury box filled, bailiffs were sworn in to take charge of them. Vanderveer objected to one of these men on the ground of bias and was told virtually by Judge Wilson that it was none of his business. He refused to listen to Vanderveer's charges until Abel admitted the man was one of his "undercover" workers, when he was excused.

The state opened its case with a flood of witnesses, but did not pick an eye witness from among the spectators at the parade, although hundreds had been present. Almost without exception the state witnesses came from the marching columns.

Without accusing any witness of perjury it might be well to show the variance in testimony.

"FAIR PLAY" IN THE COURTROOM

Frank Van Gilder, lifelong friend of Warren O. Grimm, said that at the time of the shooting he was within two feet of Grimm. He said he

had known Grimm for years and considered him almost as a brother. He saw Grimm shot, saw him double with pain and put his hands over his stomach, saying "Oh, God, I'm shot."

"What did you do then?" asked Vanderveer.

"I turned and went the other way and did not see what Grimm did."

This is but one of a score of instances that might be cited to show how necessary it became to omit any actual knowledge of just what Grimm did do after the shot or where he was.

State witnesses even went so far as to swear they could identify Eugene Barnett from photographs when they swore they never had seen the boy closer than 100 feet and then only for a second through a window.

One of these witnesses, Elsie Hornbeck, turned ghastly white on the stand as she made the statement, then turned and fled from the court house.

With the opening of the defense Vanderveer tried to show an overt act on the part of Grimm, an act Wilson demanded before he would admit the testimony to show self-defense. In doing this Vanderveer intended to show that Grimm was present when plans for the raid were made, that he approved the plans and that he actually led the men who made the rush on the hall. Wilson refused to let any of this evidence go to the jury. Neither would Wilson permit the showing of a conspiracy against the I. W. W. Had he done so Vanderveer would have brought in the minutes of the Manufacturers' Association wherein they approved of lynching members of the I. W. W.

In interesting parallel to this is the decision of Judge Pattee, at Tombstone, who took the very opposite view in his rulings. But this time it affected the commercial interests instead of the I. W. W.

So flagrant were the rulings of Wilson that Vanderveer said in open court:

"There was a time when I thought your honor's rulings were due merely to ignorance of the law. However, this will no longer explain them."

As the case progressed there came a feeling on the part of witnesses and jurymen that the most pernicious tactics were being followed by the prosecution. There appeared in the capitalistic press statements that tended to show the correspondents were sick of the subterfuge and plottings to hang men whether they were guilty or innocent, so long as they opposed the domination of commercial interests.

It then became necessary for the lumber trust attorneys to do something to offset the tide of feeling and a consultation was held. The next day word was sent to one Louis F. Hart, acting governor of the state, asking him to send a detachment of regular army troops to Montesano to "preserve order."

This was made as spectacular as possible and to show how high Judge Wilson stood in the estimation of the state authorities he was not even consulted. He was surprised at the news and said he saw no excuse for the troops. Sheriff Bartell opposed the step as did every peace officer in the county and the commanding officer of the troops. But Wilson had no chance against Abel and Cunningham.

Two days later Wilson reversed himself and said he was convinced the troops should remain.

When forced into a corner Herman Allen said he had sent for the troops as he feared members of the American Legion might be the aggressors should the verdict go against them. He made this statement to members of the labor jury sitting in the court room.

An indication of the forces back of the calling of the troops is shown in a story in the Tacoma Ledger of the morning after their arrival. The article was written by the wife of Dunbar, clerk in the office of the attorney general, and began:

"One thing is certain. The troops are here and they will remain here until the trial is ended and the last juror paid off."

This statement came out in the interim between Wilson saying the troops were unnecessary and his saying they should remain.

A LITTLE "ATMOSPHERE"

To show how this all was done to create atmosphere and intimidate the jurors and witnesses it may be cited that the commanding officer said there was no occasion for troops and no statement for their having been called ever was given beyond that of Allen to the labor jury.

These troops were camped within plain sight of the court house and jurors who looked out the window saw the white tents in full view, despite the fact that Wilson said the jury should not be permitted to know there was a soldier in the town.

It was a peculiar situation in which the correspondents found themselves at this time. All of the men, as individuals, knew there was no occasion for the troops. They openly stated this, yet their reports never took up that phase. They contented their papers with quoting men who wanted the troops.

Here are shown the insidious methods of Abel, Cunningham and Christensen. They made strong plays for the prejudices of these correspondents, especially for the Associated Press, the United Press and the International Press. The former two were represented by Edward Rhinehart and Clem J. Randau of Portland. The latter by Fred H. McNeill, Portland.

THE POISON IN THE PRESS

Rhinehart roomed at the same place as Attorney Christensen and they were cronies. His prejudice was open and at all times, in public and private conversation, he insisted on the guilt of the accused men. His every story favored the prosecution and his reports were so discolored that his associates often took exception to them.

Randau is a boy. This was his first big assignment and he was anxious to make good on the work. He began by sending out reports that

seldom have been excelled for accuracy. Personally clean minded he did not understand the method of coloring stories and yet making them appear impartial. However, consciously or unconsciously, he learned rapidly and at later stages of the trial Rhinehart could not surpass Randau for discoloration.

After, it appeared that Abel and his associates made a hard fight to win Randau over. He was invited to little evening parties at the Abel residence. There were attractive young women there, Abel's daughter among them, and Randau enjoyed himself so much that he never hesitated to return. Under this form of pressure he swung across the line, and, as I believe, forever injured his ability to rise to the point of being a high class correspondent.

One of the instances of the fall of Randau is shown in a story he sent out regarding the labor jury. This story said the men were satisfied the accused men were getting a fair trial. To get this statement Randau saw but one man, Paul K. Mohr, Seattle. Mohr tells me he told Randau the jury appeared to him "to be fair."

The story went to the United Press saying Mohr, speaking for the labor jury, said the men were being fairly tried. Every other man on the jury denied this, but no word ever appeared to this effect in the United Press.

As to why Randau picked out Mohr is shown when it is realized Mohr lived in Montesano and was under constant surveillance. The prosecutor who suggested it to Randau knew he would be less inclined to put himself in open hostility to residents of the town.

McNeill was the sole one of the three agency men who refused consistently to be cajoled or flattered into showing favoritism for either side. He may be all that all his opponents in Portland say of him but he was the "squarest shooter" of the three when it came to news.

When I have spoken of McNeill's fairness I have been told he was "thoroughly unscrupulous in getting news," yet I must state that whether unscrupulous or otherwise he did get the news and he got it straight. He attended the little parties with Randau but he kept his head on his shoulders and his feet on the ground.

Other reporters ran a wide range of methods and desires. All contended they were absolutely fair and impartial but during the course of the trial it came out that every paper represented there, excepting the labor papers, had been approached by the prosecution and asked to send down a reporter "who could be relied upon."

It may seem to be carrying the newspaper idea to extremes but I hold the newspaper sentiment has more to do with public questions than any other one thing. The average man cares nothing about editorials but he does put much confidence in his newspaper news items. For this reason I touch upon the individual papers.

Ben Hur Lampman, of the Portland Oregonian, actually felt he was impartial in giving out the news. I dislike to criticize him for I had a personal liking for Lampman that exceeded that for any other man on the trial. Lampman has decided personal views and he could not help having them influence his articles. He mistakes loyalty to the ruling class for

loyalty to country, and he instinctively took the opposite side when a question came up that would favor the interests of labor or liberty loving organizations. However, Lampman tells the truth as he sees it. The fault is that he has not broadened sufficiently to all the truth.

From Tacoma came the wife of Dunbar, Thompson's clerk. The chief objection to her stories was that in addition to being circumscribed with having but small capacity and utter lacking in social vision, she did not have even good newspaper style in writing. She apparently adopted the plan of never letting the truth interfere with the story.

Seattle papers were represented by reporters who averaged with those already named. However, Carter Brooke Jones, of the Post-Intelligencer, always tried to be fair, and at the close of the trial was told by Vanderveer that he considered Jones to have been the one man on the profit press who had been honest in his work as a reporter.

Regardless of how his paper played the stories or what headlines they put on them, Jones paid no attention to outside pressure but went ahead and wrote truthful accounts.

Dave Hazen, of the Portland Telegram, was the joke of the press table. Past the years of usefulness he did little more than fill space in the court room. He was generally considered as the "undercover" man for the prosecution and daily held little conferences with Abel and Cunningham. However, the field of his ablity to do damage was limited by his mental capacity to carry it out.

On the Seattle Times were several men at different periods of the trial. All measured up to the Times' standard. Were a reporter on the Times to be found to have originality, marked force of personality or a determination to tell the truth as he saw it he would be out of a job the moment the discovery were made. The Times men were clever writers and in other cases would have been rated as good reporters, but where a principle was at stake and their paper took the reactionary viewpoint they were willing to stand with the paper. Col. Blethen, Times owner, tolerates no other sort of men.

THE REAL ANIMUS CROPS OUT

When the defense came into action the real animus back of the trial began to crop out. Vanderveer announced that he would prove there had been a conspiracy on the part of the commercial interests, backed by F. B. Hubbard, Centralia lumber baron, responsible for the tragedy of Armistice Day and that the action of Hubbard and his friends caused the death of the nephew of Hubbard and three other men. This created that sense of haunting fear that guilty men so dread.

Every effort was made to keep this evidence out of the record and the prosecution found Judge Wilson ready to oblige. However, the facts went before the public for Vanderveer stated them in the court room and the papers carried much of the story.

Much might be said about this conspiracy but my purpose is not to relate incidents excepting as they show prejudice per se. Ralph Chaplin and John Nicholas Beffel have covered the incidents of the trial sufficiently in their booklets.

During the argument between attorneys concerning the admission of evidence on the various subjects Judge Wilson would look at the jury and smile cynically when Vanderveer sought to make a point and was several times called to account by the defense attorney. This charge against Wilson was made in open court and while he denied it he made no statement toward reproof for its utterance.

In case a witness was asked if he had seen the raid take place before the shooting he was asked all sorts of insulting questions by Abel and Cunningham and the attempt made to show he was a miner or an I. W. W. Abel was particularly severe upon any man who was a worker in the mines or on the railroad.

So bitter was the feeling against railroad men who testified that the matter went to the roads for which they worked with a request for their discharge. The prosecutors even tried to get lodges to expel E. W. Thrall, Centralia railroad brotherhood member, who testified for the defense. Thrall came out openly and condemned the lynching and the reign of terror that followed the shooting at Centralia and was made to suffer for having opposed violence.

Witnesses who made a good impression on the jury by their straightforward statements were arrested on a perjury charge the moment they left the court room and the fact was advertised to the jury. This was notably true in the cases of Ray and Jay Cook and Guy Bray all of whom testified they saw the raid precede the shooting and that a man resembling Warren Grimm came from the direction of the hall holding his hands over his stomach as though wounded.

Girl witnesses were sought out by stool pigeons of the prosecution and efforts made to have them not testify. One woman was caught red handed and brought before Judge Wilson and he refused to take any action.

Other witnesses who said a good word for Elmer Smith, the attorney accused of complicity, were severely handled. They were referred to in terms from liar to those much worse.

Here was one place where the prosecution went beyond itself. In the effort to hang Smith they brought in witnesses who were so anxious to tie a rope around his neck that they made statements directly the opposite of what they had been expected to make with the result that Smith was cleared on the first ballot.

"KNOCK DOWN AND DRAG OUT" TACTICS

Nor were witnesses from the ordinary walks of life the only ones brought in. There was a minister of the gospel, one H. W. Thompson, a member of the state legislature and a veteran of the civil war. Thompson swore he was sitting in the reviewing stand when the parade passed and said that every soldier in the line of march gave a right hand salute.

When they testified every soldier put on the stand said no such salute was made and many other witnesses said they saw Thompson in the parade carrying a coil of rope. With Thompson, they said, was Postmaster McCleary, also carrying a rope.

Abel sought to show these men were owners of a cow but changed his tactics when Vanderveer asked if they were leading the cows down the street. Then he sought to show this rope was a piece of rotten cord picked up in the street.

Vernon O'Reilly, school boy of Centralia, who testified for the defense was worked upon by the state helpers and every effort made to discredit him. Residents of the town even went so far as to use social influence of school life to combat the boy.

One woman telephoned the principal asking if Vernon was to play in the basketball team. When told he was she said she would refuse to let her daughter go to the games and would try to get other mothers to take similar action.

No witness made a better impression than this youth. He was wholly frank throughout and held his temper when Abel sought to cast aspersions upon his mother by asking if she did not favor the "wobbly" cause. Every nasty method possible was used by Abel against the seventeen-year-old witness.

Outside of the pressure brought against witnesses there was a feeling of bitterness and passion hard to understand in other lines. Never have I seen such a vicious spirit displayed as was manifest at every turning point in this trial. Guilt and innocence did not figure in the desire for a verdict.

When I first went to Montesano and heard Vanderveer talk of the efforts made to prevent his learning the truth about Centralia I did not believe that such actions ever were known outside of the mountain districts of the border feud country. I refused to believe many of the tales that came to me from witnesses and decided to investigate. In doing this I talked with Centralians and within an hour other reporters came and told me they understood I was going to Centralia.

"Don't do it," they advised. "Your paper is 'in bad' there and they hesitate at nothing under such conditions."

I found this to be true. I found also, that nowhere else on earth is there such evidence of the methods of the abysmal brute as in Southwest Washington. There are hundreds of men there, who are identified with the lumber interests, in all capacities from wage slaves to managers, who understand nothing but brute force and money gained from the blood of others.

I am convinced that nothing, not even arson, rape or murder would deter these lumber barons if they thought it would bring them their desired financial ends.

CORPORATION LAWYERS AND "JUSTICE"

Now to get back to the attorneys, for this is necessary to show the vicious circle rampant against any man who even spoke favorably of men organizing for self protection in labor.

This man Abel is recognized throughout the section of the state as being an intellectual pervert. During various times he has prosecuted

labor cases against workers free of charge in times of strikes. He has been notoriously unfair along these lines.

During the trial Vanderveer asked leave to prove he was the attorney for the Lumber interests, instigator of the raid, and that as such was in full sympathy with the efforts to crush labor organizations. Vanderveer also moved to have him removed from the case on the ground that public justice could not be had through private interests.

Judge Wilson, perching above the court room like a black bat ready to spring over a ruined wall, denied this motion.

With the approaching end of the trial bitterness became more apparent. Repeatedly I had reports from confidential men that plans were in progress for "beating up" the Union Record correspondent. As a precaution I moved over to Aberdeen.

Let it be known that I have no animosity toward these men who were merely hired thugs for the lumber interests. They are not responsible, for their intelligences have not been trained above such actions. They are mere puppets who jump when the lumber owners say "hop."

At the close of the trial Judge Wilson, true to his regular actions, told the jury it must find a verdict of either first or second degree murder, unless they found for acquittal. Previously he had told them practically they must not find for acquittal.

Once in the jury room there arose an argument as to guilt or innocence. The jurors tried to be honest but had to obey the court's instructions. They knew the men had been railroaded as far as was possible by the state.

The first ballot found two innocent, two guilty of third degree murder and the others guilty of second degree murder. Judge Wilson refused to accept this verdict.

Then a ballot was taken as to whether the legionaires or the I. W. W. began the trouble. This vote showed unanimously that the blame rested with the paraders and not with the I. W. W. This is not an idle statement, for one of the jurors later told Vanderveer, in my presence, that this was the case.

And with the jurors so placing the blame Judge Wilson sentenced the men to serve from twenty-five to forty years in the penitentiary.

Sometimes as I think the case over I realize why some minds believe in an orthodox hell. They find it necessary to believe in some place where such men may be given just dues for their actions.

THE CASE IS NOT YET ENDED

And so ended the trial at Montesano of ten accused of murder in connection with defending their hall at Centralia, Wash., Nov. 11, 1919.

But this case is not ended. It has merely started a trend of thought that is leading to action, for it has proven that the lumber interests do

not fear the actions of the I. W. W. membership but they fear the I. W. W. doctrines of revolutionary progress. They see in this the death of exploiting of laborers in Southwest Washington. Their system is at stake and they are willing to fight to the death of their last employe to save it.

Now commences the real battle and each man in America who has any love for Americanism must make his own decision. But two factions in our national life are apparent at this time—the American and the reactionary.

We, as Americans, must stand for American traditions. We must not sit idle while everything that is pure, everything that is ennobling and everything that is worth living for is being plunged into the murky putrescence of degenerate reaction.

Only one hundred years are watching us from the past but a million years are awaiting our action for the future and with the issue clear cut we can only say "to hell with the slow tediousness of the past," and go into action with all our cannon thundering.

deacid - Bookkeeper 11-2006

THE A. F. OF L.
AND
INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

AN ANALYSIS OF MOLEY'S CRITICISM OF CRAFT UNIONS, BY AN INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST.

PRICE 2 CENTS

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

WANTED, A "LABOR FRONT"

There is something positively sinister about the ease with which the Wagner Labor Bill passed the Senate. A. F. of L. leaders were prepared for a bit of parliamentary rough-and-tumble. They were all set for a bitterly contested struggle. They anticipated victory—if at all—by a narrow margin. Instead, the bill was presented and passed in record time, with the surprising majority of 63 to 12. If the A. F. of L. leaders are smart, they won't get too puffed up over this victory, and neither will any other section of the working class. It may have been a victory for someone, but, as far as the Labor Movement is concerned, it smells of fish.

What is more than probable is that the A. F. of L. officialdom have again been outmaneuvered by the New Deal, and that the rank and file A. F. of L. membership have been nicely trapped in the net of government-controlled unionism, or, in other words, Fascist unionism. Mr. Moley's well-timed criticism of craft unionism was something more than accidental. Speaking semi-officially for the NRA in "Today," the astute Braintruster called attention to the shortcomings of the craft structure, not from the standpoint of the needs of the working class, but from the standpoint of the NRA officialdom who wish to use the labor unions for their own purposes, political and otherwise. It must be remembered that, to these officials, labor unionism is merely a part of the "planned economy" they talk about. For the working class there is but little reassurance in the fact that the "planning" of an efficient union set-up consists in building up a type of unionism which can be controlled by the politicians in Washington. For this purpose craft unions are, of course, quite useless. Nothing less than industrial, or "vertical" unions are subject to such centralized control.

Industrial unions, without working class control, can be made into a very effective means to keep the workers regimented and goosestepping for the employing class. And this is precisely the thing the government and Big Business wants more than anything else at the present moment. It must not be forgotten that the "Labor Front" has always been one of the most important adjuncts of Fascist, and other dictatorships. There is no reason to assume the U. S. A. is an exception to the rule.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

"CONTROLLED" UNIONS

It must be admitted that the NRA officials were quick to discover that the A. F. of L. was bluffing when it pretended to be able to influence or control the masses of workers in mass production industries. The A. F. of L. made a flop of steel, a fiasco of automobiles and a farce in textiles. In each of these the craft unionists actually lost ground at the very time the administration relied upon them to deliver the goods. The craft officials fell all over themselves in their efforts to do the right thing for their friends in Washington, but the only result of their efforts was an overwhelming gain for the idea of Company Unionism. And Company Unions are about as hard for "planning" politicians to use as craft unions Unlike big business executives, craft union officials have shown themselves to be more than willing to work hand-in-glove with the "recovery" experimentors. The A. F. of L. was therefore reminded by Mr. Moley that Washington was unable to do for the A. F. of L. what the A. F. of L, was supposed to be able to do for itself. namely to deal with the employers. The New Deal suggested rather significantly the need for a thorough reorganization of the craft structure of the racket-ridden and outmoded A. F. of L. It was this, more than any other thing, that put Green and Co. "on the spot." They were obviously as unable to rid the A. F. of L. of its multitudinous superfluity of official job-holders as they were to beard the lion of Big Business in its den. The only alternative is for the government to take a hand in the formation of "vertical" unions and, if necessary, over the heads of craft union pie-card artists large and small.

From the standpoint of the established social order, there are several reasons, all good, why this step is necessary. First of all is the danger that, if the government does not get there first, the rank and file may take the bit in their teeth, and set up a genuine industrial union movement which will be unamenable to the control of both the bosses and the politicians. From the "liberal" viewpoint of the "recovery experts" this would be a major catastrophe.

This is another way of admitting that organized "recovery" without the aid of organized workers is impossible. As the A. F. of L. was able, under most favorable conditions, to line up only 3,500,000 workers out of a possible 23,000,000

employed, it began to look as though the government would have to lend a hand before the 23,000,000 started to do things their own way. This makes it clear why the NRA is impatient with the A. F. of L. and also why the NRA is anxious to extend its process of industrial regimentation to this vast army of producers which is capable of making or breaking any type of economy—planned or otherwise. It is a race between Fascist industrial unions and the other kind.

THE BATTLE IS ON!

There are implications of tremendous importance to the revolutionary labor movement which will become increasingly obvious as this situation develops. First of all is the fact that the new semi-Fascist "vertical" set-up, with exclusive bargaining powers, will exclude all genuine industrial union propaganda and attempts at organization. The Communists, as usual, scurry for cover. Once more they want to "bore from within." But the I. W. W. and all other minority independent unions, will find new and formidable opposition in the mass production industries. The I. W. W. will see the artillery of the industrial union structure—which is its very own—misappropriated and misused to defeat the purposes for which the One Big Union was organized. It will see Industrial Unionism used as a means of inchaining, rather than liberating the workers in industry.

The masses of workers, if the present plan succeeds, will find themselves in a neat trap because they will be held accountable to the courts for everything they do. The strike will no longer be a free and spontaneous thing because the whole machinery of Fascist "unionism" is to make strikes impossible, or to control them to the extent that they are localized and unimportant. We may expect a deluge of laws penalizing strike activity, and making the advancing of Labor's mightiest weapon, the General Strike, a felony.

Keep in mind always that Liberal "recovery" means the continuation of the racket of "business" and the safeguarding of the right of the exploiters to exploit. Those of us who want to take a stand for the principle of Industrial Freedom and Industrial Democracy had better get in our licks before it is too late.

The time to fight Fascism is at its inception. It is

suicide to wait until the Fascist have consolidated their position and entrenched themselves in power. If the I. W. W. can rise to the occasion it still has time to show the world that it is worthy of the traditions of its glorious fighting past. Industrial Unionism should not be abandoned to the enemy. It is too valuable a weapon to be turned against the workers who devised it as a means of securing liberation from the nightmare of Capitalism. The thousand mile picket line should be re-established at once and the work of organizing and educating the workers for emancipation carried on with more vigor and enthusiasm than ever before. The time to do this is now; tomorrow may be too late. The issue is Industrial Serfdom vs. Industrial freedom. The battle is on! What are we waiting for?

LOOSE TALK

The recent mouthing of William Green at a mass meeting held in Madison Square Garden where he threatened a General Strike if the NRA was not extended, struck the local capitalist paper as so phoney that it brought forth the following comment:

We agree with William Green in his support of the Roosevelt plan to extend NRA two years rather than merely nine months. But Green overreached himself in his New York speech. He intimated there might be a general strike by labor throughout the United States if the longer extension is not voted by Congress. Fortunately, that overstatement was toned down by his testimony yesterday before a Congressional committee. No one knows better than Green that the A. F. of L. and the general strike don't mix. He will have to repudiate it, if and when a general strike movement gets under way—as he repudiated the general strike attempt in San Francisco last year.

The A. F. of L. deals through crafts which enter into contract with employers by collective bargaining. This means that whenever a craft fails to reach an agreement and decides to strike it must do so on its own; and the other crafts, which have arrived at contracts, do not strike in sympathy no matter how strongly they may feel in moral support of the strikers. Specifically, if there should be a strike of coal miners the building trades would not walk out, because if

they did they would be abrogating their own contracts.

When in the heat of bad labor trouble an A. F. of L. union has sought to strike in sympathy and such action has not been approved under union law by the high officials of that union and of the A. F. of L., the reason is obvious. A general strike would spell the official end of the A. F. of L. form of labor organization and of the William Green type of labor leader.

Now there are labor leaders who advocate the general strike under the one big union idea. They think craft unionism of the A. F. of L. type is wrong and ineffective. They contend that all labor should be organized in such a way as to move on all fronts in sympathy with any group that may have a grievance, whether there are grievances at the moment in other groups or not. Against that philosophy the A. F. of L. has always fought. There has been a running battle on the subject extending back to the days when Samuel Gompers was head of he A. F. of L. and the I. W. W, was in flower, The hostility of the National Assn. of Manufacturers toward the A. F. of L. is mild compared with that of the one big union advocates toward the A. F. of L.

A general strike in this country might, of course, be possible, but not with the A. F. of L. in it. When Green predicts that widespread labor unrest might be the result of failure to extend NRA he is within bounds. But he should be the last person in the country to talk loosely about a general strike.

PRINTED FOR CHICAGO BRANCH NO. 1
GENERAL RECRUITING UNION OF THE I.W.W.
1604 N. CALIFORNIA AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.

P. & P. W. I. U. 450

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

AGRICULTURE

Compiled by

The Bureau of Industrial Research

1001 West Madison St. Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

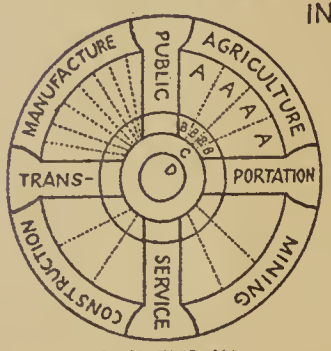
TWENTY FIVE CENTS

SIMPLIFIED CHART

FOR

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

(AGRICULTURE)

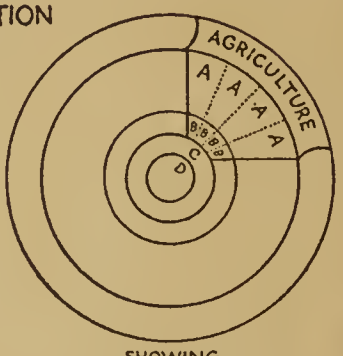


SHOWING ALL INDUSTRIES

A. DEPARTMENTAL DIVISIONS
B. DEPT.L ADMINISTRATION
C. GEN. RECRUITING UNION
D. GEN. ADMINISTRATION

A

GENERAL ADMINISTRATION ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION



SHOWING AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY

PUBLIC SERVICE | TRANS-PORTATION | AGRI-CULTURE | MANU-FACTURE | MINING | CON-STRUCTION

GENERAL RECRUITING UNION

ONE BIG INDUSTRIAL UNION OF

AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

A. GROUPING *ALL* THE WORLD'S WORKERS INTO ONE BIG UNION

SEE DETAILED ONE BIG UNION CHART FOR FULL PARTICULARS

B

ONE BIG UNION HEADQUARTERS
DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE

GENERAL FARMING STOCK ETC. | ORCHARDS ETC. | LUMBER ETC. | FISH ETC

GENERAL RECRUITING UNION

ONE BIG UNION MEANS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY ALL POWER VESTED IN THE RANK AND FILE

B. GROUPING OF *AGRI-CULTURAL* WORKERS INTO ONE BIG UNION

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

Sonia Lahti

AGRICULTURE

The World's Basic Industry and its Workers

THE Agricultural industry is the mother of all industries. Any programme of social change which does not include the agricultural worker is doomed to failure. After all is said and done the fact remains, that the cities are dependant upon the farms for food. Most of the world's industrial workers are segregated in cities, but without agricultural products these cannot carry on the multiple processes of modern production. Upon the solution of the problem of agriculture depends, to a large extent, the success of the impending Change in human society.

The purpose of this booklet is to sketch briefly the history of this great industry and its workers. In times like these it is vitally necessary for the agricultural proletariat to become conscious of its past history, its present duty and its historic mission tomorrow. In other words to familiarize itself with its position in modern society.

It may interest you to know that this booklet is not the work of any individual. It is the joint product of a large number of harvest "stiffs" who got the material together by means of a questionnaire in order to give agricultural and other workers the benefit of their knowledge and experience. It is your book as well as theirs. Improvements and suggestions for future editions will be welcome at all times.

The harvest "stiff" is something new under the sun. He is an agricultural worker, and yet he is migratory! The ancient slave was chained in the fields, the fuedal serf was sold with his master's lands, the homesteader and farmer have always been attached to the soil. How then has the agricultural proletariat become migratory? The answer is, *the machine process*. The invention of labor-displacing machinery has wiped out entire trades. It has driven countless skilled workers into the ranks of the unskilled. From this element the vast army of harvest work-

ers is yearly recruited. These men are migratory because the very nature of their employment makes them so. California, for instance, needs but 50,000 "hands" for ordinary agricultural work. During the harvest season, however, over 300,000 are required. These are presumably supposed to evaporate into thin air when their services are no longer necessary. Similar conditions prevail pretty generally throughout the great middle western harvest belt and the United States generally.

TENANTS AND MIGRATORIES

Thousands of these migratory "stiffs" follow the fields of ripening grain across the continent each season. With their strong hands they garner the foodstuffs that feed the millions of other workers whose labor keeps the stupendous machinery of production and distribution in operation. Farm laborers and tenancy are the outstanding features of agriculture under capitalism. In 1914 the census reported 12,690,000 as the number following agricultural pursuits. One half of these are farm laborers—mostly migratory. The Industrial Relations Commission reports that from two to three millions more are tennants. Frederick Howe states that 37 per cent of all farms in 1910 were operated by others than owners. He adds, "In some parts of the country from 60 to 70 per cent of the farms are cultivated by the tenants for non-resident owners." Judging from these figures two thirds of the farmers of this country are reduced to tenancy and wage labor. The America that assured freedom to the frontiersman has nothing but serfdom to give to her sons of today.

The migratory harvest workers pour into the harvest fields each season. Whence they come and where they go nobody seems to know or care. Society does not even take the trouble to transport them from place to place; they are compelled to "beat their way." They are referred to as "tramps" or "hoboes" and their efforts to organize are met with brutal persecution. Yet, without the labor of these workers the crops of the nation could not be harvested. As much as they are belittled and despised these men have done more for the welfare of the human race than all the kings, politicians and soldiers that ever lived.

Every worker should know something about the history and mechanism of the industry in which he is employed as well as industry in general. He should realize the importance of his daily labor in supplying his fellow men with the necessities of life. He should not feel that he is a mere individual atom in an incomprehensible industrial process; but rather he and his fellow workers are important and indespensible parts of the productive system upon which the race is absolutely dependant. He should be proud of the fact that he is a citizen of industry.

Agricultural labor is the most ancient and honorable of any labor in the world. Agricultural workers have a history that is more replete with romance and adventure than any work of fiction. The harvest "stiff" of today is a brother of the serf who tilled the sunny fields under the beetling castle of the feudal

THE BIRTH OF AGRICULTURE

Prehistoric man, in his hunting excursions, picked edible vegetables only when he found them in a wild state. Women made the great discovery that care helps plants to grow; that seeds may be saved and sown; and that the way to prepare the earth was to prod it with a croooked stick. Women not only discovered the art of agriculture, but they invented weaving and the making of pottery as well.

lord. He is first cousin of the branded slave of ancient days whose labor made possible the towering civilization of Egypt, Greece and Rome. He is the direct decendant of the prehistoric fisherman, hunter and herder who kept the race alive through unnumbered centuries.

The agricultural worker has never been an unresisting beast of burden. Even today he is not the passive and uncomplaining wage slave that his modern overlords would like him to be. The partially surpressed story of his revolts in Greece, Rome and the Middle Ages are among the most thrilling chapters in human history. The harvest "stiff" has always rebeled at injustice. Whole epochs of history have been infected with his discontent. He rebels today at the criminal injustice of the capitalist system that denies him his rightful share of the fruits of a civilization that he has helped to produce and helps to sustain.

THE BASIC INDUSTRY

Agriculture is the base of supplies for the entire world. Look around you today: The food you eat, the clothes you wear, your morning coffee and newspaper, your evening pipe of tobacco and the linen on your bed; all these are possible only because agricultural workers, somewhere, have labored to make such things available for you.

Agriculture today is a basic industry because workers in all other industries are dependent upon it for food. Also because the raw materials upon which many other industries depend, such as cotton, wool, flax, hemp, hides etc; are produced on the farm,

ranch or plantation. From the early stages of civilization and up to a few years ago, the farm contained most of our great industries in embryo. The farmer was at once weaver, tailor, shoemaker, carpenter, blacksmith, mason and tanner. At the present time such processes are highly specialized and have become great industries by themselves. As all industries are dependant on agriculture, so modern agriculture is dependant upon many other industries. Agricultural workers must have manufactured products such as clothes, shoes, lumber, machinery and tools. They must have transportation and fuel to move the crops and to bring the finished products to the farm. Agriculture is dependant upon manufacture, construction, communication and other industries as can be plainly seen.

Many raw materials are produced by agricultural workers. Not only wool, cotton, flax and silk which supply the world with its coarse or filmy fabrics, but cereals, fruit, nuts, tobacco, coffee, tea, milk, cheese, butter, eggs, lumber, resin, turpentine and countless other necessities of modern life are given to the world by their prolific labor.

WHAT AGRICULTURE IS

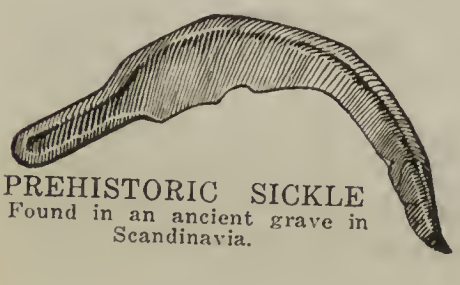
Agriculture is the art or science of cultivating the ground and raising crops and animals directly or indirectly necessary to the sustainance of the human family. It includes the rearing and management of live stock, tillage, husbandry and general farming. To a variable extent it includes the preparation of these products for the use of mankind. Agriculture is a basic industry because it is the industry out of which all other industries grew and upon which they are founded. It is the only industry that could, in case of extreme necessity, independently sustain the race.

The modern agricultural industry is a part of the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries. This department is divided into four general divisions which are outlined in the chart on the inside front cover of this work:

A, STOCK AND GENERAL FARMING; covering: farms, irrigation work, cotton, sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco plantations, live stock herding and raising, foul, bird, and bee raising, dairy farming, etc.

B, HORTICULTURE; orchards, gardens, vineyards, truck farms, green and hot houses, fruit farms, silk cultivation, etc.

C, FORESTRY AND LUMBERING; lumber workers in the woods and forests, saw mill workers, shingle weavers, sap collectors, game keepers, etc.



PREHISTORIC SICKLE
Found in an ancient grave in Scandinavia.

D, FISHERIES; fishers and fish keepers on oceans, lakes and rivers, oyster and clam bed keepers, pearls, corals and sponges, fish hatcheries, etc.

The above sketchy outline will give the reader some idea of the

immensity and scope of the agricultural industry. Each of the divisions mentioned will be covered by a booklet similar to this one. The purpose of the present work is to deal with the agricultural industry chiefly from the standpoint of the harvest workers—the agricultural proletariat—which largely grew out of and belongs in division A.

It is difficult for anyone to conceive of the magnitude of any of the huge modern industries. But each and every one of us should study the industry in which we are employed as well as its relationship to other industries. We should study industrial processes and industrial history so that we may understand the laws of social change in order to work intellgently for the betterment of our class and our selves. We should seek to organize our fellow workers into solid units—industrial unions—so that our class will be strategically intrenched to oppose the greed and power of the parasitical class that now claims the ownership of the earth and the means of production.

THE CORNERSTONE OF CIVILIZATION

Ever since Man appeared on this earth he has been compelled to "scratch for a living." In order that human beings might triumph in the struggle for life it was necessary to make reluctant Nature yield the things that sustain life. Man's first struggle was with the untamed wilderness. This old earth has always been a vast treasure house supplying abundantly all that mankind needs for nourishment and comfort. But the key to this treasure house is *knowledge.* The greatest tragedy of all time is the fact that as soon as the race developed the machinery that gave it mastery over nature these wonderful inventions were monopolized and held by a parasitical owning class which used them for private enrichment instead of public benefit.

Through countless centuries man has been compelled to tame the blind forces of Nature and discover their hidden secrets. Through countless centuries he learned to cultivate the soil that the fields might blossom beneath his touch and the earth be made beautiful and inhabitable. After ages of bitter struggle man has conquered the earth and make it subservient to his will. But another lesson has yet to be learned and another fight to be fought; the means of life, upon which the race depends for existence—the earth and the machinery of production and distribution—must be owned by the men and women who do the world's work. The last great struggle of the human race is not to subdue Nature, but to subdue the hideous institution of social parasitism that has been the curse of humanity from the time man first enslaved his fellow man.

Agriculture is the oldest of all lines of human endeavor. It is a primal and essential industry. Its purpose is to make the soil yield its riches to the children of men. All human life is dependent upon it. Agriculture feeds and clothes the world and contributes in countless ways to its wealth and welfare. Agriculture is the foundation of human society. It is the cornerstone of the century old edifice of civilization. Men might conceivably

INDIAN CULTIVATING CORN
This man is emaciated because the crops were poor. Earth yields bounteously only to modern methods. There is no excuse for poverty in a world that has developed the marvelous machinery of modern production.

live without the products of the mines or even without manufacturing, construction and transportation as we know them today. But the entire race would perish in a short time without the products of the soil and sea. These things alone sustain human life and make possible all forms of human endeavor.

Without organized agriculture the modern world would revert back to the screaming jungles of prehistoric times. Without agricultural products and draw materials all other industries would be compelled to stop, and their millions of workers knock at the door of Nature for their daily bread. Without agriculture builders could not build, weavers weave, bakers bake, politicians lie, or scientists and technicians wrestle with the problems of life. Without the food supplied by the harvest "stiff" the miner could not sink shafts and wring from the earth its mineral riches, the worker on the seas could not keep open the mighty highways of ocean traffic, the engineer could not stay at his throttle nor the "gandy dancer" by the road bed. If the agricultural worker did not attend to his daily task the pen of the professor and the sword of the soldier would fall from their hands. Even the capitalist newspapers would be unable to spit their customary venom in the face of the working class. Agriculture is the throbbing center of industry. It is to society what the heart is to the human organism. It pumps the red current of life, through its veins, the railroad and steamship lines, to the remotest corners of the earth. If agriculture stops, all stops. Without agriculture all things are impossible; with it nothing is impossible.

Napoleon once said that an army crawls on its belly. Not only is this true of armies but of human society as well. Unless the human race can feed itself it can do nothing else. International capitalism is industrial in form. Unconsciously it has knit the various nations together into one vast organism. Each industry is dependent upon, and interlocked with, all other industries. Labor organization, like capitalism, has become an international rather than a local affair. It is also an industrial rather than a craft affair. Capitalism is crumbling. The times are rotten ripe for change. Unless the world can continue to feed itself when the great change comes there will be chaos. The towering cities that dot the earth today will succumb to starvation. The more the old order of things disintegrates the more

evident it becomes that Industrial Union Councils, or Soviets, are the cells of the new society. Agriculture is the great mother of all industries. She nourishes the races of the earth with the milk of her fecund breasts. Some day, in the not distant future, the city workers of the nation are going to look to the men and women of agriculture to save the world from starvation and destruction. Will they be organized to do so? The purpose of this little booklet is to point the way.

THE MAN WITH THE HOE

From the famous painting by Francois Millet. "It is the man with the hoe, and not the fabled Atlas, who has always carried the world on his shoulders."

MAN'S FIRST GREAT STRUGGLE

People of ancient times looked upon the growth of foodstuffs with religious awe. Tokens were hung upon the limbs of fruit trees, that they might bear abundantly. The fields were invoked to yield bounteous harvests and the flocks to become prolific. Rain and sun were approached with prayers to touch the black earth with magic that the cereals might blossom forth and the people be saved from famine. The old Egyptians welcomed the annual innundation of the Nile with imposing ceremonies.

Even in remote times men made festivals of the days when the crops were in, the graneries full to overflowing and the grain, oil and wine were put aside against a day of possible want. Here in America our Pilgrim fathers made the occasion of their first successful harvest a day of universal Thanksgiving. One of the most impressive monuments in the New World is the Sea Gull Statue in Salt Lake City, erected by the Mormon pioneers in memory of the wheat crop that saved the first colony from starvation. In future days—when we have *real* Civilization—men will erect statues in honor of the workers in the world's industries instead of politicians, exploiters and uniformed murderers as is done today.

The first great struggle of the human race was to conquer the primordial wilderness and make the world a fitting place to live in. The next and final struggle of the ages will be to free mankind from the domination of a class of parasites and robbers that holds the working class in wage slavery and makes the entire human family pay tribute to their greed.

NEW METHODS AND NEW SYSTEMS

The thing that distinguishes our modern social system from all preceeding periods is *industry*. Present day society is industrial in character. All history has been a long series of class struggles between the possessionless workers and the propertied exploiters. Today the struggle is no longer between serf and lord, but between the idle owners of the earth and the machinery of production and the workers who must have access to these things in order to live.

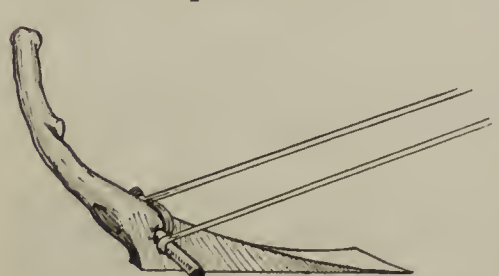
The present industrialism of steel, concrete, steam and electricity is a comparatively new development. It may be that some of the mighty works of ancient civilization were created by mechanical means similar to those in use today. One can hardly conceive of such colossal enterprises being the result of slaves, oxen and ideas. But if the ancient world had such machinery history has failed to inform us of the fact. For all practical purposes we must assume that the one industry that dominated all others up to the period of capitalism is agriculture.

It is a scientific fact that the way in which men get their living determines the form of their social and family groupings, their manner of thinking and even their conceptions of right and wrong. The tools men use are the things that mould their minds —in the mass. Agriculture has been the backbone of the world's industries during the greater part of human history.

For that reason we shall trace the agricultural industry and its workers across the centuries in order to show the part they have played and will play in the drama of human events.

Industrialism is the dynamic—the driving force back of present-day social development. But it was not so in the old days, before the gigantic machinery of modern production came into use. At one time this force was a fish-snare, then the bow and arrow; afterwards the plow.

The changing methods of producing the necessities of life have brought about all the great changes in human society. Down to the day when the serfdom of the feudal system was replaced by the wage-slavery of capitalism, agriculture almost exclusively moulded the destinies of the race. The era of machine production changed all this. Thanks to the invention of modern machine production, agriculture has become only one of several important industries. These industries are now interlocked and interdependent. All are equally necessary to the upkeep of the human race.



ANCIENT PLOW

The original is in the new Industrial Museum at Petrograd.

The machine era is a comparatively new thing. It appeared only yesterday. The greatest "revolution" the world ever saw was the change from hand to machine production. During the brief existence of the machine era it has brought about more

HARVEST SLAVES OF 2200 YEARS AGO

These men were branded like cattle. They were not supposed to be better than beasts. Each one was compelled to wear an iron collar around his neck. The ancient method of harvesting was to cut only the head from the grain. This was carried to the busy threshing floor in baskets. Many agricultural bosses of today would like nothing better than to have their wage slaves in the very same condition of servitude.

changes in human life than all the centuries that preceeded it. Machinery not only speeds up production; it also speeds up the processes of social change. A decade of capitalism is more pregnant with progress than a dozen centuries of feudalism. A few years ago men would not have dared to dream that one generation would see as much history made as we have seen since the beginning of the world war. But things are only just getting started. Every passing day brings the capitalist system closer to its inevitable doom. The machine process is the thing that enriched the parasites and dispossessed the producers. The machine process is also the thing that is preparing the industries for the workers to take charge and hastening the day when the boss shall don overalls.

PREHISTORIC MAN, THE FISHER AND HUNTER

Our prehistoric ancestors, living amidst the hostile environment of the younger world, were only slightly above the brute in mental development. They were considerably inferior in physical strength. But the stone-age man made up for weakness and cowardice with a cunning peculiar to himself. This cunning, and the awful compulsion of his environment, led him to invent the stone ax, the fish-snare and the bow and arrow. Each of these ingenious inventions worked great changes in his mode of life. Each brought about a revolution which completely changed the old form of society.

Man was originally a fruit, nut and root-eating animal. He was a vegetarian before he learned how to use the weapons that

made it possible for him to become carnivorous. His teeth, even today, are the teeth of vegetable-eating rather than flesh-eating animals. Man belongs to, what anthropologists call, the order of Primates. His nearest relations in the animal world, are the orang-utang, the chimpanzee, the gorilla and the gibbon. The teeth of all these including man, resemble far more the teeth of the grass-eating horse than those of the flesh-eating tiger.

At first the human species took its food where it was to be found. Only by slow degrees did man learn to cultivate the things he needed for his daily nourishment. The beginnings of agriculture, date from an incredibly remote period when the hairy, half-human anthropoid first took the trouble to tear up the weeds that hindered the growth of a sheltered bed of stringy carrots or a hidden patch of tender wheat. In the ages that followed man learned how to plow and plant and harvest. But there were many tools to invent and many processes to master by experimentation before he could settle down and derive his living directly from the soil. First of all he had to learn to be faithful to a given section of the earth's surface instead of wandering from place to place.. The primary condition of human progress is that men shall permanently settle and till the soil—in other words to cultivate the art of agriculture. Without this all other things are impossible. Agriculture and civilization are plants that will not flourish in the hut of the hunter or the tent of the nomad.

ORGANIZATION, THE NEED OF ALL AGES

But the first thing men did on this earth was to wander. Food would not come to them and so they had to go forth in search of food. But it was not safe for men to forage alone. The primitive jungles were teeming with wild and ferocious beasts —just as hungry as the men themselves. The "gang" or clan was man's protection. Numbers was his only defense. This led from the family group to the development of the phratry, the tribe, the confederation of tribes and finally, the nation. Solidarity and organization meant as much to the prehistoric savage as they do to the wage slaves under modern capitalism. Like the savage the modern worker must learn that men who cannot hope to survive do not band together in the face of a hostile environment. In the development of the new society the workers in industry must learn to consolidate small groups into large groups, craft groups into industrial groups, isolated unions into One Big Union, the workers of one nation with the workers of all

THE GREAT GRAND-DADDY OF THE PITCH-FORK

Peasants in Greece still use crooked branches for the purpose of "piching bundles."

nations. History repeats itself and the law of co-operative defense holds good in the smoking industrial centers of today just as it did in the leafy wilderness of the dawn of time.

This method of separating the grain from the straw was in use two thousand years ago.

Not having invented the implements needed to cultivate the land nor having developed the intelligence to use them, primitive man found his chief sustenance, not from the soil, but from the rivers and sea. This was the line of least resistance. Also, just as today, it was probably far more enjoyable. So fishing became the chief occupation of the biped known as man. Human beings in the mass learned to fish before they learned anything else. For centuries they followed this pursuit to the exclusion of all others. During this period the human family spread up and down the sea coasts and inland along the courses of rivers and streams into the very heart of the savage wilderness. Scientists today trace the course of their travels by the huge shell-mounds that accumulated around the camps during centuries of ceaseless migration. These shell mounds remain to this day, in Scandanavia and elsewhere. Many crude stone implements used by prehistoric man have been found amongst them.

THE BIRTH OF AGRICULTURE

Then came the invention of the bow and arrow. This was one of the great turning points in human history. The bow and arrow worked a revolution. They made hunting, instead of fishing, the basis of human society. The savage tribes were no longer compelled to follow the shores of ocean and rivers, living in constant fear of the menace of the wild beasts of the inland. Men could now forage far into the forests, defying animals before whom they had heretofore fled in terror. Game became a part of man's daily diet. Fruits, nuts and vegetables might also be enjoyed more frequently. Settlements were established in places hitherto inaccessible. Cliff-colonies were not only more comfortable than the river "squatting places", but they were far more secure. Cliff dwellings became a more or less permanent headquarters for the hunters. These rocky abiding places made possible, not only the invention of agriculture, but also the institution of private property with its far-reaching effects upon family and tribal relations and the future development of society.

Animals that had been hunted for their meat were now captured, tamed and domisticated. It was found to be more profitable to breed and herd animals than to hunt and kill them. Sheep, cattle and swine were soon raised in large numbers. Entire races became herders and the patriarchal period of human history became possible. Also the primitive settlement made possible the first crude attempts at growing things. It was discovered, no doubt with surprise and awe, that those wonderful things known as seeds, when planted in the still more wonderful soil would, by some mysterious process, multiply themselves a hundred fold.

So it happened that the first wild cereals and vegetables were sown or planted in the rocky patch of ground adjoining the cave tenement. These were increased by means of care and cultivation. There is no doubt but women instead of men deserve the credit for the birth of agriculture. Men were probably too busy with the hunting of wild beasts to have time for such "trifles". But agriculture, like the bow and arrow, was destined to work another revolution in human society. And, whether men or women who were responsible for the bow and arrow and the planting of seeds, the world owes them an everlasting debt of gratitude. No doubt they were hailed as "agitators" and ridiculed and persecuted for not being content with the ways of their fathers. It is possible that their fellow cave-men wanted to deport them at once, or brain them with a trusty stone ax for the crime of disturbing the tranquility of the tribal life with a New Idea. But new ideas have a way of winning out in the long run.

The bow and arrow proved to the incredulous horde that the frail striking arm of a man could be lengthened a thousand times. After a while it was adopted as a matter of course. The crooked sticks, that the slant-browed cave-women used to prepare the ground for planting, proved the veracity of the old saying, "if you tickle the earth with a plow it will laugh with a harvest." The conservative brethren of the hairy folk finally convinced themselves that their survival depended upon adopting

THE FREE HARVEST WORKER OF GAUL
The aneient Gauls harvested on the eommunal plan. They invented machinery to help make their work lighter. The man in the picture knocks the heads of the grain as they come between the comb-like teeth whieh projeet from the box. In Rome slaves were so cheap that labor saving maehinery "didn't pay".

"modern" methods in the struggle for life. Then they came to look upon the crooked stick as the most natural and necessary thing in the world. Probably it was much the same in the days of the cave-man as it is today.

BREEDING SLAVE REVOLTS IN ROME

Entire districts were sometimes driven into slavery by the Romans. The slave market was the backbone of ancient commerce. Before the fall of Rome, 1800 men owned all the known world. Ancient slaves not only organized themselves into unions, but they rebelled.

Herding and farming were the chief industries of barbarism and the ancient civilizations. Scientists are divided as to which one was first in the march of human progress. They were probably developed at the same time in different parts of the world. But the point is immaterial for the purposes of this booklet.

PRIMITIVE COMMUNISM AND CONSANGUINE COLLECTIVISM

In primitive times there was no such thing as the private ownership of land. In fact most everything excepting articles of personal use and adornment were the joint property of the tribe. The earth belonged to everybody and everybody had an equal right to take enough of its riches to sustain himself and loved ones. It was not necessary to ask for a "job" in order to keep from starving as is the case today. Slavery, serfdom and industrial servitude came later on, with what men have chosen to call, "civilization."

Scientists refer to this period as Primitive Communism—primitive because it existed so long ago, and communism because the earth was owned by the people in common and not by a few idle parasites. Today, in contrast, a few corporations can speak of "our" forests, "our" mines, "our" mountains, "our" railroads. They even truthfully refer to the earth as "our" earth. The wealth of the modern world is concentrating constantly into fewer and fewer hands. The capitalist drones have no other dream but that they and their kind shall live on the backs of labor to the end of time. But even our most benighted forebears had sense enough to know that private property of the means of life was an idea that could not be tolerated. Only by a long and bloody process of expropriation did the master class establish its claim to the ownership of the earth and the boundless products of fields, mines and factories. The most hopeful sign of our age is that this adventitious claim is being challenged today as at no other time in history.

After the first barbarian tribes had given up their nomadic life of fishing and hunting they began, more and more, to settle permanently on the land. For one thing the increase in population made this step necessary. Tribes living in a wild or semi-wild state require a great deal of territory whereas the cultivation of the earth, by increasing the productivity of labor, makes it possible for a comparatively small area to sustain a large population. The small truck farms around Paris, for example, by cultivating every inch of ground, supply millions of people with all the green stuff they require.

The idea of property was born when certain tribes settled and developed certain territories claiming them as their own. Living as wandering hunters or fishermen the land was considered of little value. But when these tribes began to moisten the soil with the sweat of their labor they began to claim it as their very own. The title was not vested in individuals, however. The land was worked and owned collectively by the entire people. The tribe was in reality one great family, and so this period is called by scientists, Family or Consanguine Collectivism. This form of ownership endured for centuries. It was finally broken up by a class of greedy land monopolists. The workers were then reduced to slavery.

PRIVATE PROPERTY AND SLAVERY

The slave owners of Rome gained possession of the entire ancient world, but by so doing they destroyed themselves. In Scotland and Ireland the old Clans could not be broken up until all the common lands had been forcibly appropriated by the conquerors. In England, during the Middle Ages, the people were robbed of their lands only after a long and bitter struggle, France and Italy were scourged with war and pestilence in order that landlords might steal the property of the poor. The Village Communities in India are at present hot-beds of rebellion against British rule and capitalist ownership. In Mexico the Indian communes are rallying points of a movement whose watch-word is the deathless slogan of Bakunine "Land and Liberty." In free Russia the village **Mir** is at present recognized as an integral part of the Soviet government.

Egyptian slaves winnowing wheat by hand.
(From an old wall-painting.)

The capitalist system has divorced the people from the earth as well as from the machinery of production. Land, like all other forms of wealth, has found its way into the hands of an ever decreasing number of idle and arrogant "owners." Only by paying tribute to these drones can men have access to the soil. The private ownership of the earth is now a fact. The vast majority of people must yield up a large portion

of the product of their labor for the mere privilege of living on the earth and keeping a roof over their heads.

A THRESHING FLOOR IN MESOPOTAMIA
Showing the ancient method still in use in parts of the old world.

Agriculture was a great step forward in the evolution of the race. But it brought in its train the curse of the ages, Slavery. It was the private ownership of land that led to the enslavement of the workers. Just as primitive men found it profitable to tame and make beasts of burden of animals they had previously hunted and eaten, so ancient men found it profitable to tame and make beasts of burden of human enemies they had previously captured in battle and killed. It must be remembered that primitive savages had the cannibalistic custom of eating the slain enemies of the tribe. They only discarded the custom when they found out that it paid them better to put their captives to work in the fields. The strong or crafty men of ancient times, by hook or crook, gained possession of both land and slaves that belonged to their tribesmen and, in a short time, the tribesmen themselves were enslaved to the self-same masters. Private property was the father of human slavery. It is also the father of the great struggle of the classes that has written with red the history of the race. This is how it happened, a long, long time ago, that the free agricultural workers of ancient days were transformed into slaves and compelled to work almost naked in the blistering fields branded like cattle and with iron collars around their necks.

THE GOLDEN AGE

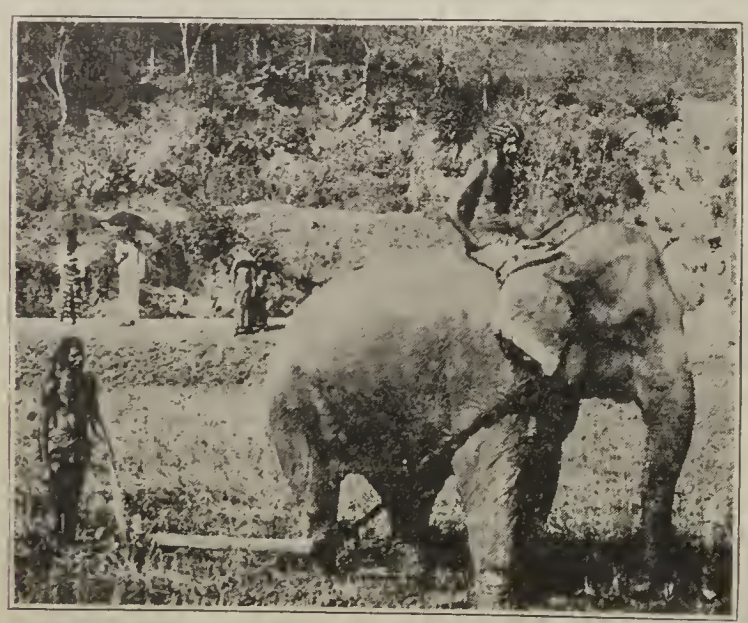
In many respects the period of Primitive Communism was the happiest the human race ever enjoyed. Men and women had "ganged up" in clans, tribes etc. for mutual protection and mutual aid against their natural enemies. Primitive Communism was the "simple life" in the fullest meaning of the term. Living close to Nature, the wants of men and women were easily supplied from her never-failing abundance. Master and slave were unknown and exploitation undreamed of. Woman instead of being the drudge of man was, if anything, his superior. The line of inheritance was on the material side and children took the mother's name instead of the father's. Social parasitism could not take root in this elemental system of social arrangement. There were no such things as theft, child labor or prostitution. The law of the tribe was the law of collective self-preservation. It was not necessary to conscript warriors to defend the

family hearth because it was to the interest of each member of the tribe to fight for the tribe when occasion demanded. Wars were not fought to enrich a coterie of capitalist imperialists as is the case today. The government of the tribe was the tribal council in which each member had an equal voice.

Poverty was unknown as long as game was plentiful or crops successful. Each produced according to his ability and consumed according to his needs. Experience had taught the collectivity to put by, in the graneries, from one to three years food supply as a precaution against famine. Not only were hunting and fishing tribal efforts, but dwellings were constructed and fields tilled and irrigated in the same manner. The legendary "Golden Age" that haunts the histories of every race under the sun is a racial memory of the freedom and simplicity that existed before human slavery cast its sinister shadow over the world.

WAR-CAPTIVES AND POOR RELATIONS

When man first seized the fields from his fellows he automatically forced them to labor on the land they no longer owned. The class struggle started the very first day one man lashed another into servitude. Scientists state that this process of enslavement started within the tribes as well as by reason of the degradation of captives taken in battle. This happened shortly after the permanent settlement had made possible the accumulation of herds, flocks, land and other private property. When men acquired property they wanted to be sure their sons would inherit it. The family grouping was altered so that children took the father's name instead of the mother's. The line of inheritance was switched over to the paternal side. Away back in this remote period men decided that the first born son was the logical heir. So it happened that the first born was respected and venerated and waited upon by his less fortunate kinsmen. His younger brothers were reduced to a condition of slavery.



CREATING DIVIDENDS FOR BRITISH CAPITALISTS IN INDIA

Hot work and poor pay. The Hindu agricultural workers, both in India and the United States, will some day be organized in I. U. 110.

As the tribes confederated and the confederations grouped themselves into nations

there was a great deal of fighting and warfare. The possessing class desired land then just as they desire markets today. Ever since the advent of private property wars have been inevitable. They became bigger and more terrible as the contending groups of exploiters became more powerful. From the first tribal battle to the world-war of yesterday every war has been a fight for plunder. And it is largely for plunder—land, markets and slaves that all the wars of the world have been fought. Through countless centuries the earth has been drenched with human blood because one group of titled or industrial parasites quarreled with another group to see which of them would suck the life blood of labor. And always the rich and powerful have been the victors and the poor and persecuted have paid the awful price. Wars are inherent in the present capitalist system. They will continue until the system has been overthrown and the workers of the world take possession of the earth and the machinery of production. International peace can only come with international brotherhood. Both of these are possible only in a form of society which is free from class divisions and in which private property of the means of life have been discarded in favor of Industrial Communism.

SLAVES AND PATRICIANS

The idle aristocrats of the ancient world were proud of being parasites. They considered it shameful for a freeman to soil his white fingers with useful labor. The predatory class has placed a stigma upon toil that exists to the present time. Each stratum of "scissorbill" society, no matter how lowly its position, seeks to ape the dress and mannerisms of the class above. Revolutionary workers, however, have learned to be proud of being producers. They believe that idleness is disgraceful and social parasitism a crime. In order that the patricians of Rome and Greece might luxuriate in splendour it was necessary for them to have thousands of bondsmen at their beck and call.

Slaves were needed in ever increasing numbers. Whole communities from conquered territory were degraded to slavery. In Eprirus, for instance, 70 cities were sacked and 150,000 agricultural workers sold into bondage. After the fall of Carthage almost the entire population suffered a like fate. The slave trade became a thriving and thoroughly respectable business. Not content with accumulating wealth from the labor of unfortunate working people the ancient patricians made great profits from the sale of their bodies as well. The buying, selling and bartering of human truck-animals became international. The proud edifice of Roman civilization and Roman law was built up on the tortured bodies of millions of enslaved men and women.

The condition of agricultural workers in ancient days was just what might be expected of a society in which "wealth accumulates and men decay." The master class, in seeking to degrade a subject class, always reaches the lowest degree of degradation itself. The truth of this statement is evidenced as much by the perverse and degenerate idle rich of present times

AGRICULTURAL SERFS, ENGLAND,
ELEVENTH CENTURY
Showing style of implements used under feudalism.
(From an old wood-cut.)

as by the meretricious overlords of twenty centuries ago.

In Egypt, Greece and Rome the workers were compelled to work daily in the hot fields, under the watchful eyes of brutal bosses and in constant dread of punishment for violation of odious rules and regulations. If rebellious or unruly they were lashed with the "scorpion",—a cat 'o nine tails, with a pellet of bronze at the end of each leather thong. The patrician "owners" also had the right arbitrarily to inflict capital punishment upon his human "property." Men, women and children were herded into miserable hovels when not needed on the job. Slaves were fed the coarsest of food. They were not permitted to stand upright in the presence of their "superiors." They were not permitted to wear their hair long, to acquire an education nor to practice the manly arts. The Roman nobleman was permitted to have children by any or all of his female subjects. Their clothing consisted of a few strips of dog-skin, sheep-skin or rags. Slaves were not permitted to participate in public affairs or religious ceremonies. The fact is they were not considered to be human, nor to have human souls, human minds or human feelings. They were "earth-born"—like cattle. The pure-blooded masters, on the contrary, were considered the offspring of divinity. Their basest instincts were given free rein. They were greedy, lascivious, and brutal and militantly idle. Most of the slaves were owned by patricians, but many were the possession of the state. These latter were hired out to individual contractors under a contract similar to the one used at present by Samuel Gompers and Company which permits worker to be parceled out to exploiters for specified lengths of time.

SLAVERY TRIUMPHANT

In sparta slaves were called *helots* and they formed a very considerable portion of the population. Whenever these *helots* became too unruly or too numerous they were killed off by armed bands of young aristocrats acting under orders of the *ephori*, or overseers. These "100%" Spartans, no doubt following the Roman dictum, "the more slaves the more enemies," would sneak out into the rural districts and assassinate the slaves with sharp daggers. The cowardly murderers, far from being

punished for their crimes, were commended and rewarded. American Legion members are similarly praised at the present time whenever they break strikes, raid union halls or try to lynch union workingmen as they did at Centralia.

It is not to be supposed that the agricultural workers of the Primitive Communism permitted themselves to be dispossessed without a struggle. The fact is it took many years to fasten the fetters of slavery upon the free and proud people of the tribes. In the beginning the class struggle broke out between slave merchants and free agricultural workers, afterwards between the land monopolists and their slaves, finally between the arrogant absentee grandees of Greece and Rome and the slave class as a whole.

In Attica, during the third and fourth centuries B. C.—the days of "the glory that was Greece"—three quarters of the population was enslaved. In Athens, when Grecian culture was at its height, 34,000 freemen were supported in idleness by a slave population of over 300,000. Nor can it be said that the pampered drones of Athens are responsible for the incomparable legacy of Grecian art and architecture. Phidias, the greatest sculptor of that or any other age, was a descendant of slaves. Xenocles, the master mason, who designed the famous temple of the Elusinian mysteries, was also of the poorest parentage. Other names might be mentioned if space permitted.

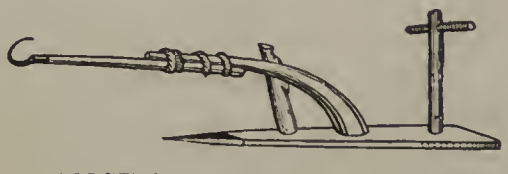
As late as 196, B. C. the land-grabbers of Rome were attempting to lock out the free agricultural workers of Etruria and supplant them with slave labor. The parasites achieved their purpose only after most of the Etrurian population had been put to the sword or crucified. The thrilling history of Vercingetorix gives ample evidence of the unwillingness of ancient Gallic freemen to bend their necks to the yoke of Roman exploitation.

World history, from the standpoint of the revolutionary worker, should recount the story of the world's workers and the world's industries. The great age-long struggle of the producing class to shake off the curse of social parasitism is the thing that will interest the happy generation who will live under real civilization—the Free Society of the future.

History as it is now written is not history at all. Ancient military despotism and modern industrial autocracy have recorded merely the brutality of kings, the treachery of politicians, the hypocrisy of reformers and the shameful blindness of the masses. But the great human story of the great majority—the humble and despised workers has been ignored. The man who said, "history is only a lie sworn to," must have had this fact in mind.

THE HARVEST STIFF OF ANCIENT DAYS

Agricultural work has been looked down upon by the lily-fingered gentry of the idle classes, and agricultural workers despised throughout the ages as "menial" and "low"; yet the human race



ANCIENT CHINESE PLOW

PLOWING IN MODERN SICILY

This is a recent picture. The method of plowing has changed but little since the days of Eunus and Athenion.

never could have survived without such labor and such men. Theirs are the hands that have nourished alike the brawn of the builder and the brain of the dreamer of dreams. Agricultural work is the most ancient and the most honorable of all work. It is the "man with the hoe" and not the fabled Atlas who has always carried the world on his shoulders.

Harvest workers in all countries and all times are surprisingly alike. They swelter today in the hot fields of golden grain just as they did two thousand years ago, and longer. The implements they use are different at present, it is true, but the sweat, the backache and the old, old spirit of revolt are identical.

Few modern harvest workers are aware of the fact that the branded slaves who garnered the Roman crops of twenty centuries ago were organized into unions, went on strike, slept in the "jungles" and sang rebel songs, much as the harvest "stiff" is doing at present. But these things are true.

The chattal slave of classical days was not migratory. In fact he usually went about with an iron collar and a chain. But he was a rebel; and he has written a page of history that Bourgeois historians have seen fit to ignore. Labor disturbances have always been unpleasant things for social parasites to consider.

Few people know that the strikes and revolts of ancient agricultural slaves were so huge and so powerful that they shook the proud aristocracy of Rome to its foundations and, eventually, helped to shake it down. Few people realize that the harvest "stiffs" of bygone days waged mighty war-fare against the hated institution of slavery and, in places, actually emancipated themselves from its yoke. What is more, they forced the release of thousands of their fellow workers from prison; confiscated great estates from their parasitical "owners," and "made the boss don overalls." At one time 300,000 of them marched against Rome, the vicious center of the ancient slave market, and caused the mighty to tremble in their seats of power.

The "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" did not originate in Russia, but in the island of Sicily—the granery of the ancient world—one hundred and forty years before the rebel hobo known as Jesus is supposed to have been born. On one occasion,

under the leadership of a runaway slave named Eunus, this dictatorship endured for a dozen years and successfully withstood the strongest armies the landed aristocrats of Rome could send against it.

HARVESTING IN NORTHERN AFRICA
The reaping hook is still used, just as it was in the days of the Caesars. The grain is either threshed by hand or with oxen.

ANCIENT LABOR UNIONS

There were countless slave strikes and uprisings in ancient days, but only a meagre few have been recorded. Our limited space makes it necessary for us to confine ourselves to the most spectacular of these. Old inscriptions and fragments of history have proved that agricultural and other workers were organized long ago as 1000 years B. C. In ancient Greece these unions were called *therasoi*, in Rome *collegium*. These unions were of three varieties, brotherhoods, burial societies and communist. All were, no doubt the product of the old communal mode of life. At first they were used by the free workers against slave hunters; afterwards by the slaves against their "owners". The active resistance to the raids of slave merchants, and the subsequent displacement of free labor on vast estates, that had been stolen from the common land, gave rise to much discontent and many uprisings. These occured ever more frequently as the aristocrats seized the lands and sought to break up the unions. The discontent reached a climax in 58, B. C., when the Roman Senate sought to pass a law outlawing labor organization. During this time a series of gigantic labor disturbances swept great portions of Asia Minor, Italy and the whole of Sicily. It was during this period that the gladiator Spartacus made his gallant stand for human freedom. The Spartacan movement in Germany, of which the martyred Liebknecht was the head, was named after this heroic rebel.

It must be remembered that slaves in those days were branded like cattle. Like beasts they were not supposed to have human souls or human feelings; and like beasts they were compelled to toil for their "owners". They were in the condition

that the master class of today would like to see all modern wage workers. But these men were closer to the period of primitive communism than we are, and the memory of freedom was fresher in their minds. The efforts of the patricians to drive them into slavery and to keep them there were always resented and always resisted.

A REVOLT AGAINST THE SLAVE TRADE

In ancient Spain, 149, B. C. a great revolt against the Roman slave trade occurred. This uprising is connected with the name of Variathus, a rebel sheep herder. The slave market had made terrible inroads upon the population of agrarian Spain whose sturdy population was admirably adapted for agricultural labor upon the great estates of the Roman grandees. So the spearmen of Rome were dispatched thither to carry off the strongest and best into bondage. This plan worked flawlessly for a while.

Variathus rebelled against the cruel custom from the time he was a young man. The Romans looked upon him as an agitator, his fellow slaves as an efficient and daring leader. No doubt, like Spartacus, he was an organizer for the *collegium* of agricultural workers. Variathus kept himself out of the clutches of "the law", bided his time; and when he struck, he struck hard.

Thousands of Spanish workers were slaving in foreign harvest fields. Many were sweating under the lash of tyranny at home. After the battle of Pydna the Romans sacked or destroyed seventy cities and took a hundred and fifty thousand free workers into captivity. Variathus continued to agitate until Spain was fairly sizzling with rebellion. A Roman general named Galba perpetrated a massacre in order to intimidate the population. It had the opposite effect. Variathus, who fortunately had escaped, marshalled the agricultural workers into an orderly force and told them the hour had come to choose between resistance or slavery. They chose to resist. He then proceeded to drill and discipline his forces.

When the next slave hunting expedition reached the shores of sunny Spain it was met by a determined host of sun burned huskies armed with swords made out of sickles and spears fashioned from sythe blades. The proud invaders were ingloriously defeated.

During the following twenty years Rome sent six great armies of Spain. Each in turn was annihilated. Slavery was a thing of the past. The fertile fields of Lusitania were tilled by free communal labor as they had been for centuries past. The black cloud of slavery had vanished.

Eventually the rebel sheep herder was murdered by Roman stool pigeons from his own ranks. But the slave market had been cheated of hundreds of thousands of victims by his twenty years of valient struggle.

THE "DICTATORSHIP" IN SICILY

The story of Eunus, the Syrian runaway slave, and the great revolt of agricultural workers in Sicily, is one of the strangest and most romantic in history. Sicily, in ancient days was noted

for its wheat. Oil and wine were produced also, but wheat was the chief product. From it much of the bread of the then known world was made. Sicily was a place of great natural fertility and beauty. Even today travelers state the rich, spicy odor of the island can be detected at sea, miles before its shores are sighted. But, in the days of Eunus, land monopoly and slavery had made a hell out of what should have been a paradise. Every inhabitant not of noble blood was a slave. The possessing class was becoming more greedy and vicious all the time. Also the wealth of the island was being concentrated into constantly fewer and fewer hands. The city of Leontini, for example had but 88 property owners, Mutice but 188, Herbita but 257. Other large cities counted its property owners by the dozens. There were absentee Roman land owners also. The main part of the population was composed of slaves—mostly discontented slaves.

All histories state that Eunus was a union man. Even in Syria he belonged to the *thiasos* of Dionysian artists, which is the ancient name for actor's union. Eunus' "stunt" as an entertainer was fire spitting and wonder working by means of conjurer's tricks. The Romans looked upon him as a dangerous agitator, but the agricultural slaves considered him a messiah. He was an organizer for the *eranos* or union of agricultural workers in Sicily.

A harvest strike started near the city of Enna over demands for better clothing and more food. The rich land owner, Damophilus by name, warmed the hides of the strike committee with a "scorpion" and sent them back to the fields.

This action, characteristic of the greed-blinded exploiters of all ages, was the signal for a strike. This strike grew into one of the greatest labor rebellions the world ever saw. The outraged slaves, after working summary vengeance upon Damophilus and his equally cruel wife, took to the mountains and "jungled up" in the vine-clad security of the craggy heights. News of the exploit spread rapidly and soon the agricultural workers of the entire island had downed tools and joined the revolt. It was then that Eunus, the agitator and worker of wonders, took command.

His first step was to urge the rebels to trample human slavery underfoot, appropriate the estates of the idle land owners and build up a free society on the old communal plan of common ownership and equal labor. One after another these estates were taken over. Their rich and idle "owners" were uniformly put to work or thrown in prison if they refused.

CLASS WAR PRISONERS RELEASED

The jails of the day were called *ergastuli.* These were underground work houses similar to the "solitary" at Leavenworth where Uncle Sam punishes workingmen for the crime of thinking. The *ergastuli* of Sicily were full of recaptured runaway slaves and other workers who had committed offenses against the law-buttressed landowners. No doubt they contained their quota of union organizers, just as do the prisons of

"BROADCASTING" IN THE GOOD OLD DAYS

Ten acres a day was considered a very good day's work.

today. These grewsome holes were of course hated by the workers. One of the first things they did after the revolt was to batter down the iron doors and free the inmates. Sixty thousand slaves, mostly class war prisoners were released in this manner to serve in the rebel forces. It is not reported that the rebels in ancient Sicily used lawyers to force the release of fellow workers unjustly imprisoned.

A great number of freedmen had become tramps owing to the labor market being continually flooded with slaves. These joined the revolt also. The rebellion grew in strength and numbers. Small cultivators, willing to work, were spared, but the great landed parasites were summarily dealt with. During the following years most of Sicily was farmed co-operatively by the agricultural workers for themselves and their own class. Work or fight was the order of the day.

The liberation movement was unquestionably successful. It gained in numbers and power every moment. Two great uprisings, in different parts of the island, occured in rapid succession; one led by Achaeus, the other by Cleon—both slaves. The combined forces of the emancipated agricultural workers now numbered 200,000. Sicily was conquored from the center to the sea. The flames of discontent even spread over the Mediterranian to Italy, and an extensive uprising occurred under the leadership of a man named Aristonicus.

The tryanical Roman Senate sent army after army to crush the "servile" rebellion in Sicily. Year after year each in turn was put to utter defeat. Free territory was kept inviolate. Adding a touch of bitter irony to the work of administration and warfare, Eunus and his brother entertainers of the ancient Actor's Union would give mock theatricals for the benefit of captured patricians. These arrogant aristocrats were taunted with a stage show contrasting the old order of things with the new. The sight of branded slaves enjoying the good things of life while their owners and overseerers were toiling under the lash in the hot fields must have cut them keenly.

The dictatorship of the proletariat had now endured ten years when the Roman landlords decided to crush the movement at all costs. An overwhelming army was massed together and, after a long and bloody fight, the agricultural workers were de-

THE MODERN WAY OF PLANTING GRAIN
With these wonderful machines it is an easy matter for one man to cover 50 acres of ground in a day. This invention has multiplied the labor productivity of one man 5 times. This does not mean that the man who operates it gets that much more for his labor, however.

feated and driven back into slavery. 20,000 of them were nailed to crosses on the crags of Enna. The dictatorship of the master class was again established. Eunus died in a vermin infested dungeon in Rome. But the slaves had enjoyed ten years of freedom and they were not yet crushed as we shall shortly see.

"CITIZENS OF THE SUN"

The revolutionary movement was temporarily put down in Sicily but in Italy it swept onward with fresh impetus. The old Roman Licinian law made it a crime for any landlord to own more than 500 acres of land, but Roman landlords thought no more or the law than does the American Copper trust. It had been disregarded for a long time. A liberal Roman statesman named Gracchus tried to restore the law and force the idle parasites to release their grip on the throat of the nation. He was mobbed and killed on the streets of Rome by the infuriated land owners. Then the reactionary Senate, in true J. Mitchell Palmer style, resumed the work of breaking up the labor organizations.

Pergamus, in Asia Minor, was acquired by Rome in 133, B. C. Its public lands were confiscated from the people and turned over to Roman landlords. Free labor was supplanted by slaves. A revolt was the result.

This time the rebel forces were led by a man named Aristonicus. His declared purpose was to do away with human slavery and establish a free society that would light up the darkened world like the sun. The hitherto despised and branded helots were to be called *heliopolitai*—"citizens of the sun". All workers were to have equal opportunity and there was to be liberty and prosperity for everyone. All were to work together and keep the fruits of their labor for the enjoyment of the producing class alone.

It was a noble dream and valiantly fought for. But Rome was once again too powerful. Four years after the outbreak of the revolt, in the year 129, B. C., we hear of Aristonicus being strangled to death in a Roman dungeon. Aristonicus was acclaimed by the slaves of the day as a deliverer, but history has

recorded little of him save his great dream and the story of his tragic death.

SICILY STRIKES AGAIN

The scene now shifts once more to sunny Sicily. For twenty-eight years after the death of Eunus, slavery flourished again in the fertile fields of "the granery of the world." The unions had not been uprooted and the greed and cruelty of the land owners had grown apace. Slavery once more became unendurable. The militant agricultural workers retained the memory of their ten glorious years of freedom long after the ghastly price had been forgotten.

This time the uprising was precipitated by 800 runaway slaves who had found sanctuary in a secluded woodland temple from the wrath of their masters. When the story spread abroad other slaves joined them in crowds of a hundred or two at a time. In a short while the entire island was once more aflame with revolt. Rome immediately sent her legions to the scene, but they were harassed and defeated by the slaves fighting in guerrilla fashion. A great supply of arms and war material was amassed in this manner. A slave named Salvius had organized an army of 22,000 cavalry and foot, in the south of the island. The great estates were again taken over and the *ergastuli* again opened for recruits. In the western part of the island a huge strike broke out under the leadership of the man who was to be the real leader of the rebellion. A sun-burned and branded agricultural slave named Athenion had been elected leader, and thousands of slaves left their hateful labor and joined his standard at once. Athenion, though of humble origin, exhibited the rarest qualities of statesmanship and military genius from the start. He refused to accept any recruits for the fighting forces save men of tested strength and bravery. All the rest were put to work on the freed lands to insure adequate supplies for the army so that it would not be necessary to fight famine as well as the legions of Rome. Ten thousand picked men were selected in this manner. Athenion then united his forces with those of Salvius and prepared to meet the armed forces of the Roman exploiters. These were soon forthcoming. Legion after glittering legion of the flower of Roman aristocracy was hurled at the determined slaves in vain. After each battle the rebels were left masters of the field. Slavery had once again been abolished from the fair "granery of the world."

"NOT DEFEATED, BUT OUTNUMBERED"

Defeat came four years after the outbreak of the rebellion. Six proud Roman Praetors had led their legions against the revolutionists, and each had crawled back to Rome defeated and disgraced. In a final desperate effort to crush the slaves, a new and huge army was assembled under a Consul named Aquillius. These forces were powerful enough to put down the abolitionist rebellion and re-establish human slavery. Thousands of crosses were again ornamented with the bodies of workers who gave their lives for freedom. Athenion was also an accredited mes-

THE FIRST SUCCESSFUL REAPER INVENTED IN 1831
This machine embodied the following essential principles of the modern reaper: vibrating sickle-edged blade, fingers to hold the grain, reel, divider and platform to hold the grain. This machine revolutionized the age-long methods of reaping grain.

siah, but he died like a hero, killed on the field of battle in personal combat with the labor-hating Roman consul himself. Aquillius was afterwards captured by slaves in Pergamus and union metal workers poured molten gold down his throat.

But even with all this the slaves of Sicily were not yet resigned to their loathsome servitude. A young rebel named Satyros escaped the massacre and subsequent man-hunt and fled to the mountains with the remnant of the proletarian army. For two years more the gallant band held the fort against all odds. In B. C. 99 they were finally captured and sent to Rome under the solemn promise of a Roman general that they would be treated as prisoners of war.

Once in Rome they were thrown in chains, taken to the amphitheatre where knives were thrust into their hands. They were told to battle wild beasts for the amusement of an audience of patricians. Rather than give their lives "for a Roman holiday" the brave rebels shouted defiance at the thousands of their bloodthirsty enemies, and killed themselves on the spot with their own weapons.

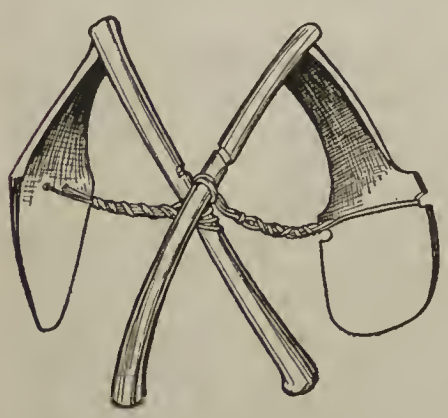
After this uprising there were intermittant strikes and rebellions all over the ancient world. Rome, already convulsed with labor troubles, was still trying to enforce her stupid law against labor organization. In this respect she was much like the various states in the Union that are seeking to outlaw labor organizations with the notorious "criminal syndicalism" laws. In both cases the results are the very opposite of what was expected. In Rome a thousand minor disorders culminated, under the pressure of unintelligent opposition, into the famous slave revolution of Spartacus. This revolt is one of the hugest in history—worthy of comparison with the Paris Commune and the Russian revolution. At one time it actually threatened to sweep

the Roman master class from power. This was 70 years before the beginning of the Christian era.

THE IMMORTAL SPARTACUS

The revolt of Spartacus took place in the year 78, B. C. At this time the concentration of wealth into the hands of the Roman master clans had just about reached its highest pitch. A few thousand idle voluptuaries in the mighty capitol owned all the then known world. Entire nations paid tribute to these bloated parasites and the working class of the world was in bondage to them. So much was idleness the fashion of the rich and toil a disgrace, that any freeman found guilty of soiling his fingers with labor was seized and sold into slavery. The inhuman slave market had been extended until it embraced every known nation. The patrician class, more greedy and licentious than ever before, was sunk in indescribable idleness and debauchery. The slave class, artisans as well as agricultural workers, was a swelter of seething discontent. The anti-labor laws were being vigorously enforced. Only a spark was needed to start a conflagration. This spark, as is always the case, was supplied by the greed-blinded aristocrats themselves.

The *jus coeundi,* or law permitting free organization had been a thorn in the side of Roman exploiters for centuries. Under its provisions labor unions were recognized by law. The slaves had, years before, taken advantage of this opportunity to organize. Throughout the centuries they had retained their organizations in the face of fiercest opposition. The patricians had succeeded in retaining their grasp upon the public or communal lands, which were stolen from the people and held in defiance of the law. Also they had supplanted free labor with slave labor on their vast estates throughout the world. Like the lumber barons of today the Roman patricians did not intend to permit their human beasts of burden to organize and put a stop to the process of exploitation. The law, permitting slaves to organize, was being fought with extreme ferocity by the land owners and their tools in the prostituted Roman Senate. Then came the gladiator Spartacus and the rebellion that bears his name. Capitalist historians have tried to suppress the facts about this monumental revolt but it stands as one of the greatest labor struggles of history.



ANCIENT HOES

From all accounts Spartacus, although a physical and mental giant, was born a slave; and he was a rebel, every inch of him. There is a legend to the effect that, as a boy of fifteen, he stood beside his dying father who had been nailed to a log for the crime of agitating, and swore life-long vengeance upon the enemies of his class.

It was probably because of his

powerful physique that Spartacus was sent to Capua to become a gladiator. Compared with Thracian Greece, where he had been born and had always lived, Capua appeared in anything but a favorable light. Life here was cramped and crowded. The amphitheatre with its bloody arena, the incessant battles between men and beasts or men and other men; and always the great circle of patricians for whose amusement he was forced to fight. Capua was a hateful place. Only one thing Spartacus desired more than to return to his native hills; that was to punish the aristocrats for the evil they had done and were doing. In Thrace the sheep herders and harvest workers were organized. Why not try to organize the gladiators? Then some day things would be different.

FREEDOM, BATTLE AND VICTORY

All about Capua the communal land was covered with vast private estates which had been illegally seized by the—eland grabbers. The old agricultural unions, which for centuries had dealt direct with the cities in supplying food, had been broken up. The right to organize had been abrogated at last. Organization was outlawed. Thousands of slaves, in the last stages of desperation, were only awaiting an opportunity to fly at the throats of their oppressors.

In ancient days when slaves exhibited fighting instincts they were seized and sent to the arena. They might there fight with other slaves or wild beasts while their masters looked on from safety; but they must never think of fighting with the masters themselves. The Roman aristocrats were as crafty as modern imperialists in this respect.

Spartacus, although a seasoned and unvanquished gladiator, loathed the killing of his fellow slaves for the perverse amusement of the drunken overlords of Rome. Also he hated the dishonored weapons with which he was compelled to fight. He was a fighter by nature and longed to battle with the sword of honor in a Cause worth while. No Roman soldier would ever touch the detested weapons of the gladiatorial butcher-house. Spartacus abhorred them also. If only he could rig himself out in shining armour, with a Roman sword in his skillful hand—surely no mere soldier could stand before him!

So the dauntless Spartacus and 200 gladiators whom he had lined up for the project, made a burst for freedom one fine day just as the bloody games were starting. Due to the duplicity of a stool pigeon, only 78 of them managed to escape. These broke impetuously through the guard of Roman sentries, fought their way to the gates of the city and escaped down the Appian way. Seizing weapons on the road, the brave band did not stop until they reached the vine-clad heights of Mount Vesuvius. Three thousand Roman troops were immediately dispatched from Capua to hunt them down. That night the legion camped underneath the cliff where the gladiators were hiding. The situation was desperate.

Although vastly outnumbered, Spartacus and his heroic

UPTODATE METHOD OF FILLING A HAY LOFT
One of the many labor displacing devices of modern farming. This machine can do the work of dozens of men, and do it cleaner and quicker. Dozens of jobs less for harvest workers, and a whole lot more profit for the employer.

men, made a surprise attack in the dead of night. The legionaires, too confident of their numbers, were caught off guard and put to flight. A great number were killed and a large supply of arms and war material captured. The following day the gladiators adorned their mighty limbs with the polished armour of Roman centurians. The barbarous gladiatorial knives were thrown away in disgust. Multitudes of slaves flocked to the rebel forces as soon as the story spread abroad.

Another army was sent to capture or kill the rebels. The gladiators, eager to try out their new weapons, made short work of their pursuers.

REVOLT SWEEPS ONWARD

Each of the original 78 was well trained in the use of arms. These men made splendid officers. After the little army had been well drilled it began to move forward, sweeping everything before it. The *ergastuli,* or prisons, were opened along the way and all class war prisoners were invested with full military dignity. The rebel army of Spartaculs soon numbered 70,000 freed slaves, desperate, determined and well armed.

With these forces Spartacus met and defeated one of the greatest pro consuls of Rome. Afterwards he overran the rich territory of Campania, freeing his fellow workers from slavery and dungeon wherever he went. Labor organizers and agitators were dispatched to all parts of Italy. Unions sprang up like magic in all the industrial centers. Cicero, the notorious Roman labor-hater, after contemplating the successful career of the brave young rebel, exclaimed in despair to the Roman Senate: "Not only these ancient labor unions have their right of organization restored, but, by one gladiator, innumerable others and new ones, have been instituted."

By 74, B. C. the rebel forces numbered 120,000. These were supplied with armour, weapons and supplies. The labor unions of all Italy were secretly working to keep the army equipped with war material and food. Victory after victory perched upon the red banners of the rebel slaves, for the red

flag was the ancient and honored emlem of Labor centuries before Spartacus was born. A march on Rome was started. It failed because of dissentions within the revolutionary ranks. Crixus, a lieutenant of Spartacus, envious of the success and prestige of his chief, sought to induce a portion of the army to make a premature attack on the mighty city. He managed to lead 35,000 slaves to death and defeat. Spartacus crushed the army that had vanquished Crixus. All the Roman aristocrats who were captured were forced to fight each other on the arena with dishonored gladiatorial weapons, just as Spartacus and his men had been compelled to do in days gone by. The situation was completely reversed; the erstwhile slaves were the spectators and the haughty aristocrats supplied the amusement.

Consternation reigned in Rome. Another huge army was assembled. Like its predecessors it was demolished. The degenerate patricians, most of whom worked from one thousand to ten thousands slaves on their *latifundia*, began to see visions of themselves going to work for a living, or else, being thrown in jail for their crimes against labor. They were now thoroughly aroused to the seriousness of the situation.

"BETTER TO DIE A MAN THAN LIVE A SLAVE"

By this time Spartacus was in command of an army of 300,000 veterans. The often defeated Romans had now become cautious as well as determined. The slave army was harrassed for a long time but not given an opportunity to fight in the open. Finally Spartacus broke through the iron ring that surrounded his army and made a break for Sicily. No doubt his intention was to re-establish the free society that had been overthrown 27 years previously. But it was too late. The land owners of Rome had massed three great armies under three of its most famous generals, Pompey, Crassus and Lucullus. Spartacus and his huge army were now outnumbered. The combined forces of the Roman legions totalled nearly half a million, nearly all of them veterans of foreign wars.

A terrific and desperate battle occurred. But the gladiator and slave who had outgeneraled and defeated eight Roman armies, was this time doomed to defeat. The great Spartacus, witnessing the rout of the men with whom he had fought for freedom from slavery, rushed into the fray with indescribable fury and heroism. He was determined to sell his life dearly. His one aim was to meet the hated Crassus in personal combat before dying. "It was a fierce struggle. Long after victory was hopeless, Spartacus was traced by heaps of the slain who had fallen by his hand, and his body was lost completely in the awful carnage which closed that day of blood."

Most of the rebel heroes were butchered without mercy on the spot. Some managed to escape to the mountains. Thousands were crucified on the high road to Rome. The sacred right to exploit had once more been made secure. History says that Spartacus, like all his predecessors, was considered a saviour by the great masses that fought under his command.

OLD FASHIONED PLOWING

With a plow similar to this one our forefathers broke the virgin sod of the new continent. Now the old free frontier has vanished and the great mass of the people subjected to wage slavery. In plowing with a team this way, two and one half acres was considered a good day's work.

"PIE IN THE SKY"

The wave of terror that followed the last and greatest of the slave rebellions of ancient days lasted until long after the birth of Jesus—the last of the "saviours" of the slave class.

All the ancient labor unions merged into primitive Christianity. This was originally a communistic and revolutionary movement. Its early adherents were lynched and persecuted just as the I. W. W.'s of today are lynched and persecuted. And, like the I. W. W., their movement thrived on persecution.

Communistic Christianity became more powerful as the years passed by. Its doctrines of equality, brotherhood and justice were all drawn from the three types of unions out of which the movement sprang. The early Christians sought to establish "the kingdom of God on earth"—not in heaven only. They expected to see the millenium with their own eyes. Jesus, the rebel carpenter, was crucified as an agitator like thousands of other rebels of his day. Like Eunus, Athenion, Spartacus and other slave leaders, he was said to have been a wonder worker and a messiah. Today he stands as an imperishable monument to the fact that unpopular movements cannot be crushed with force.

Three hundred and twenty-four years after the death of Jesus the Roman empire, under Constatine, adopted Christianity rather than be overthrown by it. As a state religion it became harmless as far as its menace to the established order was concerned. The "kingdom of heaven" was placed somewhere up above the clouds and the equality of man came to mean the

PLOWING WITH A MODERN TRACTOR

This machine turns 6 furrows and very easily covers 50 acres per day. The work of turning the sod has become incomparably easier. Great steam plows are also occasionally used, turning as many as 10 furrows with one operation. These are being discarded in favor of the smaller and more efficient plow that is pictured above.

equality of the grave. From this time onward the once revolutionary movement has simply stood for submission on earth and "pie in the sky when you die."

Neither primitive Christianity nor the horrible and bloody uprisings that preceded it, overthrew the system of slavery. History has not yet sounded the hour for this hideous institution to disappear. Slavery ceased when changing conditions of society demanded another form of productive labor. When slavery became unprofitable it was abandoned. But the great labor revolts of ancient days did show the world that millions of noble workers lived in those times who would rather face death than endure the infamy of servitude. The productive system of the ancient world probably made it impossible for slaves to organize on industrial lines and achieve real solidarity on the job. Had it been in their power to do so they could have gained far more than they did with far less cost. A general strike of all harvest workers, organized into one mighty agricultural unit, might conceivably have forced the exploiting class from their backs. But these brave rebels deserve no blame, even if they fought blindly. All honor to their memory! They proved by their gameness that they were worthy to be called men!

ROTTEN ROME

The slave empire of Rome was dying of its own castes and its own corruption. In her last days the concentration of wealth into the hands of the idle few was only a little greater than it is in the United States today. Towards the end, torn asunder with labor troubles within and wars without, she sought to placate the rebellious slave population with free corn and amusements. "While the Egyptian fellah and the Moorish peasant were laboring in the fields, the sturdy beggars of Byzantium and Rome were amusing themselves at the circus, or basking on marble in the

sun." But this could not last for long.

When the slave market went to smash, Rome went to smash with it. The inevitable law of social change demanded a new foundation for society. Rotten old Rome, as hide-bound as the capitalist nations of today, could not do business on other than a slave basis. Goth, Vandal and Hun swept down on her, fat, senile, and defenseless. All that survived was the church that had amalgamated with her once despised labor unions. Rome had become nothing but a name.

Feudalism became the next step in human progress. The agricultural worker became a serf instead of a chattel.

THE BEGINNINGS OF SERFDOM

Rome crumbled to ruin because she could not adapt her hide-bound civilization to the need for new methods of production. Changing conditions had made slave labor a liability instead of an asset. With the smash-up of the slave market the machinery of production ceased to function. Progress demanded a social readjustment which the once powerful masters of the world were unable and unwilling to supply. Although containing within herself the germs of her own destruction Rome had not developed a class capable of managing affairs after slavery had been outgrown. The only forces that might possibly have saved her from ruin were the labor unions and the ancient communes. These had long since died upon her gibbets. Rome perished in the quagmire of hopeless slavery. Chaos followed the downfall.

The rich landowners, burdened with the ownership of millions of rebellious and now unprofitable slaves, found it more expedient to free than to feed their human live stock. Agricultural workers were at liberty to till the soil as more or less independent peasants, paying rent in kind or service to their erstwhile masters. This new class was too crushed and discouraged, after their centuries of futile revolt, to reassert the ancient rights of the commune. The craftsmen were far too weak numerically to attempt the task. Following the repeated invasions of the Gothic and other barbarians the ancient world was ravaged by countless wars. Army after army swept across the once fertile lands leaving wreck and desolation in their wake. After each of these wars thousands of disbanded soldiers started fighting independently as predatory bandit bands. The work of the peasant in the fields was constant-

HARVESTING IN MODERN PALESTINE

The boss, with the pipe in his face, is no doubt telling the young lady harvest hand that the I. W. W. is not "kosher". A great deal of the harvesting in Palestine is still done in the old fashioned way.

ly frought with more danger and more uncertainty. These free-lance armies of robbers and invaders had leaders who were strong, resourceful and ambitious. They began to dispute with one another for coveted territories and new wars resulted.

Thus it happened that this period of devastation developed e new class of oppressors—the feudal nobility. These rough and daring chieftains succeeded in building themselves strong-holds on strategic crags and hill-tops. Here they could carry on the work of highway robbery and exploitation without fear of reprisal or attack. The peasants, living in constant danger of pillage and devastation, were compelled to seek shelter and protection under the shadow of donjon and castle. These impregnable masses of stone and mortar became to them what the block-house was to the American frontiersman—a protection for the fields and a place of refuge in case of attack. In return for this protection and refuge, however, the poor serfs were compelled to render homage, labor and military service to their overlords. Also they were arbitrarily taxed in order that their masters might live in luxurious idleness. Ostensibly the feudal system was one of mutual interest and reciprocal service between lord and serf. However, true this might have been in the beginning it soon became a hollow pretense—as hypocritical as modern "democracy."

THE GALLOWS AND THE "FIRST NIGHT"

Gradually the new despotism tightened its clutch upon the world. The feudal code of honor did not for long unite the exploiters and their victims. The serf became a degraded menial attached to and sold with the soil. He was very kindly permitted to live and reproduce his kind in delapidated shacks which clustered together in the shadow of the frowning castle on the hill. In the beginning each of these predatory principalities was a law unto its self, but in the end they united together into the feudal State in which the descendants of the old warrior chieftains become mere effeminate ornaments in the court of the king. Collectively the lordlings and their liege were as cruel and despotic to the serfs as they had been individually. The state always has been and is now merely an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class.

Previous to the consolidation of the robber dukedoms into the robber kingdom each nobleman made and executed his own justice, coined his own money, collected his own taxes and lived off the labor of his own serfs. Their rule became increasingly harsh. A gallow stood on each seigniorial estate on which serfs were hanged for even the slightest offense against the sacred laws of "property." Agitators, rebels and malcontents were punished by having their hands and feet cut off or their eyes burned out. Each baron, or bishop, if the land happened to belonged to the church had what was known as the *right of first fruits* or *the right of the first night.* This inhuman law made it compulsory for a peasant girl, on the night of her marriage, to submit to the lust of her lord before she could go home to her

MEXICANS HUSKING CORN BY HAND

Hand husking was the only known method until the machine, pictured on the opposite page was invented. From 60 to 100 bushels per day is an average day's work for one man. Indian corn, or Maize, is an American cereal. It was, like tobacco, introduced into Europe by the Spanish and English conquerors.

husband. To resist was rebellion, a crime which the law penalized with death. The violation of the girls of the working class was a pastime for the parasites of the Middle Ages just as it was with the patricians of Rome or as it is with the parasites of today.

Almost everybody has heard about the Robber Barons of those times. Not only did they rob the serfs but they forced these same serfs into bloody warfare for the conquest of new territories. They held up everybody who traveled on their roads, crossed their bridges or navigated their streams. In other words the Robber Barons were similar to the transportation, food and other profiteers of today who force the workingman to pay tribute every time he turns around.

THE CRUSADES AND LABOR CRUSHING

It must not be supposed that the period of Serfdom was without rebellions and revolts. Like the slaves of ancient times, the agricultural serfs on more than one occasion banded together in great numbers and tried to tear the white hands of their oppressors from their throats. The Church which had its birth in the slave uprisings of ancient days became a hot-bed of intrigue and autocracy. Where it was not actually the ruling power it was always and at all times on the side of the powerful. The Protestant church grew out of the Peasant Wars. It utilized the discontent of the serfs to build up its own "machine." There was but little difference between the two churches as far as the poor and down-trodden were concerned. Martin Luther used the same firebrand of hatred against the rebellious German peasants as he did against the church of Rome. The ruling classes had differences of opinion as to what brand of superstition should be crammed down the necks of the masses, but there was no difference of opinion as to what should be done to keep the work-

MODERN CORN HUSKING MACHINE

This marvelous invention picks and husks 7 acres per day. It promises to make corn husking a purely automatic process in the near future, which will tend to make the labor of harvest workers more and more unnecessary. But, of course, the boss will make a lot more money—and that's what he's after.

ers from coming into their own. Only in the broadest sense of the word was the Reformation a struggle for religious liberty.

Discontent reached an acute stage in Europe just before the starting of the Crusades. The ruling class had exploited the workers to the limit of endurance. When rebellion became imminent the serfs were led to Syria there to give outlet to their pent up feelings against the Saracens. It is an old trick and one the ruling class of all ages has often used and never forgotten. The Crusades were incidentally a series of vast raids which netted the Robber Barons a great deal of plunder. They also strengthened the Church in its struggle against the kings who would not yield to the temporal power of the Pope. Throughout this unholy war of rapine and pillage the Cross was used as a camouflage much as the flag is used today. In France, when the crusaders returned from Jerusalem in 1208 thousands of the Knights of the Cross were used to murder the workers and break their strikes just as the American Legion is doing at the present time. The results were ghastly. A "heresy" had been flourishing in Northern France for some time which declared the equality of all men, denied the authority of the church and the barons, and branded as theft all wealth in the hands of men who had not helped to produce it. This "heresy" held the "serf to be equal to the seignior" and that "he who does not work neither shall he eat." The aristocrats and priests put down the movement in a sea of blood. The Pope himself had decreed that this crusade was as "holy" as the one that took the holy city from the Turks. But this gigantic murderfest did not by any means break the spirit of "Jaques Bonhomme", as the peasantry was called. The *Jaqueries* or uprisings of the agricultural workers of France occurred at frequent intervals as long as the institution of serfdom endured.

JOHN BALL, WAT TYLER, JACK STRAW

England, in 1381 witnessed an armed uprising of serfs that has since become famous in story and song—the revolt of John Ball, Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. These men were agitators who struck at the very roots of the system of serfdom. Their chief theme was the injustice of conditions that permitted a handful of idle nobles to live in luxury off the labor of the villeins, or serfs. They preached liberty, equality and social revolution. John Ball, at Black Heath held forth to great multitudes on the text:

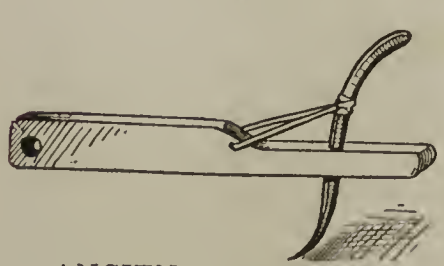
"When Adam delved and Eve Span
Who was then the gentleman."

The peasants of Merry England deserted the field of their masters in large numbers. They armed themselves with long bows, sythes and captured weapons of all kinds and challenged the right of the parasites to rule. Whenever possible they burned to ashes the title deeds and court rolls which were the evidence of their villeinage. Judges, lawyers and jurors who had interpreted the "law" against the poor were beheaded as soon as seized. The rebels had a special animosity for court houses. A mob at London burned the palace of John the Gaunt and the temple containing paper titles to the land and the villeins who tilled it.

Agricultural workers in a vast multitude marched to London from the surrounding country and surrounded the Tower where the young king was then living. They demanded freedom for peasants born in bondage; in lieu of personal service a uniform rate of four pence an acre for the lands which they held and the abolition of tolls. In addition to this they also demanded pardon for the step they were forced to take in their own defense.

At first the king indignantly refused to deal with the rabble at all. But, after the Tower had been captured and half a dozen haughty aristocrats beheaded, the king agreed to meet the rebel army at Mile End. Here the nobility, with characteristic treachery, cut the throat of Wat Tyler while King Richard cajoled the peasants to return to the fields upon his solemn promise that justice would be given them. Once the rebel agricultural workers were safely out of London all promises were broken, the leaders of the revolt were executed and the rank and file driven back into villeinage more hateful than before. So much for the promises of parasites.

Another series of revolts took place some time after the crushing of the rebellion of John Ball. The best known of these was led by Kett in Norfolk. All were put down with bloodshed, treachery and cruelty. In Italy there were numerous uprisings of agricultural workers also. In many cases the peasants broke open the graneries and seized the wheat they had produced and for which they were starving. The Italian agricultural communes, organized in re-



ANCIENT PALESTINE PLOW

mote times exist to the present day. In Germany, 1525, the Peasant War broke out and spread with great rapidity. This was probably wider in scope than any previous European labor revolt of the times. One of its dominating figures, Thomas Minzer was executed in Thuringia.

THE DAWN OF THE NEW DESPOTISM

But while these things were going on another class was gradually entrenching itself in power—a class that was destined to overthrow feudalism. This was the merchant or trading class out of which the modern capitalists grew. Progress demanded that manufacture and commerce be given a free rein in order that the world might meet its ever expanding needs. Feudalism, like Slavery, contained within itself the germs of its own destruction. It was called upon to meet new methods of production and to adopt itself to them. This, in its greed and blindness it refused to do. The result was a struggle between two types of exploiters—the nobleman and the merchant. It resulted in the final overthrow of the system of serfdom and the inauguration of wage-slavery. Manufacture could not thrive in a world that had serfdom as its basic foundation. "Free" or wage labor was demanded instead of agrarian servitude. The interests of the manufacturer conflicted with the interests of the lord. The former had progress on his side but the nobles did not yield. Ruling classes never do. Then came the deluge.

The great French Revolution of 1798 marked the overthrow of the feudal system and the ascendancy of the merchant, or capitalist class. The serfs did practically all of the fighting although they had nothing to gain excepting a change of masters. All the benefits of the change were reaped, as in the transition from slavery to feudalism, by the new ruling class. The bitter pill of wage slavery was sugared with coating of sweet phrases about Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, but all the poor peasants got from the deal was the privilege of being exploited in a factory instead of in the fields.

The capitalist class, the industrial oligarchy of present times, has since been firmly seated upon the backs of Labor, agricultural and factory alike. The wage slaves of today are now in the midst of a struggle as momentous as those which overthrew the systems of slavery and serfdom. The capitalist class is the world's last ruling class. The efforts of the human race to shake from it this nightmare of exploitation is the Final Battle of the Ages. When capitalism is destroyed there will be no more economic classes in socety.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The downfall of capitalism is as certain as was the downfall of Slavery and the downfall of Serfdom. Capitalism has outlived its usefulness. It can no longer feed and clothe and house the people of the earth. Like all its predecessors it contains within itself the germs of its own destruction. The times are

HARVESTING WITH THE OLD FASHIONED CRADLE

The "cradle" is one of the fore-runners of the modern reaper. It laid the grain in swaths, so it could be raked and tied by hand. Two or three acres a day was about all a man would care to cut with one of them.

rotten ripe for change. The hour of doom has sounded and the system of production for profit instead of use is crumbling about our very ears.

Private ownership of the means of life is becoming more and more inefficient and criminal. Capitalism has ceased to be of service to the human race. It is now an obstruction to future progress. It has become purely parasitical. More and more the inhabitants of the earth are realizing that the land and machinery of production, upon which the race in common depends, should be owned in common by those who use them and need them. The idea of the necessity of closing down industries and throwing millions out of employment because a few drones cannot make their customary profit is justly ridiculed by all thinking men and women. The thing to do is to take possession of these industries when the great crisis comes and to keep the wheels of production running that the human race may not be forced into starvation or chaos.

Capitalism, unlike Slavery has produced a class capable of taking charge when the present system collapses. In Russia the workers proved to the world that capitalists are no longer needed in industry. Also they built up a mighty Dictatorship of the Proletariat to protect the free society from counter revolutionary attack. Conditions in the United States are not identical with those in Russia by any means, but we are sure of one thing: the working class is destined by the iron law of history to wrest the world from the bloody hands of its present "owners" and to run it for the benefit of the human race instead of the enrichment of the few.

Let come what may the outcasts of today will be the masters of tomorrow.

THE CONDOR AND THE EAGLE

Europe, after the capitalist class had intrenched itself within the smouldering ruins of feudalism, was a hat-bed of intrigue and oppression. Karl Marx summed up the situation with an expressive phrase: "Capitalism came into the world dripping

MODERN BINDERS EQUIPPED WITH GRAIN SHOCKERS

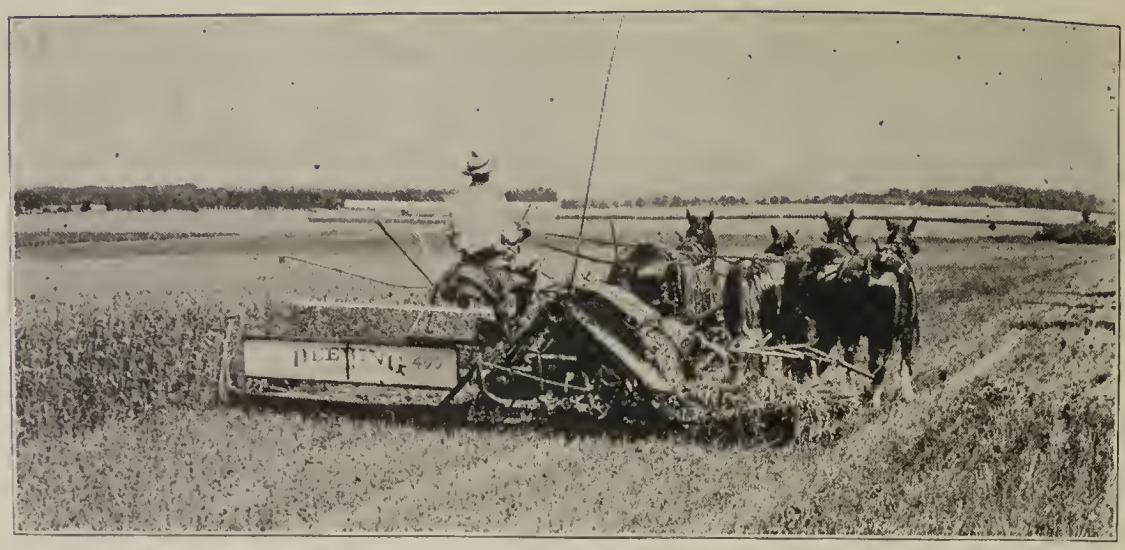
These machines cut and bind the grain with incredible rapidity. The Harvester thresher will cut, thresh, clean and bag a nine foot swath of grain at one operation. It will harvest and thresh 15 to 20 acres per day when weather conditions permit of its use. The machines pictured above, however, merely bind and shock the grain; the "bundles" being afterwards carted to the thresher.

blood and filth at every pore." The agricultural population was largely driven into the mills, mines and factories there to toil prodigously that the ruling classes of the various capitalist nations might compete with one another for control of the world market.

After the settlement of the eastern shores of the new world the young continents of America began to germinate with the seed of social progress. In a comparatively short time they fell in line with the general development of Europe. In the United States, even in earliest times forces were at work that would eventually produce the evil weed of industrial autocracy. Capitalism must follow its natural bent here, just as in the rest of the world. But the country was so young and so full of manifold opportunities that years must elapse before the new despotism might enslave the people. Even today there are workers, known as "scissor-bills" who look at the present world through the eyes of their great grandfathers. They have not brought their minds up to date and therefore have the psychology of two generations ago.

But the early American pioneer, ever venturing westward into the wilderness lived over again the whole history of the human race. First came the daring explorer steering his adventurous canoe up the courses of uncharted rivers; the hunter, trapper and fisherman, blazing a trail across the untamed continent for multitudes yet unborn; then the first settlers with their families, agricultural implements and stock; also the farmer, and herder with their rough free life on the virgin prairies or the range in the middle of the last century, and finally the merchant, manufacturer and banker, erecting railroads along the old trails, factories at the junctions, court houses on the town commons and jails on the sites of the block-houses.

The capitalist class eventually dominated the land of our forefathers and put its heel-print upon the life of the nation. The traditions of the Revolution were forgotten and the government, as in the rest of the world, became all too frequently an instrument of working class repression. The principle of democracy



SEVEN FOOT GRAIN BINDER

This machine cuts a seven foot swath which it also binds into bundles. These bundles are shocked by hand and, afterwards loaded on wagons and taken to the threshing machine. This invention alone has made it possible to dispense with the labor of millions of harvest workers who were driven from the land to the great industrial centers. It has enriched the land owning class beyond the dreams of avarice.

was not extended into industry when the country became industrialized. The condor of industrial despotism luxuriated in the nest of the proud American eagle.

THE IRON LAW OF HISTORY

But capitalism was not always reactionary as it is today. In the beginning it was of real service to the human race. Progress had entrusted to capitalists the task of constructing a system of production that was adequate for the growing needs of the population. Industrial evolution had to follow its inevitable course. Wasteful competition had to be eliminated. Inefficient methods had to give way to organized and centralized production. Industry had to expand and keep pace with the progress of the world. In helping to make these things possible the early captains of industry were a help to society. They prepared the processes of production for the next inevitable step in human progress. They built up an industrial arrangement that could survive them when their services would no longer be needed. Like the early explorers they blazed the trail for the New Society that was to arise when the mission of capitalism had been fulfilled.

They prepared the industries for the ownership of the people.

The doom of private ownership in the means of life was sealed from the beginning. The process of industrial evolution was slowly but surely leading the masters of bread to a point where they would become purely parasitical—mere barnacles on the social organism. We must give the old school of capitalists credit for contributing immensely to the welfare of the human race. The forefathers of the present third generation idle rich helped to organize the wonderful mechanism of today. But this

is no reason why their profigate offspring should be supported in luxury to the end of time.

The same laws that produced capitalism are bringing about its collapse. The world is constantly changing. No system based on social parasitism has or can remain permanent. The egg of capitalism contains Industrial Communism just as surely as the egg of Feudalism contained that of Capitalism. The development in the egg is *evolutionary*; the process of breaking the egg is *revolutionary*. In a way the capitalists also were "building the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The feudal lord and the modern capitalist stand together before the bar of history. The downfall of the latter is just as inevitable as that of the former. Whatever becomes a hinderance to human progress must go. Slavery, feudalism, capitalism; each in turn have yielded and must yield to the iron law of history.

America was primarily an agricultural country for many years. Before the land and machinery of production were monopolized the United States was in reality the land of opportunity. Capitalism could not enslave nor break the spirit of the American people as long as the frontier beckoned in the golden West. There was a time, in the early days, when a Yankee simply would not work for wages. Land was cheap out toward the sunset or, if farming did not allure, there were thousands of business opportunities that had not yet been gobbled up by monopolists. About the only things that would keep a man from succeeding were his own indifference or laziness. It was comparatively easy for the farm hand to become a farmer, the mechanic a manufacturer, the clerk a merchant. Classes and castes existed only in embryro. Strikes were few in number and local in character. The class struggle, like the industries in which it was developing, was still in its infancy. Wall street, in these days, had not yet taught the people to eat from its hand.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Gradually the old free America was changed. The western prairies were fenced in and the range became a series of ranches. A shining network of rails was thrown across the land and the historic trails were no longer trampled with hoofs of countless herds. The door of Opportunity was slammed in the face of the working class. Monopoly spread like a black plague upon the land. The industrial pirates of the East, not content with the millions of acres of land which had been conveniently given them by their government, defrauded both the government and people out of millions of acres more. The story of land grabbing and the hogging of the nation's industries is a long record of robbery and fraud. The titles to all the property of the United States began to find their way more and more into the strong coffers of the social parasites. Hand production was changed to machine production. Smoking factories sprang up in all directions. Eventually the whole nation was safely in the clutch of private

PITCHING HAY BY HAND
Working this way three strong men can pitch a load of hay in about an hour. The process is a laborious and wasteful one.

greed. Capitalism, by means of a series of prodigous robberies, had reached its afflorescence. When the working class get ready to take back the world that was stolen from them they will use far cleaner tactics than did the present "owners" in getting possession.

The centralization of industry gave birth to marvelous machines which rapidly displaced the skill of the workers. Instead of lifting the burden of labor these wonderful inventions served only to enrich the favored few. The entire working class was reduced to the dead level of uninteresting drudgery. Classes became ever more clearly defined and the class struggle ever more intense. Overproduction, strikes, wars and unemployment became more frequent and wider in scope. Wealth became more and more concentrated into the hands of an ever decreasing number of parasites. In the cities the machine proletariat had become divorced from the means of production; in the country the agricultural proletariat was shut off forever from ownership of the land. The possessing class became more powerful and the working class more dependent. On the one side, now that the system is "rotten ripe for change", stand the industrial autocrats, lawbuttressed and arrogant; on the other the rebellious tenants and workers, vaguely trying to comprehend the great changes that have taken place all about them. The breath of Revolution is already stirring in this miasmic jungle of despotism and decay. America, like the France of 1779 is about to feel the birth-pangs of the new society. Will the hideous system of Capitalism leave the stage as it entered, "dripping blood and filth at every pore?" The future alone will tell.

MODERN SERFDOM—THE TENANT FARMER

Land tenantry is serfdom without the picturesque background of feudalism. It exists in America to a surprising extent. The Industrial Relations Commission, at the suggestion of William D. Haywood, investigated this disgraceful symptom of social sickness. Their disclosures have since been almost suppressed but any worker who has lived in the south knows of the real situation from first hand observation.

The tenant farmers, particularly those in the states of Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana, occupy a position peculiar to

COMBINED SWEEP RAKE AND STACKER

With this machine one man can do the work of ten—do it better and with far less effort. The machine can be used for stacking hay in the field or storing it in the hay mow.

themselves in the economic and social structure of the nation.

These people are not actual wage earners, but at the same time the most viciously exploited of any division of workers in the United States by the capitalist land owners.

In the Lone Star state there are no federal lands. A few persons have, however, schemed and contrived to gain possession of vast tracts of land that were formerly used for grazing purposes only.

A certain contractor for erecting the capitol building at Austin, Texas, came into possession of something like a million and a half acres of state land. The Dunlops are credited with owning some three million acres of land, while those who visited Widow King discovered that it is fifty miles from her front gate to the front door of her residence.

Armour and Company own huge tracts of land in California. The Taft Company owns a farm of 150 square miles. The holdings of the Miller and Lux Company run contiguously through six states and embrace millions of acres. Farming is not only becoming industrialized but the agricultural proletariat is now an established fact.

In this territory the typical farm renter of the south is the grand son of the aristocratic slave owning patricians, tall, clear eyed, broad shouldered, and deep chested. They marry young and are early burdened with a rapidly increasing family of children.

Equipped with a span of mules, a dead-ax, wagon, some household furniture, a coop of chickens, and his family aboard he is looking for a farm to rent. Traveling about he secures a piece of land forty or eighty acres from the Burlesons or Gregories of the south; usually rented by the season. For his tenure he gives a fourth of the corn and a third of the cotton he raises.

His temporary habitation is a miserable shack built of boards and batten which are little barrier for the cold Texas winds or the blazing hot summer sun.

"The Old Oaken Bucket" never originated on a tenant farm. There is no such thing as a well or a spring. Water for household use comes from an open cistern.

THE REFINEMENT OF EXPLOITATION

The farm owner exacts that all the land be tilled, and it usually is farmed up to the back door, leaving no pasturage for a cow. The tenant farmer and his children seldom taste the delicacies of milk, butter, and eggs which are supposed to go with farm life.

Crowd the houses of the farm renters together and you will have tenement quarters such as does not exist in any part of the world. Whitechapel, London or the east side of New York would be paradise in comparison with the jumbled shacks of the people who raise corn and cotton to feed and clothe others.

The tenant farmer in his overalls and broad brimmed hat stands alone and helpless. Robbed as are the black men of the south, he accepts his condition with little protest.

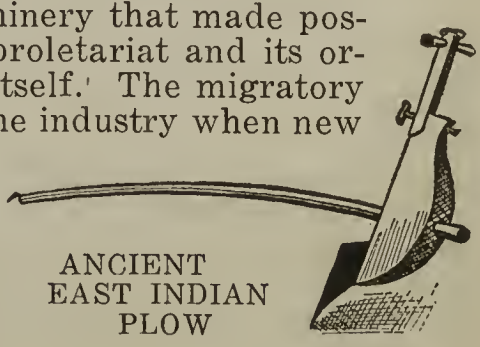
The crop he raises, good or bad as it may be, after giving the share exacted by the land owner, does not then belong to the man of toil. He has been compelled to borrow a little money from the bank for which he must pay an excessive interest. He has purchased some supplies from the store on all of which he has paid an exorbitant profit.

When he comes to sell his crop, the cotton is baled and hauled to market. A Commissioner or Sales Agent inspects the cotton and says with an air of authority, "This is short." He will then quote a price three or four cents less than the market value. Thus it can be seen though cotton may be King the man who produces is robbed in four ways: Rent, interest, profit, and commission, all of which he meets at the point of production.

Not only is the farmer himself robbed but his entire family. His children during cotton picking time are in the field—little babes four and five years old, dragging along tiny sacks picking off their mite of cotton from the plants, while the mother leaving her nursing babe at one end of the row drags herself through the fields of green and white gathering, as it were, the material to make the shrouds of her class.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE PLOW

The evolution of farming machinery that made possible the rise of the agricultural proletariat and its organization is a fascinating story in itself. The migratory harvest worker became a factor in the industry when new and wonderful inventions displaced his skill and made his continuous employment unnecessary and unprofitable. There is no doubt, with the old hand methods prevailing, the services of these wandering in-



ANCIENT EAST INDIAN PLOW

dustrial hordes would be required on the farms the year round.

In primitive times the plow was merely a stick used to scratch the surface of the soil. In the days of slavery the plow, although crudely fashioned of wood and bronze, had already began to assume the appearance of the modern implement. Sometimes ancient plows were pulled by oxen but more frequently by male or female slaves—sometimes yoked together with the beasts of the field. The plow of the ancient Britons was a very rude affair; no man being considered qualified to be a farmer until he could make his own plow. In these days the custom prevailed of fastening the share to the tails of the oxen. This cruel practice was stopped by law in 1634. The old Normans drove their small ox teams through the fields of early England in this manner, breaking clods of earth with the war-ax that had helped them to conquer the country.

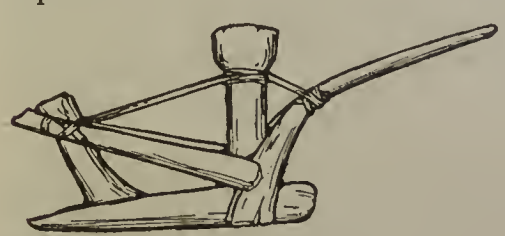
The first iron plow was imported from Holland to England in the early part of the eighteenth century. It was known as the "Rotterdam plow." This was repeatedly improved upon and was soon used on a large scale. In 1785, Robert Ransome of Ipswich obtained a patent for making plowshares of cast iron, and in 1803 he improved his article by a process of chilling and case hardening.

One of the first men to improve the plow in the United States was President Thomas Jefferson. His experiments were crowned with success. In 1837, Daniel Webster, the great statesman, invented a plow for work twelve and fourteen inches deep, cutting a furrow twenty-four inches wide. In speaking of his invention Mr. Webster said:

"When I hold the handles of my big plow in such a field, with four pair of cattle to pull it through, and hear the roots crack and see the stumps all go under the furrow out of sight, and observe the clean, mellowed surface of the plowed land, I feel more enthusiasm over my achievement than comes from my encounters in public life at Washington."

Admirable statesman! Isn't it a pity that Woodrow Wilson did not try to invent a weed eradicator for instance instead of wasting his time in pompous phrase-making with other senile half-wits at Versailles?

The first cast iron plow in America was invented by Charles Nebold, of New Jersey. This ingenious gentleman spent over $30,000 in perfecting and introducing his plow. He finally gave up in despair as farmers had in some way imbibed the strange superstition that cast iron plow *poisoned* the land, impaired the fertility and *promoted the growth of rocks!* The stupid prejudice against the One Big Union idea of today is hardly less absurd.



ANCIENT PLOW

Type used by slaves of antiquity.

Sheet steel was next used in the manufacture of plows, but this soon gave way to parts of hardened and highly polished

THRESHING GRAIN WITH THE FLAIL

The slow and wasteful method of the centuries that was replaced with the modern threshing machine. The straw was occasionally turned with a fork. A crude fanning mill, worked by hand, blew away the chaff.

cast steel, which are in use at the present time.

Modern farming is done by machinery of the most efficient type. Agriculture, in this respect, has kept pace with the industrial development of the world. At one time—and for centuries in fact—men turned the soil with the crudest of plows, sowed and reaped their grain by hand and beat it with a flail to separate the kernel from the chaff. Sometimes this was done by permitting hogs or oxen to trample it with their hoofs. Even today there are men who can remember how farmers, in the old times, would sow their wheat broadcast, cradle it and tie the bundles by hand; trample it out with horses or beat it out with the flail. Corn and other products were planted by hand and tilled with the hoe. It was with such crude implements and the home-made broad-ax that our forefathers conquered the wilderness.

On some small farms at the present time the tools differ but little from those of a century ago, but, on the whole, the old methods have been largely replaced. The hand sythe and cradle have given way to the mowing machine and the modern threshing rig. The plow, seed-drill, rake and cultivators are also thoroughly modernized. The walking plow made way for the gang-plow and this by the power tractor turning eighteen furrows at an operation and plowing twenty-five or thirty acres per day in place of the pioneer's one or two. The seed drill now does the work of many busy hands. The time-honored flail and cradle were replaced by a crude tread machine, propelled by horse power which used a hand bellows to blow away the chaff, the bundles being tied by hand with straw. This made way for a slightly improved thresher which cut the grain and tied the bundles with wire. Afterward binding cord was used and the bundles were stacked in the field as well as merely cut and tied. The modern power threshing machines can cut, bind, head and thresh as high as one hundred to one hundred and sixty acres of grain in a day.

As can be plainly seen the modern machine process has greatly displaced labor in agriculture. The man fortunate enough to own land and machinery at the present time can easily work five time the acreage that was possible with the old

A MODERN THRESHING RIG

One of these machines, worked with a tractor, can thresh a quarter section of grain in one day. These labor displacing inventions are now operated largely by migratory workers who follow up the harvest each season. Such machines are the direct cause of the development of the migratory agricultural proletariat.

methods. For instance with the cradle; a number of men were required to rake the swath of grain into heaps the size of a bundle or sheaf. These had to be tied by hand with straw. Then followed the workers who pitched, carted and threshed the grain. The first machine reapers, drawn by horses and dropping the bundles at regular intervals made this work still easier—two men easily doing work that previously required six or seven. With the up-to-date harvesting machines the entire process, from cutting to bagging can be done at one operation. The work is almost entirely mechanical. Twenty or twenty-five men can thresh as much in a day as would take months to do with the flail.

One man with a flail used to be able to thrash about 25 bu. of wheat in one day. Today with modern machinery 20 men thrash 2,000 bu. of wheat per day, 4 times as much as could be done by the old method. One man with a cradle could cut four acres of wheat a day, one man with modern machinery—a Header—can cut 40 acres a day, ten times as much as by the old method. Man could hoe about one acre of corn a day, with modern machinery one man is able to tend 20 acres as easily as one acre used to be tended, 20 times as much as by the old method. The production of agriculture in general is about ten times greater per man than it was a century ago.

AGRICULTURAL WORK BECOMES SEASONAL

The evolution of agricultural machinery has displaced about three quarters of the labor necessary on the farms. Where the farmer at one time found it impossible to do without the assistance of a number of workers the year round he can do the work himself with the exception of short intervals such as the spring, when he is rushed in getting his ground prepared and planted or in haymaking and harvest time when he needs extra help with the wheat and corn. Thus agricultural workers—even the children of farmers—must of necessity become migratory. Two months intensive labor during the harvest, etc., is practically all that is required of casual help. In other words,

agriculture has now become largely a seasonal occupation.

With the exception of winter wheat and rye—when the ground is prepared and sowed in the fall—the plowing and planting is done in the spring. The second crop is small grain —rice, wheat, rye, oats, barley, etc. The harvesting of this crop starts in Texas about the first of June, in Oklahoma about the fifteenth, Kansas, the twenty-fifth, Nebraska, about the first of July, Iowa and Southern South Dakota, about the fifteenth of July, northern South Dakota and southern North Dakota the first of August, northern North Dakota and southern Canada about the fifteenth of August and in northern Canada about the first of September.

The third seasonal crop is the apple, peach, pear, plum and other fruit harvest, which is generally gathered from the fifteenth of September to the fifteenth of October. The fourth crop, consisting of potatoes, sugar-beets, peas, beans, etc. is gathered along in October before heavy frosts set in or the ground freezes. The fifth and last, of the seasonal harvests jobs is the husking of corn which generally starts about the twentieth of October, after there have been several killing frosts so that the corn will keep.

The machine process has displaced the labor of thousands of workers in the agricultural industry. It has made agriculture a seasonal instead of a permanent occupation. It has made millions of workers landless and driven them to the industrial centers—the mills, mines and factories where the same machine process displaces skill in the same manner and threw them bodily into the ranks of the army of the unemployed. It is largely from the unemployed that seasonal workers are recruited.

The modern harvest "stiff" finds his employment in following the ripening crops and is hence migratory out of sheer necessity. Outside of harvest time he often works in the lumber woods or at railroad construction. Some of them also come from the cities where they work the greater part of the year. All try to save a small stake during the harvest and threshing and go to the great cities where they hang out in cheap lodging houses and eat in cheap hasheries during the cold months of winter. A great number go to Seattle and Portland after the harvest is over in North Dakota and from there to California where the climate is warm and living conditions cheap. Some follow the crops far into northern Canada. The harvest "stiff" fills the bread-basket of the world. His migrations take him up and down the land and across it.

WHAT THE UNORGANIZED WORKER MUST FACE

The conditions that face the unorganized agricultural worker beggar description. Owing to his individual helplessness he is at the mercy of every avaricious "shack", every brutal "bull" and every grasping farmer who sees fit to exploit his misery. These men are forced to endure conditions that organized workers would not tolerate for a moment. Their food

HARVESTING WHEAT IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA

In this part of the island continent the wheat crop is about 30,000,000 bushels, less than half of the State of Minnesota; but it must be remembered that in the whole of Australia there are fewer people than in the City of New York. But the workers in Australia have learned that labor saving machinery, instead of benefiting the great majority, has only served to enrich the few.

is scanty and usually of the poorest quality. Their hours of labor are unendurably long and they usually receive "the going wage." Their daily toil in the blistering sun is ardurous in the extreme. The ancient slave was clothed, fed and housed for the work he did. When sick his master furnished assistance and shelter at his own expense. The medieval serf got protection and sustenance out of the stuff he raised. But the harvest "stiff" of modern times is thrown on his own resources to sell his labor power as best he can. He is a worker without a home or a country. Very seldom does his seasonal job net him enough to live until the harvest calls him to his yearly task. Many times he is forced to fall back on the soup line until he can sell himself to another master. Housed worse than the beasts and treated like a dog, he usually makes a good revolutionist when educated to his class interests.

The unorganized agricultural workers have to face long hours, low wages, bum "chuck" and rotten conditions in sleeping quarters. Bathing facilities are usually non existent and uniformly denied to the "stiff" even where they are to be found. In the western states these workers are forced to carry their own beds from place to place. Often no sleeping accommodations are furnished excepting the straw-stack, a wagon of the header-box. Inside quarters, when these are furnished, are as a rule filthy and vermin-infested.

Unorganized harvest workers are misled by employment sharks. Often entire districts are flooded with "hands" at the behest of the Commercial Clubs, in order that labor may be cheaply purchased. Transportation to the harvest fields or from job to job is never furnished thus making it necessary for the "stiff" to "beat his way." Many times train crews force them to dig up their hard-earned coin in exchange for the precarious privilege of riding a freight train. Capitalist newspapers play into the game of the Commercial Clubs by sending out lying statements about good wages and plenty of work in places that

are flooded with men. Also they carry on a regular propaganda for students and "white collar" workers of the scissor-bill type to pour into the harvest fields in an effort to defeat the attempts of the agricultural workers to organize. The filthy papers of the kept press never miss an opportunity to misrepresent the harvest "stiff" by stating that his chief delight is burning up threshing rigs and destroying things generally. The various State Administrations almost invariably stamp the conspiracy of the Commercial Clubs to smash unions and to manhandle union men with the seal of their approval. Papers and leaflets telling the truth about job conditions and urging the harvest slaves to organize are denied the use of the mails. Delegates and organizers are arrested on sight and often on suspicion. But in spite of all this the work of building up the One Big Union of Agricultural workers goes on uninteruptedly. Such repressive and despotic measures only make the workers more determined to organize. Furthermore they serve to show the harvest workers who are their enemies and how best to overcome them.

THE FARM "HAND"

The monthly farm "hand" is usually a different species of animal. He is of the home-grown variety and sometimes nurses the delusion that, in some unknown and miraculous manner he will become a full-fledged farmer himself some day. This kind of worker does not travel much and consequently lacks the education which familiarity with different industries and different parts of the country gives a man. His viewpoint is much more restricted. Being employed the year round and unorganized as a rule, the farm hand receives and is satisfied with far less pay than the organized harvest worker is in a position to demand. Many of these workers, however are learning their true position in capitalist society by means of study, observation and the pressure of harsh experience. Revolutionary propaganda and Industrial Unionism has a certain appeal to their intelligence and interests. In a great many cases they have lined up with their seasonal fellow workers and have become deep students of the Labor Movement and good organizers as well. Each and every one of them is needed to help make the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union a success.

CALIFORNIA—SUNSHINE AND SLAVERY

Sunny California has a fruit, hops and grain harvest that is unique in itself. Here the migratory workers find employment in the many canneries as well as in the fields. Needless to say these wage-slaves are exploited and oppressed as elsewhere. The Wheatland hop strike of 1913 and the resulting unjust conviction of its leaders, Ford and Suhr, to life sentences in the penitentiary is one of the tragic chapters of American labor history. There are probably more big bonanza farms in California than any other state. The Miller and Lux ranches, if placed adjoining one another, would make a plot of ground bigger than the State of Illinois. Farming in California, as in some parts of Texas, is industrialized. Nearly all of the labor is performed by

THRESHING WHEAT ON A WESTERN FARM

Without the migratory worker and labor-saving machinery the wheat fields of the West would be practically valueless. Only under a Free Society, where production is carried on for use instead of profit, can the human race reap the benefits of the inventive genius of master minds.

wage-slaves—white, Mexican and Hindu. The middle-class independent farmer is a negligible factor. Many of these workers are organized strongly in spite of most repressive anti-labor "Criminal Syndicalism" laws. Many migratory workers in the state have followed orange picking exclusively for as long as twenty years.

The Miller and Lux ranches are known as "the Dirty Plate Route", because workers traveling from job to job can always stop off for a frugal bite to eat—from a "dirty plate". The reason for this piece of generosity is that the company seeks always to have an adequate supply of labor on hand for their needs. The culinary workers on the ranches, resentful of a constantly glutted labor market, even things up by failing properly to attend to the matter of dish washing.

Among the food products of California may be mentioned, potatoes, onions, and all kinds of garden truck. Beans are raised in great quantities, the acreage increasing yearly. Rice, wheat, oats and barley are also raised. But fruit is what has made California world-famous. The "Golden State" is noted for its apples, peaches, pears, cherries, lemons, oranges, grape-fruit, apricots, melons, cantaloupes, persimmons and grapes. Walnuts and almonds are staple crops.

The sunny valleys between the Sierras and the coast range are tremendously fertile and produce in abundance. In some parts, seven and eight crops of alfalfa are cut during the year. In contrast to the above statements we may add that the water supply, on the whole, is poor. As a result malarial fever takes its toll of the lives of the workers. Conditions of labor on the ranches are generally bad—long hours, poor food and small pay. The summers are long, dry and hot; the winters noted for heavy rains. The migratory workers of the state eke out a precarious existence following up the different crops, working in the woods, packing houses and canneries. California is said to be the land of sunshine, fruit and flowers. It is also the land of graft, corruption and exploitation.

CAN THE POLITICIAN HELP?

In the face of such conditions what must the agricultural worker do to better his lot in life? Vote, says somebody. But the majority of harvest workers are debarred from a participation in political affairs by reason of the fact that they are not permitted to remain in one place long enough to register and to vote. Their economic needs have taken the franchise away from him. The place in society into which they have been thrust by inexorable social laws, has denied them the privilege of exercising their rights as citizens. In addition to this they have learned that electing politicians to office is a most unreliable method of bettering economic ills, the remedy for which lies in the use of economic weapons.

The "stiff" has found out that political government itself is the reflection of industrial power. He believes that when the workers take over the industries the political government will reflect their economic interests just as it now does the interests of the capitalist class. To be frank, the agricultural worker has seen laws passed in favor of Labor—like the eight hour law, for instance—and has noticed that these laws are never effective unless the workers have the power on the job to enforce them, and he has come to think that the surest way of gaining demands is to strike for them at the point of production. Then too, he has seen numbers of socialist candidates elected lawfully who were denied office because the ruling class did not wish them seated. He has lost faith in politicians and is skeptical about the whole of politics. The only political institution he looks upon with favor at all—at best only a temporary one—is something like the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, which will enable the workers to hold off the sinister forces of reaction and repression until the workers themselves take over the world and its industries which rightfully belong to them.

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY VS. CRAFT DIVISION

The star of hope for the agricultural worker is therefore *industrial organization.* Political bodies made up of politicians ignorant of or indifferent to the facts and realities of *industry* are not competent to legislate upon matters concerning the industrial needs of the workers. The workers who operate industry and know its needs are better qualified than anyone else to take charge of their own destinies by means best suited to themselves. Industrial organization is necessary because it is impossible for workers to improve their conditions when they face the employing class divided or as mere individuals. They learn in the industrial union of their industry not only to work together, but to think and to act together—to co-operate for their mutual advancement. Industrial organization—One Big Union—alone makes it possible for agricultural workers to gain the power necessary to fight the everyday battles with the employing class, and eventually to overthrow the hellish capitalist system and claim the world for the workers. In other words, industrial organization spells HOPE because it points the way, through the

nightmare of the present, to the Workers' Commonwealth of the Future which is the just heritage of all who toil.

CAUCASIANS WINNOWING WHEAT

The grain is tossed into the air with large wooden shovels or "fans", as the Bible speaks of them, the wind blowing away the chaff. Contrast this picture with that of a modern threshing rig. Then think how very little all the improvements in machinery have benefited the men who actually do the work.

Craft unions are impossible in agriculture on account of the very nature of the industry. As in lumbering and mining, vast bodies of workers are thrown together as a mass to produce certain things that the human race needs. Unlike manufacturing, their work is not divided into shops or mechanical processes. The A. F. of L., recognizing this fact has, very wisely, never attempted to organize the brawny toilers of the fields. Craft unions in agriculture would be absurd in the extreme. Imagine "unions" composed of threshing machine men, team drivers and bundle pitchers all working on the same job and with contracts expiring at different times! In this manner one "craft" would be compelled to scab on another, just as is done in industries controlled by the A. F. of L. today. Craft unions would be valueless to agricultural workers for the same reason that they are valueless to all other workers. They split the ranks of Labor. They are out-of-date and not adapted to the needs of modern industry. They are based on the false theory that the interest of Capital and Labor are identical. They only serve to confuse and mislead the workers in the interests of their employers.

The advantages of the industrial form of organization are obvious, First, *more solidarity*; secondly greater concentration of effort; third, complete cessation of work whenever necessary to shut down the entire industry thus making strikes far shorter and more effective than they are at present. "Hi-jacks", brutal marshalls and "shacks" will become as tame as kittens when the "stiffs" are organized into One Big Union and in a position to co-operate with other workers organized likewise. The advantages of the industrial form of organization are that it solidly unites *all* the workers in one industry. Unity is strength. If the workers of all industries were organized in this way they would be so powerful that nothing could resist them.

EXPLOITATION AND ITS REMEDY

The immediate benefits of industrial organization are shorter wages and better conditions. The loggers of the Northwest organized themselves into a powerful union under an I. W. W. charter and compelled the lumber trust to give better bunk houses, shower baths, clean linen and good grub. In addition to this they gained the eight hour day and did away with the practice of packing "bindles." Agricultural workers can do all this—and more by organizing likewise.

The ultimate aim of organized agricultural workers is to do away with wage slavery and land tenantry. For the *real* workers to take over the industry and run it in co-operation with the workers of all other industries for *use* instead of *profit*—for the benefit of *the entire human race* instead of a *few* landlords and idle parasites. This will do away with human exploitation and insure happiness and freedom for all the people of the world.

If agricultural—or any other—labor received the full product of its labor there would be no class struggle. The trouble is that all labor is exploited—robbed—at the point of production. Workers produce far more on the job than is given them in return for their labor. The wage slaves, sharing in neither the ownership of the land or the machinery of production, must sell their labor-power in order to live. They must sell themselves as wage slaves to men who are in a position to give them access to the means of life. The owners return to the workers only a small portion of the product of their toil in the form of "wages." The rest they keep. Agricultural workers are exploited at the point of production in exactly the same manner as workers in other industries are exploited—by producing what is known to social scientists as "surplus value." Each worker produces commodities by his labor on the job. Labor power is also a commodity —something that can be bought and sold. The capitalist buys the labor power and pays for it—in the form of wages—just enough to reproduce it. In other words, just enough to enable the wage slave to exist. Everything above this the capitalist keeps. Farmers, like other employers, pay on the average just enough to enable their workers to get food, clothing and shelter —such as they are—just enough to enable the workers to return to the job day after day and expend their labor power in the production of other commodities. All value created by labor, over and above the cost of its reproduction, is called "surplus value." It is thus that labor is robbed at the point of production. There is not a dollar of any great fortune in the world that was not wrung from the working class in this manner.

THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS OWN UNION

We have shown how craft unions and political action are of but little or no benefit to agricultural workers and that industrial organization is their only hope. Is their a union then, built up along these lines that will enable the agricultural "stiff" to achieve prosperity and freedom? There is such a union, and it has met with great success from its inception.

The first organization of this kind in the United States was

the Agricultural Workers' Organization—the A. W. O., of the Industrial Workers of the World. This union was at first known as Local 400. It is now known as the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110 of the I. W. W. This organization was founded in the spring of 1915 at a conference of a small group of agricultural workers organized in the I. W. W. The first conference was held in Kansas City, Mo., in April, 1915. The idea was to have One Big Union in the agricultural industry instead of a number of autonomous locals. The A. W. O. proved to be a success from the start. It made great headway among the harvest workers and was very successful in raising wages, shortening hours and improving conditions. The formation of the A. W. O. was an important point in the history of the I. W. W. It marked the transition between the propaganda period and job organization. The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union has been of such tremendous value to the harvest "stiff" since its birth that all the combined powers of capitalistic repression during the bitter period of the war have been unable to uproot it from the harvest fields.

RICE THREASING IN JAPAN

Harvest workers in Japan threshing rice by hand, the stalks being drawn through a rough wooden comb. Rice is the chief crop raised by the Japanese, the yearly production being about 250,000,000 bushels. Two thirds of the population of the world subsists on a rice diet.

FARMERS, WORKERS AND THE REVOLUTION

In the face of the great world crisis that is approaching it is necessary for progressive farmers and progressive workers to reach a better understanding. Both of them are necessary to any programme of social change. Both are organized.

During the acute period of the Coming Change these two elements can save the world a great deal of suffering and disorder by acting in unison. This very necessary step is in no sense of the word a compromise with the "politicians" on the part of the I. W. W. It is simply a means of getting together with earnest and sincere men of different schools of thought who are also determined to bring the system of exploitation to a close. The day of narrow and intolerant dogmatism is past. It is now necessary, in view of the imminent breakdown of capitalism, to reach an understanding with other powerful bodies who are necessary to the success of the revolution.

Even under present-day conditions organized farmers and organized harvest workers can co-operate to advantage by

agreeing about the supply of union labor necessary to take care of the crops of different districts. Questions of union halls—as labor distributing and union supply stations—and of transportation might also be considered. Wages, hours and sanitary conditions might be decided by means of tentative agreements—not contracts—but a mutual understanding as to a certain amount of work for certain wages during harvest time. There must always be some kind of agreements. For instance: men on strike agree to return to work when their demands are granted. Tentative agreements may enable workers and farmers to unite against the common enemies of both—the banker, commission parasite, Chambers of Commerce and the transportation pirates. Such understandings would do good however only on a large scale. Contracts with individual farmers are impossible and of no value.

WORKING FARMERS AND CAPITALIST FARMERS

Farmers are not all in the same class. There are working farmers and capitalist farmers. The interests of agricultural workers and capitalist farmers are diametrically opposed. The revolution will expropriate these land-hogs just as was done in Russia. Their vast estates will be the property of the whole people. They will be worked on the communal plan and managed democratically through the Industrial Union Councils. All of these large areas of productive land will be industrialized and operated as industrial units. The most up-to-date machinery and scientific processes will be used. It is more than probable that all farming will be done in this manner eventually because small farming is both arduous and inefficient. But small farmers will have to be won over to the idea of scientific production by logic and education instead of force. It would be a fatal mistake to compel an individual farmer to give over his land to a communal "experiment". During the revolution, and possibly for a generation afterwards, the small farmer will not be troubled. Perhaps small farms will continue to exist under the New Society. If men and women wish to be secluded from the crowd and are willing to put up with the inconveniences of rustic simplicity there should be no one to stop them. There will be land enough for all when capitalism is overthrown. Each man is entitled to own all the land he can operate. No human being should or will be denied the right to "sit under his own vine and fig tree."

At the present time the interests of the working farmers and the agricultural workers are, in the main, identical. Both are in fact workers. It is to the interests of both that rent, interest and profit be done away with. A working farmer is just as thoroughly exploited as a wage worker, even if he owns a little farm and is out of debt. The working farmer is dependant upon the elevators, the railroads and the commission sharks to store, haul or buy his products. But he has no control over these and no

voice in the matter at all. Consequently they make a practice of charging "all the traffic will stand". The same is true of the machinery trust. This mighty organization has always been militantly opposed to labor. The anti-union policies to which it has always strictly adhere were directly responsible for the unjust hanging of the Haymarket martyrs of 1887. The harvester trust has enriched itself incredably at the expense of the farmers of America. It profiteered shamelessly during the war and afterwards. It is one of the biggest and most rapacious trusts in America today.

CHATTAL SLAVERY IN THE OLD SOUTH

Colored workers were first imported to work on the large plantations of the South. These were housed, fed, clothed, and taken care of when they were sick. The modern "free" harvest worker is a wanderer upon the face of the earth. He sells his body on the labor market to whoever will buy. Wage slavery is as intolerable as chattal slavery.

Think for a moment of the immensity of this private enterprise and of the millions dependant upon it for bread! Its plant in Chicago alone covers 229 acres. It turns out annually 35,000 completed agricultural machines as well as 60,000 tons of binding twine—enough to go 380 times around the Earth. It owns its own mines, railroads, steamships and steel mills. The Agnew mine, at Hibbing, Minnesota, the Hawkins mine at Nashwauk, Minnesota and the Illinois mine at No. Freedom Wisconsin, are its properties. Its blast furnaces at South Chicago have a capacity of 700,000 tons per year. In addition to these the harvester trust own its own timberlands, saw-mills and lumber yards. Its timber properties are at Deering, Missouri. The saw mill cuts every year 15,000,000 feet of lumber yearly. It owns the second largest lumber yard in the world in Chicago. Altogether 60,000,000 feet of lumber are used annually in the production of agricultural machinery.

Think of an industry as vast and important as this one being entirely under the direction and control of a small coterie of predatory profiteers! Think of the marvelous productivity of the modern machine process when, according to the boast of the harvester trust itself: "the vast factory is now so magically automatic that with 6,000 workmen it can build a large percentage of all the grain harvesting machines produced in the world!"

The above facts will help to show how it happens that the farmer is left only a bare subsistance for his labor. Of course

there are farmers who, all absorbed in their narrow greedy world, will continue to fight their battles alone. Such men are hard to deal with at all times. There are many others who are broad-minded—even radical who despise the capitalist system and strive to bring about Industrial Democracy. At the I. W. W. trial in Chicago many of these testified in favor of the defendants. It would be a shortsighted policy indeed for organized agricultural workers to refuse to co-operate with them against a common enemy. This step becomes more necessary as the life of capitalism becomes shorter and shorter. Not only this but rebel agricultural workers should work energetically to spread the doctrine of industrial communism among all farmers, particularly small owners and tenants. This educational measure is imperative because this class of people must be organized to co-operate at the right time with the workers of the great industrial centers by supplying food products in exchange for manufactured articles, tools, machinery, clothing, shoes, etc. Without this co-operation the workers of the cities would be faced with starvation in times of revolution. Moreover if the farmers as a class are unorganized and uneducated along class lines the capitalists could recruit an army from among their ranks to crush the workers of the cities and strangle any movement for emancipation. By working in harmony farmers and workers are both helping to build the structure of the New Society within the shell of the old. They are not only preparing for a day of crisis but for a day of emancipation.

SOLIDARITY—WHAT IT MEANS

The aim of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union is to achieve industrial solidarity in the agricultural industry. The aim of the Industrial Workers of the World is to make solidarity possible for the workers in the world's industries. It is only united action—solidarity—that the workers can win their struggles with the master class today or be able to throw off the shackles of wage slavery tomorrow. Solidarity for agricultural workers means: first that they shall have unity of thought by getting together in meetings and conventions, comparing ideas and arriving at an agreement about what conditions have to be met and how best to face them. Second, there should be unity of *action,* for without this the best plans and ideas are of no benefit. Get together! Think together! Act together! The Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union will grow just in proportion as its members work together to make it a success.

Apart from the obvious advantages of the One Big Union plan of organization, solidarity makes possible the production of 100 per cent union made goods. In the A. F. of L. the label usually signifies merely that the craft in charge of the last process of production was unionized. No assurance can be given that *all* the workers whose labor was necessary to turn out the finished product were union men. Take a loaf of bread for example. It carries the label, but does this mean that it is strictly a union labor product? Let us see.

In the first place was the seed planted by union farm help? Was the grain cut and threshed by union harvest hands? Were both planting and reaping done with union made machinery, using union made gasoline or coal? Was the grain hauled by union teamsters in union made wagons to union elevators? Was it ground into flour by union mill hands, transported by union railroaders and carted to union bakeries in union made trucks? Unless all these processes are unionized then it is a misnomer to call the finished loaf of bread "union made". Unlike the craft-divided A. F. of L. the I. W. W. plan of organization makes possible the production of union made bread from the sowing of the seed to the baking of the loaf. The same is true of other industries. Figure it out for yourself.

THE FRUIT HARVEST IN CALIFORNIA

California has a harvest typical her own. The Golden State is noted for her luscious fruit and feudal labor conditions. It is the land of sunshine and industrial tyranny. California produces an abundance of everything—including albor-hatred. Her parasite class is just a trifle more greedy and brutal than that of any other state in the Union. But her agricultural workers are organized "for keeps" in the I. W. W.

TACTICS, GOOD AND BAD

Agricultural workers should join the I. W. W. because it is the only tried and true, clear-cut revolutionary industrial union in America. Members can best work for the organization by first becoming thoroughly familiar with its principles, aims and objects; and then endeavoring by all means within their power to educate and organize their fellow workers. The most effective way is to distribute I. W. W. leaflets, pamphlets, books and papers. Every member should be a contributor to the I. W. W. press. All workers lined up in the harvest fields should keep their Red Cards paid up and transfer into their proper Industrial Union as soon as they leave the harvest fields for other lines of work.

Waiting in town or in the "jungles" while holding out for higher wages is a poor policy. This tends to keep the organized men on the "bum" while the unorganized do nothing to improve conditions. The place to take action is *on the job*, and it is the only way to get results. Other tactics that are harmful are soapboxing by ignorant or inexperienced members and throwing unorganized workers off freight trains. This causes hard feelings

against the I. W. W. that is felt in other industries. We are out for 100 per cent organization, but we must keep the issues of the big struggle constantly in mind and use judgement and foresight.

Tactics that have proved most successful are: *take out organizer's credentials* at the "doing wages"; line up as many as possible of the crew and then make demands if the conditions are not what they should be. The "slowing down" process will be found of great help where employers are obstinate. Small employers can usually be brought to time by small strikes, but strikes against large employers must be on a large scale to be effective. For instance, men employed on the farm are in a position to strike successfully against the individual employer, but where the farms are large and industrialized it is necessary to have concerted action on a large scale. Organized Workers on the job should keep in touch with one another at all times and with the Branch office as well. Jobs should be located in the union hall or job bulletin in preference to any other places. Students wishing more thoroughly to investigate Social Science are urged to read "Shop Talks on Economics" by Mary Marcy, "The Origin of the Family" by Frederick Engles, "The Evolution of Property" by Paul LaFargue, "The Ancient Lowly" by J. Osborn Ward and "Ancient Society" by Lewis H. Morgan. These books are for sale by the Charles H. Kerr Company of Chicago.

ORGANIZATION FOR EMANCIPATION

ORGANIZATION!

This is the magic word. It has changed conditions on many a rotten job. It has enabled thousands to gain *shorter hours.* And shorter hours mean longer life, less exploitation and fewer unemployed. It has enabled many a harvest worker to gain a winter stake and keep the wolves of hunger at a distance throughout the long, cold months of winter. Organization—the magic word—makes men out of slaves, dollars out of dimes, prosperity out of privation and hope out of despair. Organization means strength, security and manhood. Lack of organization means helplessness, uncertainty and industrial serfdom.

Think it over and decide for yourself.

For years the men who gather the crops of the nation have struggled to secure better conditions, shorter hours and more wages. For years they have fought to build up an ORGANIZATION that could help to put an end to the hideous nightmare of wage-slavery and make the working class free from the yoke of capitalism. These men have fought a hard fight. They have been persecuted, jailed and lied about just as workers are everywhere are jailed, persecuted and lied about whenever they band together in industry to *compel* the masters of bread to yield to Labor a greater share of what Labor produces.

The men who helped to organize the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 110 of the Industrial Workers of the World have born the brunt of the battle. They made these sacrifices

willingly and gladly, not only for themselves, but for ALL workers whose fate it is to toil in the harvest fields. They endured this terrible ordeal that YOU, Mr. Unorganized Harvest Worker might be able to enjoy more of the good things of life. They did this because the alternative was too horrible to contemplate. Conditions forced the union agricultural workers to choose between *organization* and *power*—between *solidarity* and *slavery.* They had the back bone to stick and the result is the union is stronger today than ever before. The A. W. I. U. has survived the most savage persecution because its membership had the courage to stand firm in the face of injustice and unbridled greed. The master class has never conceded anything out of the kindness of their hearts. In the harvest fields, as elsewhere, Labor GETS and KEEPS only what it has the power to TAKE.

And don't forget this: All the benefits you reap—all the favorable conditions you enjoy—are the result of the efforts and sacrifices of the men who built up this UNION—the MEMBERS of this UNION who are working around you in the harvest fields today. Don't be the kind of a fellow that will enjoy the good things other men have achieved without giving anything in return. It is to your interest to join the union and STICK until the world is made safe for labor. The right to organize is an inherent right. It is the right of men to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. "No one can justly or constitutionally abrogate this right. ORGANIZATION is the magic word. The A. W. I. U. takes this opportunity of appealing to your intelligence and loyalty to Labor.

Be a man! The struggle is not yet over. Take your stand with the Powers of Light against the Powers of Darkness. There is no middle ground. Don't hesitate. Every worker with red blood in his veins ought to have a Red Card in his pocekt. Labor is facing the sunrise of Emancipation. Don't be a stumbling block on the road of Progress. The final battle of the ages is here. Join hands with the revolutionary I. W. W. and fight to bring about the happy Commonwealth of Toil that is to be.

"There amidst the world new-builded will our earthly deeds
Though our abide
names be all forgotten and the tale of how we
died."

For further information and literature see nearest I. W. W. delegate or write to Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union, No. 110, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago.

The Socialization of Agriculture in Russia.

By V. VASILIEV.

(From "Soviet Russia", May 15, 1920)

The Soviet Government convened, in December, 1918, an All-Russian Congress of the rural committees of poor peasants, and of the agricultural communes, a congress which elaborated a project of a fundamental law on socialistic land organization. On the basis of that project, the Soviet Government promulgated, on February 14, 1919, its most important agrarian law—the very comprehensive "Decree on Socialistic Land Organization, and the Transition to Socialistic Agriculture," which established the basic Soviet policy in the socialization of agriculture. This decree has been in effect up to the present time. Its essential features are as follows:

First of all, the decree emphasizes that all the land constitutes a single national reserve, under the administration of the appropriate people's commissariats and local Soviet institutions. The decree acknowledges, for the ends of socialization, the necessity of the organization of large Soviet economies, agricultural communes, collective tillage, and other phases of the collective utilization of land. From individual use there are entirely excluded, except in extraordinary cases, all the lands which at the time of the promulgation of the decree, were not allotted to the individual rural households, and, in particular, the lands upon which there have already been or are to be organized the above-mentioned collective forms of agriculture, or the lands with rural industrial enterprises, experimental stations, experimental fields, and other agricultural-educational establishments.

All the work on the socialistic land organization is to be conducted by the county and provincial land departments (composed of representatives of the Soviet Government and of various labor and peasants' organizations), under the supreme guidance of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture.

The decree contemplates the Soviet estates as model agricultural enterprises, purposing to get out of them the maximum of productiveness, and to make them serve as large agronomic centers of agricultural instruction for the surrounding peasantry. For the Soviet estates are particularly designated and reserved: the former private highly cultivated large economies; estates with granaries, orchards, vineyards; tea, tobacco and beet plantations; with complicated technico-agricultural arrangements (cheese factories, butter-shops, dairies, corn-mills, wine-producing plants); with highly developed stock-farming; with rural industrial enterprises (agricultural repair shops, etc.); and with ponds and lakes for fish-breeding.

For the ends of agricultural instruction the decree provides for the organization on the Soviet estates, of experimental stations, experimental fields, workshops, agricultural courses and exhibitions, agricultural schools, libraries, museums, theatres and other cultural institutions.

The Soviet estates are placed under the supreme authority of the People's Commissariat of Agriculture, and locally their affairs are directed by special provincial, regional and local boards of the Soviet estates. The technical and administrative business of each separate estate is conducted by a steward-specialist or by a council, appointed by the People's Commissariat of Agriculture and the corresponding provincial board. A labor committee elected by the laborers of the estate from their own ranks regulates the internal arrangement of the work and supervises the economic and sanitary conditions of the life of the laborers.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The I·W·W· IN THEORY & PRACTICE

JUSTUS EBERT

A clear-cut presentation of the I. W. W. position from the viewpoint of one of its ablest scholars. This illuminating book is not only a powerful arraignment of the capitalist system but an honest statement of the principles and ideals that have made the I. W. W. indestructible. It proves the soundness of the revolutionary One Big Union idea with a wealth of facts and figures. It is written in simple, forceful language, and proves every point with the latest statistics: a veritable gold mine of industrial information.

Attractively printed, 128 pages. Price fifty cents per copy, prepaid.

Address: George Hardy, 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

The American Legion

AND

THE CENTRALIA CASE

What became of the $16,500 collected for the Armistice Day hero memorial fund.

What the commander of one Legion post said about the Centralia tragedy.

Has the Spokane district of the Legion completed its inquiry into this case? If so, is it willing to make public all of its findings?

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Ill.

$16,500 Is Spent on Salaries And Collection Expenses

HUNDREDS of persons who contributed money to the fund for an American Legion Memorial to the four Legionaires killed in the 1919 Armistice Day riot at Centralia, Washington, have finally learned what became of the $16,500 collected by the Centralia Memorial Association, Inc. It was all spent for salaries and expenses of those who promoted the project.

This has lately been revealed in a lawsuit brought against the association by A. D. Tasker on a claim for services which was assigned to him. The assigned claim was that of Frank Jackson of Seattle, who contracted to direct a subscription campaign at a salary of $500 a week and expenses. One-half of this salary was to have been paid weekly and the balance when the entire fund of $250,000 was raised.

Jackson was advertised as a go-getter, and the drive started early in 1922 amid a blaze of glory. The association's general committee was headed by Col. C. B. Blethen, publisher of the Seattle Daily Times, while Lieutenant-Governor W. J. Coyle was vice-chairman, and the head of the executive committee was C. D. Cunningham, one of the special prosecutors who sent eight I. W. W. members to prison for 40 years for defending their lives against a mob of Legionaires on the Armistice Day in question.

At first the going was easy for the memorial fund promoters. But after a month or so they struck snags. Several Legion posts in the Eastern part of Washington refused to contribute; it is said that the Yakima post would give nothing. And the collectors found that many citizens were skeptical about the four slain Legionaires being heroes.

For the story of what actually happened at Centralia on November 11, 1919, had spread widely. Thousands of people throughout Washington had heard that Judge John M. Wilson, who tried the I. W. W. defendants at Montesano, suppressed all evidence offered by the defense to show that 100 business

NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

men had conspired to attack the I. W. W. hall; that the police had refused to protect the 'Wobblies' against this threatened raid; that another I. W. W. hall had been attacked by the tail-end of a patriotic parade and the I. W. W. members in that hall maltreated and deported. Judge Wilson would not permit the jury to know about any of these happenings.

And Legionaires east of the mountains and away from the scene of the hysteria around Centralia, knew of and could appraise more coolly a statement made by Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte post of the Legion in 1919, in which Bassett declared that: "The I. W. W. in Centralia who fired on the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters were fully justified in their act. . . . The reports of the evidence at the coroner's inquest show that the attack was made before the firing started."

Many persons, too, had heard of the testimony of Dr. Frank Bickford at the inquest, even though it was submerged in the newspaper accounts of the tragedy. **Bickford was a member of the American Legion and a marcher in the Armistice Day parade. He said at the inquest, and repeated his statement at the trial, that: "When the parade stopped in front of the I. W. W. hall, I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow. But others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside."**

And when the memorial fund drive started, some of the jurors who convicted the Centralia I. W. W. members had just begun to talk, to express remorse for their part in the conviction of the defendants. Talk like this, however the jurors might ask that it be kept confidential, was bound to spread. Finally Jurors W. E. Inmon and E. E. Sweitzer were so troubled by conscience that on May 15, 1922, both made affidavits to the effect that the jury was terrorized into returning a verdict of guilty. Subsequently four other jurors made similar affidavits.

So the great memorial project hit the rocks. Jackson quit work at the end of 11 weeks; the lawsuit was for the remaining half of his salary for that period. In defending the suit, the memorial association pleaded that it was without funds, and was granted a new trial.

When the General Defense Committee issued a pamphlet about the Centralia case entitled "These Are The Facts" in January, 1924, Dr. Robert Farley, commander of the Spokane District of the American Legion, indicated that an immediate investigation of the charges in that pamphlet would be made. His intention to recommend such an investigation was announced in a news story published in the Spokane Daily Chronicle on February 2.

Dr. Farley asserted that "a review of the booklet and its comparison with the testimony introduced in the trial, I believe, will show the booklet to be pure bunk."

But he completely ignored the charge in our pamphlet that Judge Wilson suppressed a mass of evidence vital to the defense.

Has the Spokane district of the Legion completed its inquiry into the Centralia case? If it has done so, is it willing to publish its full findings? And if it finds that we are correct in our accusation against Judge Wilson, and in our charge that 100 business men did conspire to attack the I. W. W., will it urge Governor Hart to set the eight convicted defendants free?

All Legion posts and members who have not received a copy of our latest pamphlet, "Eight Men Buried Alive," are urged to write for it at once. This pamphlet is free. Written dispassionately, it is the most comprehensive statement of the Centralia case yet issued. Every Legion member ought to know both sides of the Armistice Day story.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison Street 5/28/24 **Chicago, Ill.**

And In The United States Liberty Lies Crushed —

A Statement Concerning the Cases of 53 Workingmen Still Imprisoned for Their Opinions About the War in Europe

By the
GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, U. S. A.

Twenty Years for an Opinion

FOR nearly one hundred and fifty years a tradition has been spread abroad—and is still being spread—portraying the United States as a land where men are free to think and worship and speak as they will. And unquestionably that was the intent of those who founded this republic, when they put into the national Constitution these words:

> *"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances."*

Yet the very officials sworn to uphold that Constitution have trampled upon it while mouthing patriotic phrases. . . . And 53 workingmen who believed in what was written in the Constitution are still imprisoned for opposing the war in Europe six years ago.

Convicted in three groups at the height of war hysteria, they have endured monumental suffering. **Five died in a fetid California jail while awaiting trial,** five out of 53 men held for 64 days and nights in a cell 21 by 21 in Sacramento. Another named Tomas Martinez was liberated when he hadn't a chance for life, and died quickly. Ricardo Flores Magon was permitted to die in his cell at Leavenworth, a victim of a deliberately brutal prison policy.

Letters lately smuggled out of Leavenworth penitentiary say that **Roy Conner, another political prisoner, has been strung up in chains for two days, and beaten unmercifully for writing to United States Senator Lodge, telling him of prison cruelties. Conner has been in solitary confinement for three years because he refused to work on the rock pile.**

Two others are coughing their lives away in the prison hospital at Leavenworth, despite all appeals to the White House. They are Edward Quigley and Caesar Tabib, members of the Industrial Workers of the World. Current reports from inside the walls say that Warden Biddle lately threw Tabib into a solitary cell because of a fight by others in the hospital annex, with which he had nothing to do. **If Tabib and Quigley die in the great cage in Kansas, the Harding administration cannot plead that it was ignorant of their broken physical condition; it will strive in vain for excuses to purge itself of blame.**

Forty-nine of the war-opinion prisoners are members of the I. W. W. Some of them are serving sentences of 20 years. They were convicted on four counts: 1. Conspiracy to hinder production and transportation of war supplies by means of strikes and violence; 2. Conspiracy to prevent fulfillment of war munition contracts by means of strikes and sabotage; 3. Conspiracy to obstruct the conscription act; 4. Conspiracy to obstruct recruiting and enlistment by means of speech and writing.

When the appeals courts reviewed the Chicago and Wichita convictions (which involve 26 of the prisoners in question) they threw out the first two counts, ruling that the prosecutors had failed to prove guilt under those sections of the indictments. On the third count the maximum sentence provided by law was one year in prison. These 26 defendants have served that year, and accordingly only the fourth count —the opinion count—now stands against them. This count charges precisely the same offense as that for which Eugene V. Debs was sent to prison.

In the Sacramento trial, however, a unique situation arose. It came at a hysterical time. The defendants (of which 23 remain in prison) believed with good reason that they could not expect a fair trial. In attempting to prepare a defense, they found themselves hampered at every turn.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

Their mail was confiscated by the postoffice authorities and turned over to the prosecution. Money sent to the defense committee to cover legal expenses never reached the committee. The defendants were held incommunicado and prohibited from interviewing witnesses. Documentary evidence in their favor was seized, and could never be recovered. Men connected with the prosecution were in frequent conversation with Charles M. Fickert, the district attorney who framed up Tom Mooney and Warren Billings. Defendants were offered their liberty if they would perjure themselves and testify against their fellows.

In the face of all these obstacles, the Sacramento prisoners saw that there was no chance of getting a fair trial. So they went into court without a lawyer and sat silent throughout the trial, offering no defense.

After the conviction, friends of the defendants sought to carry the case to the court of appeals; but in this they were balked by what may or may not have been an accident. They were informed by a court clerk that they could have six months within which to file a bill of exceptions; when they came to file the bill, they were astounded to learn that the time regularly allowed for filing an appeal was ten days. So it was impossible to carry the evidence in the case before the court of review.

But the testimony in the Sacramento case, in substance and quality, was essentially the same as that offered against the Chicago and Wichita defendants. The General Defense Committee contends that if the Sacramento case could have been carried to a higher court, the appeals tribunal would have necessarily thrown out the sabotage and property destruction counts, in line with the decisions in the Chicago and Wichita cases.

President Harding publicly promised on July 19, 1922, that he would review the cases of all the politicals within 60 days and would set free all found to be serving sentences solely for opinions. That promise was not kept. Why, we do not know. Mr. Harding has never explained to any of the eminent organizations whose representatives addressed him that day or appealed to him before or afterward.

All of the 53 war-opinion prisoners have been locked up more than five years. They have paid the price to keep the lines for free speech open in the United States. They have endured incredible suffering; some are ill in prison; two are slowly dying in Leavenworth. None of them stands convicted for any act committed with the intention of serving the nation's late enemy. **Yet all persons convicted of actual espionage have been liberated; and the government has seen fit to release those who blew up munitions ships and bridges, those who sold draft exemptions for cash, and those convicted of wholesale profiteering. One of the persons set free was a woman who sold doctored eye-glasses to drafted men so that they might escape military service.**

Every other nation has freed all men sentenced for anti-war opinions.

Because of President Harding's broken promise, 100,000 workers in the marine, lumber and construction industries in the United States abandoned their jobs on April 25, 1923, as a protest against the continued imprisonment of their brothers.

This strike followed appeals to President Harding from 300,000 signers of petitions; 40,000 locals of the American Federation of Labor; the Federal Council of Churches, representing 10,000,000 communicants; the National Catholic Welfare Council; the state legislature of Wisconsin; and the Women's International League.

Other notable petitioners in behalf of the politicals are these: Major-General John F. O'Ryan, commander of the 27th Division in the world war, and now head of the New York State National Guard; Major Alexander Sydney Lanier, late captain in the Military Intelligence Division, General Staff U. S. Army; fifty-one bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, including Bishop George H. Brent, chief of the Chaplains' Service with the American Expeditionary Forces; U. S. Senator George Wharton

Pepper, who analysed the trial record of the Chicago case; United States Senator William E. Borah; Governor Walton of Oklahoma; and Governor Blaine of Wisconsin.

British workers by the thousands have been stirred by the facts about the political prisoners in the United States, and have raised their voices in protest, appealing either to the nearest American consul or directly to President Harding. Some of the many organizations which have acted in this way are:

The Scottish Trade Union Congress, representing 240,000 workers; the National Union of Agricultural Workers in England; the National Union of Postoffice Workers; the National Musicians' Union; the National Amalgamated Furnishing Trades' Association; the Durham Miners' Association of Durham County, England; and various branches of the Independent Labour Party.

In Argentina, the powerful Union Sindical, which stretches across that republic, is picketing ships from the United States, greeting passengers from this country with pertinent inquiries, such as these:

"Why not take down the Statue of Liberty?" . . . . "Why did President Harding break his promise to liberate all men held for opinions?" . . . . "Why does your country keep men in prison for war opinions when you have freed all the spies?"

In Mexico a boycott against all products from the United States has been established by many labor unions, this boycott to prevail until all 53 politicals in the northern republic have been set free.

We no longer have any hope that the government authorities will release these prisoners as a matter of simple justice. They will give the word to open the prison gates only when the tide of public opinion throughout the world compels the Harding administration to act.

We ask all labor unions, all church organizations, all men and women who believe in the right of free speech and a square deal for every worker to protest to the utmost. Let the United States consuls in every foreign center know how you feel about this great wrong. Let President Harding know. Get up mass-meetings and spread the facts through your newspapers, so that every person who possesses the faculty of reason anywhere in the civilized world will know how liberty has been crushed and strangled in the United States.

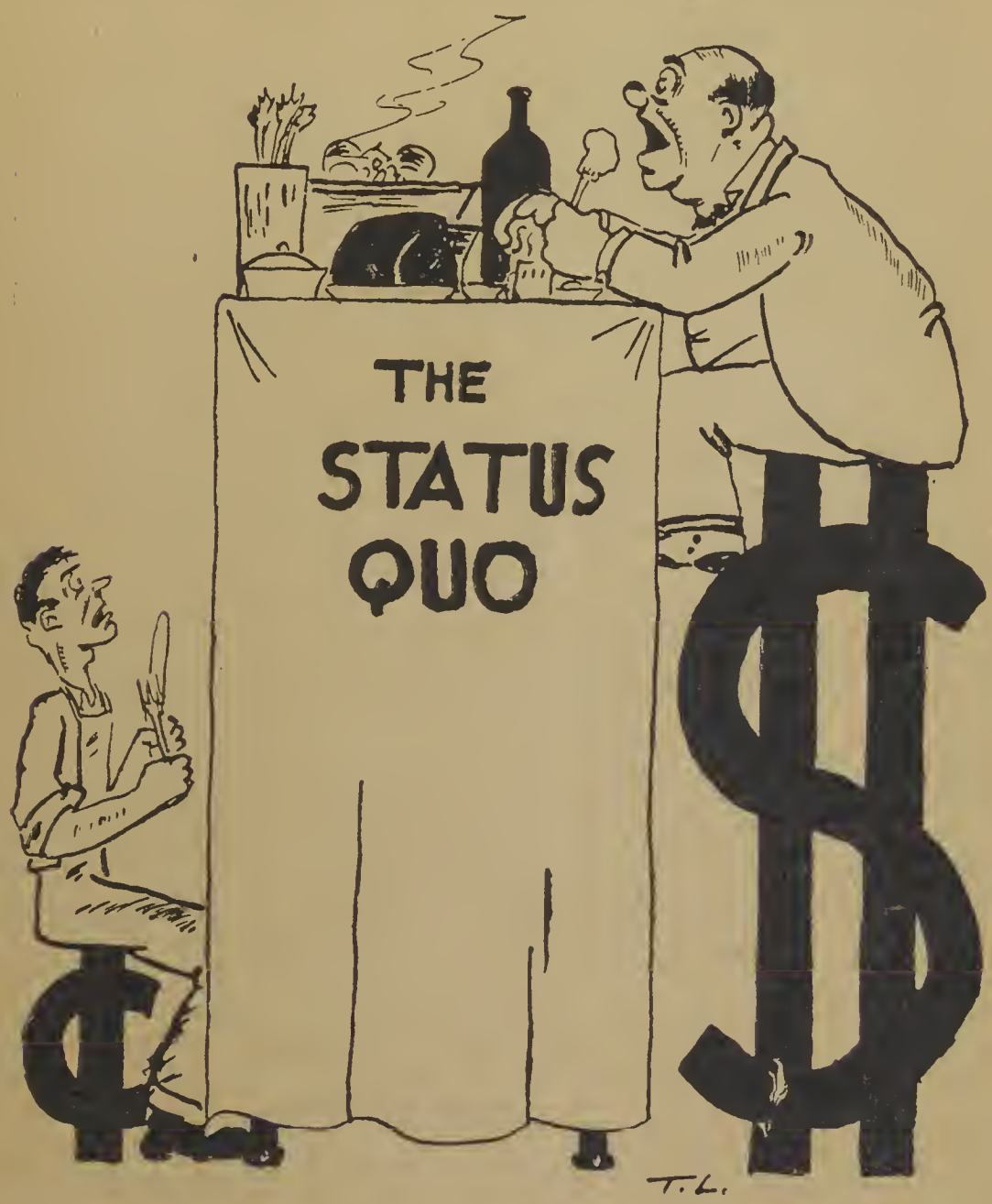
If you want further information, get in touch with the

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, U. S. A.

PRINTED IN U. S A.

BETTER TACTICS FOR A NEW PROBLEM



Starvation wages and official abuse of power are not necessary conditions on W P A jobs. Approach your problems in an organized manner and you can improve your living and working conditions.

To All WPA Workers!

Economic circumstances over which you in your unorganized state had no control made you WPA workers.

When the economic crash hit the country in 1929, and it finally, after long and profound meditation, dawned upon certain groups within the ranks of those who own and control the industries of the country that something had to be done in order to stave off impending bread riots and general discontent, then orders were issued to their political henchmen to do something about the matter.

When it became clear to the intellects of our economic bosses that something simply had to be done in order to protect dwindling profits, then their legislative yes-men were told to get busy. Bucketsful of crocodile tears were shed upon the shivering and starved carcass of the "forgotten man." The Socratic decision of "priming the pump" was reached. And through a maze of alphabetic whirligigs, you became the meager-paid WPA workers of today, or the recipients of a microbic state relief dole.

You are still very much forgotten and the pump leaks worse than ever—But you are here—a new sector within the American working class.

You have been lead here and there. You have been used by mealy-mouthed politicians as a means of furthering their own ends. You have been told by ambitious, self-seeking, would-be leaders to "follow us and all will be well"—only to awaken some fine day up a blind alley, to find that no improvement in your conditions had taken place.

Now Do Some Thinking

You have been induced by these same saviours to call badly planned and unorganized strikes—only to find yourselves beaten within a short time. And you have returned to your jobs discouraged and to worse conditions than before. The truth of this has been attested to in many parts of the country.

But to sink into the doldrums of despair and discouragement will in no way help your lot. To maintain an attitude that nothing can be done will only bring about a situation worse than the one you are now enduring.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

So it would be well if you, after your zig-zagging experiences, took a little stock of yourselves. It would be well if you looked up from your picks and shovels, or if you set down your Irish buggies long enough to take a calm and sane look at the situation. It would be well to see if you yourselves couldn't do something directly about those unpaid grocery bills, about those gas, light, water and rent bills that are becoming increasingly more and more tough to square. It would be well if you straightened your backs and took a slant down the line where your fellow workers are laboring with the same kind of worries in their brains as you have. And it would, indeed, be well and sensible if you walked down to them and said, "Here, fellow workers, let's get together on this question of a little more bread and butter and see if we ourselves couldn't do something about it."

And so, you should meet together and discuss your common problems and grievances. You should, first of all, make it clear to yourselves: "Who are we? What can we do? How can we best attack our problems?"

You'll Learn the Right Way

Singly, none of us amounts to much. Collectively, you can become a force that the politicians controlling your paychecks would be compelled to take notice of. And as for your grievances and economic problems—you have attacked them from a wrong angle in the past.

You should first of all learn not to strike in the ordinary manner. It has been proven in the past that to walk off the jobs didn't bring you very far. You have no financial resources to fall back upon. And the jobs you work on are not in the same category as are those of private industry. The politicians don't care if the projects are held up for a while—their fat checks will not be stopped.

So if your grievances are not settled upon presentation of them, you still have a number of weapons that would prove effective if carried out in an **organized** and **determined** manner. Those off the jobs should organize the sit-down in the administration offices. The telephones should be kept ringing all day with demands that your grievances be settled satisfactorily immediately. Those on the jobs should adopt two speeds—slow and slower. If your bosses don't like it, simply tell them your guts are empty—that maybe a little more dough would throw you back into high. And there are a number of other little pleasantries that might help to open the eyes of the kind politicians to your plight.

And best of all, there still remain in the good old bag of economic tricks a few which you as WPA workers have utterly failed to take into consideration: What if you decided that on a certain date, you would bring all your gas, light and water bills to your halls and then mail them to the local WPA manager with the kind request that he pays them until such time as the Big Shots in Washington come across with enough kale so that you could square them yourselves? What if, when the landlord puts in an appearance, you should hand him a dollar or two and tell him to go to the WPA for the balance? Surely, you could use the savings thus made to a pretty good advantage.

Your Organization

The timid will say: "It won't work.—They will turn off our gas and light.—We'll get put on the street." It won't work if only a few attempt it. **It will work if you all act as ONE.** Think of the job —the loss of profits—the dear old gas and light outfits would have turning off the meters in thousands of places. Think of the stink the communities in general would raise if they saw hundreds of families put on the street. In such tactics lies your power. By them you can win.

But actions that will bring home the bacon demand organization. Nothing can be done if you, as in the past, leave your grievances for the politicians or so-called labor "leaders" to settle. That has proven an utter fizzle. You, yourselves, must do it through democratically controlled rank and file organization.

Such an organization is the Industrial Workers of the World—the I. W. W. In fact, it is the **only** labor organization in America that will accept you upon such a basis. Many of those working on the WPA have already joined it. Why not you? You will find it a real union—exactly what a labor organization should be. It is industrially and scientifically organized. It believes in and practices the slogan, "An injury to One is an injury to All." It has no high-paid officials. All decisions are made and carried out by the rank and file. Its officials are elected by a general membership referendum. The I.W.W. accounts, to the smallest item, for every cent it receives and expends.

We urge you to line up with those other WPA workers who have already taken out the little red card. We urge you to join them in the fight for a fuller share of what rightfully should be yours. We urge you to join in the onward march of the One Big Union of all Labor.

Issued by

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago.

598

dencid - Bookkeeper 11-2006

THE FRAMED LIFE TERMERS
Left to right:
top: Jim Reynolds, W. B. Jones;
bottom: Chester Poore, Al Benson.

BLOODY HARLAN

And The Four Forgotten Victims Of Its 'Justice'

The La Follette Committee Forgot Them Too

LA FOLLETTE INQUIRY ENDS: WHAT NEXT?

Disclosure by the LaFollette Senatorial Committee inquiry into conditions in Harlan County, Kentucky, have confirmed charges repeatedly made by the Kentucky Miners Defense—about the organized terror used to crush unionism there, the intimidation, beatings, deportation of organizers and sympathizers, and wanton murders. But despite all its excellent work the Senatorial Committee has uncovered only a part of the picture.

We had hoped and expected that it would go back into the 1931-32 period, when the terror was at its worst and when seven courageous union leaders were framed up and sent to prison for life. Long before the inquiry began, we signified our readiness to co-operate fully in assembling evidence which would bring out all the facts about that perversion of justice, and we had representatives present throughout the hearings. Why the LaFollette Committee did not hear witnesses concerning the convictions growing out of the Evarts battle of May 5, 1931, has not been made public.

If the inquiry had gone into that darker portion of Harlan County history, beyond all doubt the revelations, with the pressure of public opinion, would have compelled Gov. A. B. Chandler to pardon and free the four framed-up life-terrors who remain in prison.

For those who may have thought that the glaring show-up of Harlan County by the LaFollette Committee would assure prompt release of these prisoners, we cite the curious reaction of Governor Chandler to the inquiry.

When a union official testified that the Governor had never given "any real protection" to Harlan County workers, the state executive denied the charge, and attempted to explain it away by saying: "Some of those people are mad at me because I did not pardon some criminals convicted for murder growing out of a bloody fight in Harlan County in May, 1931."

But Governor Chandler did not call these men criminals on December 24, 1936, when a delegation of thirty-five persons presented a mass of evidence to corroborate the contention of the Kentucky Miners Defense that the four were convicted of the alleged murder of three mine-guards through perjury and prejudice. That delegation included new key witnesses, labor officials, and Defense representatives.

"Not enough evidence" had been submitted to convince him, the Governor said them. "As far as the record goes, I can't grant your re-

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

quest. Bolster up your record and I'll consider it further. . . . I'll appeal to the Maker of my soul to guide me in making a final decision when the record has been completed. I would rather let these men out than keep them there. . . . Because I haven't given a pardon to any one yet doesn't mean that I won't. I probably will."

Mr. Chandler had before him that day the following line-up of evidence and appeals:

Dolly Hudson Daniels, widow of the chief mine-guard killed in the battle of Evarts, attested her belief before the Governor that all the prisoners were innocent.

Sherman Percival, former guard, who was wounded sixteen times in the clash, testified that he was unable to identify any of the defendants as having taken part in the battle, but that George Dawn, a principal Commonwealth witness, had said to him: "Damn it, say you saw them there whether you did or not." Percival urged that the prisoners be freed.

Precipitation of the battle when mine-guards wantonly attacked the miners' strike picket-line with Browning automatic rapid-fire guns hidden in their automobiles.

Prosecution witnesses who testified to one story in one trial and to different stories in subsequent trials.

Defense witnesses openly terrorized in the courtroom, indicted for participation in the alleged murders, or driven out of the county by threats.

Defense investigators beaten, shot, deported.

Transfer of trials to the Blue Grass farming section 200 miles away, to make it impossible for the defense to bring all its witnesses into court, and re-transfer of the remaining cases back to Harlan County, with Blue Grass juries brought there to try them. Trials before juries from the mountain counties resulted in acquittals or disagreements; trials before Blue Grass juries resulted in convictions. Chester Poore was acquitted by a mountain jury from Laurel County, and later convicted by a Blue Grass jury from Boyle County. W. B. Jones, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson, also were convicted by Blue Grass juries, who were unfamiliar with the peculiar conditions in turbulent Harlan County.

Petitions from 46 of the 47 living jurors recommending the release of the Harlan men.

Petitions for pardons from hundreds of thousands of persons across the country.

Letters interceding for the four prisoners from two of the three trial judges.

The evidence of innocence which led former Governor Laffoon to free Hightower, Phillips, and Hudson, who were convicted on essentially the same testimony as Jones, Poore, Reynolds, and Benson.

Forty-three miners and sympathizers originally were indicted for direct murder, but when the first jury returned an acquittal verdict they were immediately re-indicted for "conspiracy to murder." *In indicting them for conspiracy, the prosecution used a legal device which Clarence Darrow calls the "modern and ancient dragnet for compassing the imprisonment and death of men whom the ruling class does not like."*

"If there are still any citizens interested in protective human liberty," says Mr. Darrow, "let them study the conspiracy laws of the United States. They have grown apace in the last forty years until today nobody's liberty is safe. . . . It took England more than a hundred years to abolish the conspiracy law, even after she began to agitate for its repeal. . . . It is a serious reflection on America that this worn out piece of tyranny should find a home in our country."

While the LaFollette Committee did not go back to 1931, any one who followed the developments in its inquiry can easily picture what these defendants were up against when they went to trial facing prosecutions dominated by the coal interests.

The four forgotten prisoners have been behind stone walls more than six years. Perjury used against them was even more brazen than that in the Mooney-Billings case. They are in prison for the sole reason that they dared to organize Harlan County's miners.

To set them free we must locate various additional witnesses and gather new evidence to meet the Governor's difficult requirements. Our investigators must work without the benefit of Federal or State protection. Such protection was accorded to all investigators and witnesses connected with the LaFollette inquiry, those witnesses being continued under subpoena indefinitely to safeguard them against reprisals.

Money is urgently needed to cover the cost of this arduous and risky job. Send your contribution today. Give us names of others able to help. Every day these men remain in prison is an indictment not only of "Harlan justice" but of all the nation's workers who let them stay in prison.

Address your contribution to:

KENTUCKY MINERS DEFENSE

HERBERT MAHLER, Secretary-Treasurer
75 Fifth Avenue — New York City
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-2584

BLOODY HARLAN

The Story of Four Miners Serving Life for...

Daring to Organize a Union

Daring to Strike

Daring to Picket

Facts From the Court Records In the Harlan Frame-up Trials

10 CENTS

VICTIMS OF "HARLAN JUSTICE"

Standing, left to right: JIM REYNOLDS, W. B. JONES;
sitting, CHESTER POORE, AL BENSON.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

The Story of Four Famous Frame-ups

Introduction

Mention of Harlan County, Kentucky, brings to mind instantly a shadowy picture—of human liberties trampled under foot; the lives of working men, women, and their children completely dominated by a ruthless clique of coal barons; labor-union organizers shot and killed by agents of those who stand to profit most by crushing unionism. To all who have any inkling of the conditions in that area it is "Bloody Harlan."

News of all this was carried far and wide in 1937 in dispatches telling of revelations by the LaFollette Senatorial Committee investigation in Washington. And following that investigation the heads of 22 coal companies operating in Harlan, and Sheriff Theodore Middleton and 23 of his deputies, were indicted by the federal government on charges of denying to workers the civil rights guaranteed by the Wagner Labor Act. They are to go to trial in February, 1938.

But not all the dark reality of Harlan has been revealed in the news dispatches. There is a story of an epic tragedy which needs to be brought home to every individual across the land who still believes in elemental justice.

That is the story of four forgotten men who have been in prison since May, 1931, and are now serving life-terms on framed-up charges of murder, solely because they attempted to organize the miners of Harlan County. They were sentenced for the killing of three coal-company mine-guards, a killing in which they took no part—the killing of gunmen who met with death when they deliberately attacked a union picket-line.

Convictions of the four were obtained through methods characteristic of "Harlan County justice"—through wholesale perjury which has no parallel in labor history, not even in the Mooney-Billings case; terrorization of witnesses; buying of false testimony; transfer of trials to far-away counties to cripple the defense with prohibitive costs.

One union miner, Carl Richmond, also was slain when the Black Mountain Coal Corporation's mine guards swooped down on a strike picket-line in Evarts on May 5, 1931, and opened fire with

Browning rapid-fire guns which had been concealed in their automobiles. Nobody was ever tried for Richmond's death. The killing of the gun-men was made the basis of indictments of 43 workers, and seven union men among 15 tried were convicted on charges of "conspiracy to murder." Even William Turnblazer, of Jellico, Tenn., president of District 19 of the United Mine Workers of America, was indicted for the alleged murders, though he was never in Harlan County during that strike.

WILLIAM HIGHTOWER AND ELZIE PHILLIPS
Released from Prison in December, 1935.

Three of the seven men, all sentenced to life, were set free by Governor Ruby Laffoon in December, 1935. Two more years have passed, making six and a half years since the battle of Evarts, and the four other convicted unionists are still going through the bitter routine of daily life in the penitentiary, waiting, hoping. They are W. B. Jones, who was secretary of the Evarts local of the United Mine Workers of America; Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson.

Why were these men convicted? For exercising fundamental rights guaranteed to them in the Constitution and now guaranteed to all workers under the Wagner Act—the right of peaceful assembly, the right to organize, the right to strike.

Forty-six of the forty-seven living jurors in the cases of these four have signed petitions to Governor A. B. Chandler appealing to him to pardon the prisoners. Two of the three trial judges have written letters interceding for them. Petitions for pardons also have

been sent to Mr. Chandler by hundreds of thousands of persons across the country, and thousands of labor unions have passed resolutions demanding that these innocent men be set free.

On December 24, 1936, a delegation of thirty-five persons appeared before Governor Chandler presenting vital new testimony in addition to the mass of evidence of innocence which had freed William Hightower, Elzie Phillips, and William Hudson, convicted on essentially the same set of "facts" as Jones, Poore, Reynolds, and Benson. Two new key-witnesses were in that delegation.

Dolly Hudson Daniels, widow of the chief mine-guard killed in the Evarts battle, attested her belief before Mr. Chandler that all the prisoners were innocent.

Sherman Perciful, former guard, who was wounded sixteen times in that clash, also testified before the Governor that he was unable to identify any of the defendants as having taken part in the battle, but that George Dawn, a principal Commonwealth witness, had said to him: "Damn it, say you saw them there whether you did or not." Perciful urged that the prisoners be freed.

* * *

Set Free In December, 1935

William Hudson

Gov. A. B. Chandler

But "not enough evidence" had been submitted to convince him, Governor Chandler told the delegation. "As far as the record goes,

I can't grant your request. Bolster up your record and I'll consider it further. . . . I'll appeal to the Maker of my soul to guide me in making a final decision when the record has been completed. I would rather let these men out than keep them there."

Although much new evidence has recently been discovered, the facts from the record alone will demonstrate amply to any fair-minded person the innocence of the four prisoners. There is a wealth of evidence showing the perjury. Witnesses testified to one set of "facts" in one trial, and altered their testimony to fit the prosecution's special needs when later defendants were tried. This booklet throws glaring light on "Bloody Harlan."

At the beginning the prosecution had all the cases transferred to Mount Sterling in Montgomery County, 200 miles from the mining region. Bill Burnett was tried first, charged with killing Jesse Pace, a mine guard, on April 17, 1931, while defending Johnson Murphy, an old Negro miner who was being brutally beaten. Burnett was acquitted Nov. 20 on a clear showing that he had fired at Pace in self-defense.

This blow to their plans aroused the coal operators to a brazen new move. All the miners had been indicted for direct murder. Now the Commonwealth's attorneys, after conferring with lawyers for the coal interests, called for a Montgomery County grand jury, and next day all the defendants were re-indicted for "conspiracy to murder," a legal device which Clarence Darrow calls "the modern and ancient dragnet for compassing the imprisonment and death of men whom the ruling class does not like."

Having assembled at Mount Sterling their witnesses whose testimony would meet the direct-murder charges, the defense attorneys were compelled overnight to develop an entirely new line of defense, and find and bring other witnesses quickly from the mountain country 200 miles away. All of which meant high additional expense, for unlike most states Kentucky does not pay the mileage or per diem expenses of defense witnesses.

The prosecution consistently sought jurors from the Blue Grass farming section of central Kentucky, most peaceful and prosperous region in the state. There a deputy-sheriff is a respected officer of the community, who performs routine duties of law enforcement. So when a Harlan thug, wearing a deputy's badge, appeared as a witness, these jurors accepted him as being like the peace officers at home. Within the limitations of court procedure the defense was unable to bring out the true character of Harlan "deputies."

Piled-up "evidence" of violence and conspiracy also had its natural effect upon the juries in the peaceful Blue Grass country. Most of the jurors were farmers, unfamiliar with the peculiar conditions in the Harlan industrial setting. They believed the prosecution's spectacular "evidence," and convicted Jones and Hightower, both of whom received life sentences.

The remaining cases were returned to Harlan County. Elzie Phillips, heroic Negro, was now convicted. But in the next three trials, in Harlan, before mountain juries, there were two disagreements and one acquittal.

Failing to get convictions with jurors from the mountain region, the Commonwealth's attorneys prevailed upon the trial judge to bring in juries from the Blue Grass country. Thus unfairly they were able to convict Poore, Reynolds, Benson, and Hudson. In a total of 15 trials the prosecution got seven convictions. But in the other eight cases, there were three acquittals and five hung juries—and the Commonwealth found it necessary to dismiss the remaining indictments.

When the Blue Grass jurors learned the truth about the convictions they had the fairness and courage to petition the Governor to free the four men now in prison.

In the following pages we set forth enough of the testimony in their trials to convince any open-minded individual that they were unjustly convicted.

It will simplify matters for the interested reader to know the dates on which the trials were held and the pages in this booklet on which details of each appear.

Jones trial November 24—December 12, 1931	page	8
Poore trial July 25-28, 1932		17
Reynolds trial September 19-22, 1932		22
Benson trial January 5-8, 1933		25

THE TRIAL OF W. B. JONES

The trial of W. B. Jones was held November 24—December 12, 1931, in Mount Sterling, 200 miles from Harlan. Jones, secretary of Evarts Local 5355, United Mine Workers of America, was not present at the battle. This was conceded by the prosecution. He was tried on the "conspiracy" charges. To get a clear picture of the Jones trial and the other trials all the facts about the fight between the mine-guards and the pickets should be understood.

The Battle of Evarts—Commonwealth Version

Early on the morning of May 5, 1931, a Black Mountain Coal Corporation truck driven by a strike-breaker named John Hickey, who was accompanied by his son Roscoe and another strike-breaker named Roy Hughes, passed through Evarts enroute to Verda to bring Hughes's furniture to Black Mountain. Hughes had obtained employment at Black Mountain May 4. The Hickeys were hired then also. Verda is a mining camp four or five miles from Black Mountain, the town of Evarts being halfway between the two camps.

As the truck passed through Evarts a miner, Oscar Dykes, according to Hughes, (Jones trial, p. 545) shouted: "There they go. We'll lay for them when they come back."

Shortly afterward a number of striking miners gathered around the L & N depot in Evarts and some went down the road toward the Verda end of Evarts and remained there. The L & N agent, O. M. Howard, testified he telephoned to E. B. Childers, superintendent of Black Mountain, and to Sheriff Blair in Harlan, notifying them of the strikers gathering to stop the truck. Sheriff Blair admitted on the witness stand he had talked by phone with Howard, and with Childers and Jim Daniels, chief Black Mountain mine-guard, two or three times.

Blair testified he ordered Daniels to bring a bunch of mine-guards from Black Mountain to Evarts and wait at the L & N depot to meet 15 deputies Blair was sending from Harlan and jointly escort the truck through Evarts.

Five of the surviving mine-guards, appearing in every trial, consistently testified they were ordered by Daniels to accompany him

in escorting the truck. According to their story, the ten mine-guards proceeded in three cars traveling slowly, with their rifles out of sight. Daniels rode in the front car, his own being kept in the middle. As the deputies went through Evarts no one said anything to them nor did anything to them. They passed various miners at the depot and more along the road, who also did not molest them.

Still driving slowly, (some swore their greatest speed all the way from Black Mountain was 15 miles per hour; others eight to ten), they neared the battle scene, an open spot on the edge of Evarts with a clear road to Verda and Harlan. Here they saw two Negroes and a white man standing beside a small water-birch tree. When the last car had passed one of the Negroes raised his hand and a shot was fired. Daniels ordered the cars to stop. He got out on the right-hand side, passed around the front of the car to the left side, and with his Browning rapid-fire rifle in a position to shoot, leaned upon a five-foot bank, and looked over. Immediately a shotgun roared and Daniels, shot in the head, dropped to the ground dead.

Shooting became general. A battle raged for 15 minutes. Some witnesses testified that more than 1,000 shots were fired. Two more mine-guards, Otto Lee and Howard Jones, were killed; two other guards, E. M. Cox and Sherman Perciful, were badly wounded.

That is the condensed testimony of the Commonwealth's witnesses, and it sets forth all alleged facts in their stories of that morning's tragedy.

The Battle of Evarts—The Real Story

The defense conceded the truck had passed through Evarts to Verda and that some men had gathered to picket and persuade Hughes not to scab at Black Mountain. The defense proved, through Mrs. G. L. Michael, a Commonwealth witness, that Daniels and his nine fellow-guards, instead of driving to the scene at 15 miles an hour or less, had sped there at 40 miles or more per hour. She testified she left Black Mountain ahead of the deputies and although she drove 25 to 35 miles per hour two cars of deputies passed her before she had traveled the mile and a half between Black Mountain and Evarts and the third passed her in Evarts. Instead of moving leisurely, Daniels and his crew sped eagerly to the fray.

Defense witnesses testified Daniels and his men began shooting at the pickets before stopping their cars; that the pickets scattered

and hid behind rocks and in small depressions for protection from the gun-men's withering fire. To gain a more advantageous position for achievement of their deadly purpose Daniels and his men got out of the cars and with their rifles blazing, advanced toward the trapped pickets. Daniels was intent on killing some pickets who had jumped over the side of the road behind a low cut-bank to escape the guards' bullets. Stalking his prey, he leaned over the bank, emptied his Browning gun many times, crouched back to reload, and fired again and again. Daniels tried too long and too often. Reinforcements arrived to protect the ambushed pickets. The next time Daniels aimed over the bank he was killed.

Although all the mine-guards swore he was killed right after he reached the cut-bank, the testimony of H. B. Turner, a merchant, who appeared for the Commonwealth, gave full support to the evidence of the defense witnesses. Turner was coming in a taxi from Harlan to Evarts, and was 300 yards away when the shooting began. He got out of the car and walked to within 250 feet of the fight, where he had a clear view of the battle. His testimony proves Daniels was not killed until at least five minutes after the shooting started.

"He was lying on the lower side of the bank," Turner swore; "he had gone up to the bank and it looked like he was trying to shoot,—every once in a while he would raise his head up and somebody would shoot from somewhere else and he would dodge back down, and I watched him there until it looked like somebody shot his head off and he fell right there." (p. 679, Jones' trial)

On cross-examination Turner testified he saw Daniels raise up and look over the bank "something like four or five times."

The defense proved throughout that Daniels and his men were the aggressors, that instead of the mine-guards being ambushed it was the mine-guards who ambushed the pickets.

Conspiracy Charge is Smoke-Screen

Since the facts of the attack on the pickets were so clear, since manifestly the killing of the three mine-guards was done in self-defense the prosecution, willing tool of the coal interests, found it necessary to resort to the conspiracy charge to get convictions.

The prosecution proceeded against the accused on four theories:

1. That there was a conspiracy to kill Daniels, E. B. Childers, superintendent of the Black Mountain Coal Corporation, and

Sheriff John Henry Blair, in order to replace them with officials who would be more friendly to the miners.

2. That there was a conspiracy to kill Daniels because he was to testify May 5 in Harlan at the examining trial of Bill Burnett, a union miner charged with (and later acquitted of) the killing of Jesse Pace.

3. That there was a conspiracy to kill deputies who, according to a letter alleged to have been read by Defendant Jones at a union meeting May 4, were coming from Harlan with warrants for the arrest of 500 miners, and after the arrests would ravish the miners' wives and daughters.

4. That there was a conspiracy to prevent a scab named Roy Hughes from moving his furniture next day from Verda to Black Mountain.

To accomplish these things, Fred Lester, Commonwealth witness in the Jones trial (p. 369), testified: "Then he (Jones) went ahead and said to them, All that has not got high-power rifles, he said, take shotguns, and them that has not got shotguns to take pistols, and anybody that has not got a pistol, get a red handkerchief, anybody that hain't got any gun at all, get some rocks, and said, if there is any of you not able to throw rocks, get a red handkerchief, you can wave it."

Hugh Lester's testimony is a shameless echo of his brother Fred's story. Hugh said: " . . . and he (Jones) says, every man get him a gun,—and them that has not got a gun, can get a pistol and if they hain't got a pistol, get a load of cracked rocks; and he says, them that has not got rocks, get a red flag or a red handkerchief and wave it. . . . " (Jones trial, p. 400)

Other Commonwealth perjurers also changed the "red handkerchief" into "red flags." But the enthusiastic prosecutors failed to school their witnesses sufficiently. There was no testimony showing that on May 5 anyone carried red handkerchiefs or red flags. Or threw rocks.

Many of the State's witnesses who testified about the May 4 meeting were persons who themselves had been charged with the murders and were testifying to save their own lives. Examples: Fred, John, and Hugh Lester had been indicted on a charge of poisoning a nephew to obtain $20,000 insurance. They also were indicted as participants in the May 5 battle. Both the May 5 murder charges and the poison murder charges were dismissed after they

had testified for the Commonwealth; but Fred, chief beneficiary, was never able to collect the insurance.

Was There a Conspiracy?

What does the evidence actually show on the four conspiracy theories?

1. That union miners had petitions bearing 30,000 signatures asking the Governor to remove Sheriff Blair and other county officials because of terroristic acts. Much testimony proved the unionists had gone to great lengths to have those officials removed peacefully and legally.

2. There was no conspiracy to kill Daniels to keep him from testifying against Burnett. Frank White and George Lee, deputies who took part in the fight when Burnett killed Jesse Pace, and who were far more important witnesses than Daniels, were permitted to pass through Evarts enroute from Black Mountain to Harlan an hour or more before the battle, and were not molested.

Dolly Hudson Daniels, widow of Jim Daniels, testified before Governor Chandler that on the morning of May 5 Superintendent Childers came to her house and ordered her husband to the scene of the picketing, and "wouldn't let him wait long enough to get breakfast or shave." She urged the Governor to pardon the prisoners. Her testimony further proves that Daniels was not preparing to go to Harlan that morning.

The Commonwealth produced no evidence to show that any preparations were made by the union miners to defend Burnett; no lawyer had been retained; no witnesses subpoenaed. After the Jones trial this part of the "conspiracy" was barely mentioned.

3. The majority of the Commonwealth's witnesses testified that from 12 to 14 pickets were at the battle scene; obviously an insufficient number to stop an invading army of deputies coming from Harlan to arrest 500 miners and then ravish their wives.

4. No denial was made of the effort to picket the truck containing the furniture of the scab Roy Hughes. Picketing is part of every strike. The testimony of both Hughes and the driver Hickey proved they did not know until the morning of May 5 that they were going to bring the truck through Evarts, making it impossible for a conspiracy to have been hatched at the May 4 meeting to stop the truck with guns.

What actually happened to bring on the battle? Let us sum up the evidence again to make the picture clearer.

The Commonwealth's case: The L & N depot agent telephoned to Black Mountain and to Sheriff Blair advising them of the picket-line. Blair and Daniels talked several times over the telephone. Blair ordered Daniels to bring his men and meet the squad of deputies coming from Harlan, "at the L & N depot," then escort the truck to Black Mountain. Daniels and his men drove peacefully down the road and were suddenly fired upon from ambush.

The defense proved by Commonwealth witnesses: That Daniels and his men drove swiftly, at least 40 miles per hour; their rifles were hidden; Daniels rode in the front car and kept his own car in the middle to avoid recognition; Daniels didn't stop at the L & N depot where he had been supposedly ordered to wait for the Harlan deputies, but drove on more than 1,600 feet to where the battle occurred; that pickets were looking toward Harlan for the truck while Daniels and his crew sped up behind them; that Daniels was not killed until five minutes after the battle started and only after he had made several attempts to shoot a man who was crouched down behind the cut-bank; that Daniels was 20 feet away from the car when he was killed.

Without quoting defense witnesses for corroboration this conclusion is the most probable: Blair and Daniels plotted over the telephone to wipe out the pickets by a surprise attack. While the pickets were looking toward Harlan for the truck to come from Verda the Black Mountain mine-guards were to swoop down and shoot them in the back. The other 15 deputies coming from Harlan would attack from the opposite direction. Thus the pickets would be caught between two fires. The plan miscarried because Daniels attacked too soon. The 15 Harlan deputies were still at Verda.

Treated as a plain murder case any jury, whether from the Blue Grass or the mountains, would have acquitted Jones, as he was not near the scene of the shooting. Hence the "conspiracy" charges, and the maudlin stories of "red flags" and "black oaths" and the other gibberish "evidence" used to bolster up those fantastic claims.

Five of the surviving mine-guards, according to their own testimony, were permitted to get into one of the cars and leave the battle-scene. A sixth, Sherman Perciful, testified that although badly wounded he walked away. The seventh, E. M. Cox, testified (Jones trial, p. 100) that one of the miners "hollered at me to throw down my gun and run and I would not be hurt." And so again from the lips of the Commonwealth's witnesses the story of

blood-thirsty miners attempting to wipe out the deputies was disproved.

The Commonwealth Speaks for the Communists

When the taking of testimony in the Jones trial was ended most observers expected a prompt acquittal, but they did not anticipate the next move of the prosecution. Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton of Mount Sterling was selected to play the final trump card in summing up to the jury. His notorious "bonfires of rejoicing in Moscow if you acquit this man" speech is one of the most brutal violations of court procedure in history. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel,* a Scripps-Howard daily, with a large circulation in nearby Harlan County, followed the Jones trial carefully. On December 11, 1931, it said editorially:

> William B. Jones, secretary of the United Mine Workers in Harlan County, Ky., has been convicted of murder in the first degree and sentenced to life imprisonment. . . . The climax of his trial came as attorneys argued it before the jury. It was not featured by a review of the facts of the battle. Instead, denunciations of unionism and of "reds" rang through the courtroom.
>
> Read these excerpts from the . . . arguments:
>
> With an admonition by the Commonwealth's Attorney, W. C. Hamilton, "not to let the American flag surrender to the red flag," the fate of W. B. Jones, miner and union organizer, was placed in the hands of the jury. . . .
>
> Hamilton devoted more than a third of his four and half hour speech to a denunciation of the I.W.W. and Communism. There was no proof in the trial that Jones belonged to either organization. . . .
>
> Hamilton pointed out that the United Mine Workers' oath fails to say "in the name of Almighty God" but says instead "in the name of each other." . . .
>
> Emphasizing the importance of the verdict, the Commonwealth Attorney said "in Russia they will read the fate of this man," and "if you turn him loose there will be celebrations in thousands of places, and in Moscow the red flag will be raised higher."
>
> The Commonwealth Attorney condemned Jones for using an American flag in the parade of miners. . . . "He carried an American flag in his hand but the red flag . . . was in his heart.

Before Saturday night you will know what I am saying will materialize. In Pineville or Harlan there will be a celebration of reds, and property will have no more value than human life is regarded there now."

The organization to which Jones belonged is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. . . . But whether or not Jones had radical inclinations is beside the point. This fact is important:

There is no fair-minded man who has followed the Jones trial who can help from wondering in his own mind whether the Harlan County labor leader was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for murder or for being a labor leader.

The Communists Speak for Themselves

But while Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton was inferring that Jones was a Communist, the Communists themselves were accusing Jones of being an agent of the coal operators and of selling out the Negro defendants to save himself. The Communists' attitude is clearly shown by the following excerpts from their official organ, the (New York) *Daily Worker*. It said on Oct. 19, 1931: "J. M. Robsion, attorney for the U.M.W. of A. . . . is not interested in the plight of the starving miners. He will make deals with the coal operators to release a few men, probably W. B. Jones, recently elected vice-president of the Kentucky State Federation of Labor, and Bill Hightower. Both are out on low bond and W. B. Jones has already betrayed other signers of an affidavit by the strikers to unseat Judge 'Baby' Jones. . . . Miners who refuse to sell out to Judge D. C. Jones and the coal operators must expect to be deserted by Robsion and the U.M.W. of A."

On Nov. 18, 1931, two days before the Burnett trial began, the *Daily Worker*, under the head "I.L.D. Warns of Harlan Murder Trial Sell-Out," said: "The International Labor Defense warns against the danger of an agreement whereby the four Negro miners held on fake charges of murder arising from the battle of Evarts may be especially doomed.

"The reactionary ex-Senator J. M. Robsion, attorney for the U.M.W. of A., . . . is now clearly showing that he is acting as an agent of the coal operators. He has declared that should the 'red' issue be raised against the militant miners, he will condemn the 'reds.' . . .

"Tied up with Robsion is Captain Ben B. Golden, Pineville, Ky., attorney . . . and W. Bridges White, a Mount Sterling lawyer, who is said to be an Insull utilities henchman. . . . In this way the coal operators will have a direct hand in even the legal defense of the cases arising from the struggle of the miners against coal company despotism.

" . . . The I.L.D. declares that it must warn all workers that the case is being handled as a sell-out. . . . "

While Burnett was on trial the *Daily Worker* said on Nov. 20, 1931: "In a statement today, George Maurer, general secretary of the I.L.D. declared that information received here concerning the trial of William Burnett, Harlan miner charged with murder, verified the I.L.D. prediction that there was danger of a sell-out defense."

After Burnett's acquittal the Communist *Daily Worker* said on Nov. 23, 1931: " . . . 'Protests from every section of the country, linked up with the fearless exposure of each indication of sell-out by coal-operator-General Defense Committee-United Mine Workers' legal defense has resulted in the acquittal of Bill Burnett', said George Maurer today in a statement issued by the International Labor Defense. . . . The acquittal of Burnett . . . is a real victory . . . the court was made to feel the pressure of mass defense by exposure in the revolutionary press of the link-up between the Harlan coal operators, Judge Prewitt, Attorney White of Mount Sterling, 'defense' lawyer retained by the General Defense Committee; and Robsion, attorney hired by the U.M.W. of A. . . .

"Eleven more of the Harlan miners charged with murder go on trial at Mount Sterling today. . . . Especially because these miners are being 'defended' by attorneys of the stripe of White and Robsion the mass fight . . . must be doubled.

"The I.L.D. calls on all workers to fight any deals between the coal operators and these 'defenders' that will result in the special victimizations of certain defendants, such as the four militant Negro miners in order to get off such men as Hightower and Jones."

The Facts Speak for W. B. Jones

Readers of these excerpts from the official Communist organ who doubt their authenticity may consult the files of that paper. The unabridged articles and others unmentioned are more con-

vincing. Communists, instead of supporting Jones, did their utmost to sabotage his defense. Declaring he gained his release on bonds by agreeing to sell out the Negro defendants, Communists tried to break up meetings addressed by Jones and Hightower in Eastern cities to raise funds for the defense of all the imprisoned miners. Not one penny was contributed by the Communist Party or any of its affiliates to support the defense of Jones, Hightower, or any of the murder defendants including the Negro defendants.

Not in the trial record, not in the press, nor anywhere, is there a single point even remotely connecting Jones with the Communists. On the other hand, whether by coincidence or collusion, the Communists provided the fireworks and the Commonwealth Attorneys used it, both in the Jones trial and in their brief to the Court of Appeals.

When the Court of Appeals upheld the verdict against Jones, it said in its ruling: *"It is earnestly insisted that the verdict of the jury should be set aside under the evidence. But the well-settled rule is that the credibility of the witnesses is for the jury."* (Kentucky Reports, Vol. 249, p. 507)

In November, 1935, the twelve Blue Grass jurors from Montgomery County who convicted Jones had the fairness and courage to petition the Governor to set him free.

THE TRIAL OF CHESTER POORE

The trial of Chester Poore July 25-28, 1932, brings out in bold relief the unscrupulous methods of the coal-company dominated prosecution. He was acquitted on the charge of conspiring to murder Daniels by a mountain jury from Laurel County, composed of jurors familiar with the mountain people and Harlan County. A few weeks later Poore was brought to trial again on a charge of killing Howard Jones, another mine-guard. But this time the jury was from Boyle County in the Blue Grass.

Preceding the second Poore trial, the prosecution had suffered three successive defeats in trials before mountain juries. The desperate step of bringing juries from the Blue Grass farming section was resorted to, although this is clearly in violation of Section 194 of the Kentucky Criminal Code, which reads:

"If the judge of the court be satisfied, after having made a fair effort in good faith, for that purpose, that, from any cause, it will

be impracticable to obtain a jury free from bias in the county wherein the prosecution is pending, he shall be authorized to summon a sufficient number of qualified jurors from some *adjoining* county in which the judge shall believe there is the greatest probability of obtaining impartial jurors, and from those so summoned the jury may be formed."

Boyle county is 150 miles from Harlan and is six counties removed. Section 194 clearly states "adjoining county," not *any* county the judge may select. At that time Section 281 of the Kentucky Criminal Code denied the Court of Appeals the right to review the action of a trial court in impaneling the jury. The trial judge could violate the law if he wished and the defendant was without redress.

Many vile practices were used in obtaining Poore's conviction as this summation of his trial will show.

The Commonwealth's evidence against Poore comprised both conspiracy and direct murder testimony. "Conspiracy" testimony was admitted in the trial by the single "identification" of one Commonwealth witness. Miraculous though that statement may appear, here is the Court of Appeals rendering its decision:

"The Commonwealth proved by one witness *that the appellant (Poore) was at the meeting, held on May 4th at the theatre in Evarts by the certain persons, at which all the plans were made for the shooting of Daniels next day."* (Kentucky Reports, Vol. 249, p. 666)

That identification was sufficient to admit the incredible "conspiracy" testimony. Sherman Garland was the "identifier." His testimony in subsequent trials is revealing.

In the Poore trial (p. 251) Garland was asked under cross-examination:

Q 6. Was Bruce Releford there? [at the May 4 meeting]
A Yes.

In the Benson trial (p. 258) Garland was asked under cross-examination:

Q 27. See Bruce Releford there? [at the May 4 meeting.]
A Not as I remember of.

In the Reynolds trial (p. 254) Garland was asked under cross-examination:

Q 45. Can you name any other person that was about you, or you were sitting close to, except that man that is dead? [at the May 4 meeting]

A No, I don't know as I could.

No evidence was offered to show that Poore said or did anything in the meeting.

Kenneth Dalton, a Commonwealth witness, who admitted being at the shooting with a rifle, first said he pleaded guilty to being a participant in the killing of Daniels and later amended his testimony to the effect that he was there unwillingly and only fired over the officers' heads; swore he saw Poore shooting at the mine-guards with a .45 automatic. Admitting he had known Poore more than a year, Dalton, under cross-examination, could not explain why he had not mentioned in the earlier Phillips and Bratcher trials seeing Poore at the battle-ground or seeing him shoot.

In the Phillips trial (p. 242) Dalton, under cross-examination, testified:

Q 269. How many fellows there? [at battle.]
A I judge about 14.
Q 270. Name those that were there?
A I don't know all of them there.
Q 271. Name what you can name?
A Myself and Bratcher and "Big Cigar." [Phillips.]
Q 272. That is this colored man?
A Yes. That is about all I know that was there.

Dalton testified he had "dodged the law" for several months, came back to Evarts, and was arrested. His bond of $15,000 was signed by H. H. Bennett, a coal operator, a few hours later. Dalton admitted he had not known Bennett before he made the bond. He swore he was not promised immunity for his testimony. Although he was the only man in the long series of trials who admitted being in the battle, Dalton was never tried.

Dalton was the only Commonwealth witness to testify that Poore was at the battle scene. Two others, Cecil Dozier and Homer Bullock, testified they saw Poore in Bullock's yard with a .45 automatic after the shooting. They did not see him shoot. They also saw Poore at the battle scene when the dead mine-guards were put in the ambulance. George Lee, father of Otto Lee, a mine-guard killed in the battle, testified he was in Harlan, nine miles away, when the shooting occurred, and reaching the battle ground later saw Poore there talking to Dozier at the time the dead were being removed.

If this testimony is to be believed Poore took part in the battle

and remained at the scene over half an hour afterward, which is incredible.

Dozier was another changeable Commonwealth witness whose testimony varied to suit the needs of the moment. Here are samples:

In the Jones trial, Dec. 1931, (p. 570) Dozier, under cross-examination, testified as follows:

Q 95. Describe this fellow Chester Poore.

A He is a red-headed fellow, a short fellow and kind of short-built fellow. [NOTE: Poore actually was tall and thin.]

In the Poore trial, July 25, 1932, (p. 189) Dozier, under cross-examination, testified:

Q 71. In describing this fellow Chester Poore, how did you describe him?

A A red-headed fellow, kind of a tall man.

When Dozier's contradictory testimony in the Jones trial was read he said: "I don't remember whether that was asked me on that trial or not, it has been so long." [Poore trial, p. 190]

With the testimony of their meeting "identifier" Sherman Garland discredited, the evidence of Kenneth Dalton being the unsupported testimony of an accomplice, and his identification also discredited, Dozier's obvious perjury shattered the prosecution's plans. The Commonwealth announced "Through in chief." Then Special Judge H. Clay Kauffman made this remarkable ruling:

"At the conclusion of the evidence for the Commonwealth the defendant asked for 20 minutes time to consult with the witnesses who lived at Evarts, and in the neighborhood of Evarts, and the Court overruled the motion because the Court adjourned court last night at 8 o'clock and instructed the jailer to leave the defendant in the court room with his attorneys alone for the purpose of consultation and put the defendant and his attorneys on notice he would go on the stand, if he cared to testify the first thing this morning at 8 o'clock. Defendant excepts." (Poore trial, p. 334)

Defense testimony proved conclusively by many witnesses that Poore, accompanied by Bill Bryant, left his home about a mile and a half from the battle scene a few minutes before the shooting. Poore and Bryant stopped on a store porch until the shooting ended, then went on to Evarts. Ten men and women living in the neighborhood corroborated this. Arriving at Evarts, Poore and his uncle Jim Osborne went to the battle scene. Deputies George Lee and Frank White were there when they arrived. Poore and Martin Herd, a union Negro miner, put the body of Carl Richmond, the

dead union miner, in a car. Afterward they returned to Evarts.

The unshaken testimony of the defense witnesses for Poore indicated another acquittal even though the jury was from the Blue Grass. Outrageous measures were employed by the Commonwealth Attorneys under the guise of "rebuttal" testimony.

Special Prosecutors Inspire Witness

Bruce Releford, perpetual perjurer, was put on the stand and swore he saw Bill Bryant coming from the battle scene wading the river with a shotgun. Releford admitted knowing Bryant two or three months, having testified in the previous Poore and Bratcher trials, in addition to testifying for the Commonwealth-in-chief and not mentioning that he saw Bryant wading the river with a gun.

Did R. L. Pope and Joe Snyder, special Commonwealth's Attorneys, engineer Releford's testimony? Read the record. Here is Releford under cross-examination [Poore trial, p. 585]:

Q 3. Why is it you have testified in these trials and didn't tell anything about seeing this man [Bryant] run across there before.

A Because I wasn't asked to tell it.

Q 6. Were you ever asked before a grand jury or in any of those trials to tell the names of the people or men participating in it?

A Nobody but Mr. Snyder and Mr. Pope.

Q 9. How come them to ask you?

A I don't know.

Q 10. When was that? A Today.

Q 11. What time? A Near 1 o'clock.

Dave Kelly, who had testified for the Commonwealth-in-chief, and who had also testified in many previous trials, was put on the stand to swear he also saw Bryant, accompanied by two Negroes, wade the river with a gun.

Defense motions to discharge the jury because of the surprise testimony of Kelly and Releford were overruled.

In the Hightower trial at Mount Sterling, Jan., 1932, Dave Kelly had appeared for the Commonwealth (p. 748) and gave this testimony:

Q 132. Did you recognize any of those men going away from the shooting?

A No, it was too far over there to recognize who they were, there were three that came across the crossing just above

the depot towards Evarts, the road that comes down by the river, two Negroes and a white man, they waded the river just above the depot and went across under the concrete there, or through the river and under the concrete there that crosses Yocum Creek, and up the creek bank.

Q 133. What did they have, if anything?

A Guns.

Q 134 Did you know any of those men?

A No, I didn't know either one of them. They were not where I could recognize them.

Bryant was put in jail as he left the witness stand and charged with participation in the murders. He was never tried, the charge being later dismissed.

Ad Lanier, one of the Commonwealth's Attorneys, summing up to the jury, said, in reference to Bryant: "The witness is in jail."

In affirming the verdict against Poore, the Kentucky Court of Appeals said: *"But the credibility of the witnesses was for the jury to decide."* [Kentucky Reports, Vol. 249, p. 667]

In April, 1935 the 11 living Blue Grass jurors who convicted Poore had the fairness and courage to petition the Governor to set him free.

THE TRIAL OF JIM REYNOLDS

Reynolds was tried September 19-22, 1932, before a Blue Grass jury from Jessamine County. Both conspiracy and direct murder testimony was used. Three witnesses—Jude King, Harold Gibson, and Sherman Garland—"saw" him at the May 4 meeting. Although King and Gibson had testified in every trial, and Garland in several trials, and were all asked whom they saw there, this was the first time they ever said Reynolds was present. No testimony was offered by them to show that he said or did anything. Their testimony that he was present let in the usual line of "evidence" about Jones calling for men with guns, rocks, or red flags. But again no witness testified that any one carried a red flag at the battle scene.

E. M. Cox, Doc Evans, Sherman Perciful, J. P. Evans, surviving mine guards, described the battle, but did not name Reynolds as being present. George Dawn, surviving guard and champion identifier, now swore he saw Reynolds behind the water birch tree shooting a high-powered rifle. But in eight prior trials he had never

mentioned seeing Reynolds. When questioned about this, he said he learned Reynolds's name that morning when he entered court.

Q 82. You went there to the jail at Winchester, there at Mount Sterling, to see if you could recognize them, didn't you?

A I never saw him there.

But Reynolds was confined in the Mount Sterling jail at that time.

In the Hudson trial, however, as in all previous trials, Dawn had testified that he saw two Negroes and one white man behind the birch. (p. 41)

Q 3. Who was the white fellow?

A There sits the man that was there (pointing to the defendant Hudson)

Q 4. Bill Hudson?

A Yes sir, I didn't know his name.

Dawn had never previously identified Hudson, though he had seen Hudson in jail.

Q 3. When did you first find out his name or know he is Bill Hudson?

A Today. (p. 43)

Dawn was the only one who made a positive identification of seeing Reynolds shoot.

Reynolds swore he had supper on May 4 with Mr. and Mrs. George Dean, neighbors, his wife being in Tennessee, sat in their yard with them for an hour or more, then went home. He ate breakfast with the Deans next day, being at their house until 9 A.M. The Deans corroborated these statements.

Reynolds said he then started walking from Verda to Evarts to get medicine from Dr. Lewis for his young son, and named three persons he met enroute. They corroborated this. He also saw Harve Turner, Martin Herd, and Joe Pridemore, in a taxicab that stopped to let Jim Simpson out. Reynolds followed Simpson down the road, stopping on Simpson's porch when the shooting started and staying there throughout the battle. Many people were at Simpson's during the shooting. Eleven of these, men and women, testified to being there with Reynolds, that Reynolds was unarmed, and that he was on the porch during the entire fight.

Martin Herd, a Negro miner subpoenaed to testify for Reynolds, was arrested when he appeared in the witness room and charged

with taking part in the Evarts battle. Despite this terrorization, Herd testified. He was never tried on the murder charge.

Morgan Thompson, one of the Commonwealth witnesses who had testified that he saw Reynolds with a gun at Verda on the morning of May 5, was recalled by the defense for cross-examination. Thompson testified (p. 624-625) as follows:

Q 6. Tell the jury whether or not about five or six weeks ago at your mother's house in Verda that you said to your wife in words or substance that you wanted her to testify against Jim Reynolds, you and Adams were testifying, and if she would that you and her could get enough money to leave here on?

A I did not.

Q 7. Tell the jury whether or not on today, here in the court house and near the court room here, that you went to your wife after you knew she was summoned for the defendant, and said to her in words or substance to not testify in this case for the defendant and if she did testify that they would impeach her?

A I did not.

Grace Thompson testified (p. 626) as follows:

Q 4. Tell the jury whether or not about five or six weeks ago up at his mother's house in Verda if he said to you in words or substance that he wanted you to testify against Jim Reynolds as he and Adams were testifying and if you did you would get enough money to leave here on?

A Yes sir.

Q 5. Tell the jury whether or not here in the court house near the court room today that he said to you in words or substance, after he knew you were summoned as a witness for the defendant, not to testify in this case for the defendant and if you did they would impeach you?

A Yes sir, he sure did.

These questions were not asked of Mrs. Thompson in the jury's presence and the court refused to admit her testimony as it would violate the Kentucky Code forbidding testimony of a husband or wife on communications between them. Had Mrs. Thompson been permitted to testify she also would have sworn that her husband was at home on the morning of May 5, 1931, because their first child was born that morning.

Further details on the Reynolds case are omitted here because the decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals (Kentucky Reports, Vol. 249, 1933, p. 647) says:

"Many witnesses corroborate the defendant in these matters, and a number of witnesses for the commonwealth were impeached by evidence of bad character and admissions of felony convictions. It was also developed that some of those witnesses may have been influenced in their testimony by favors of the mining company, and perhaps through a promise of immunity or leniency on the part of the prosecuting officers. The very contradictory nature of the evidence made the case peculiarly one for the jury, which chose to accept the evidence of one set of witnesses rather than the other."

In August, 1935, eleven of the twelve Blue Grass jurors who convicted Reynolds had the fairness and courage to petition the Governor to set him free.

THE TRIAL OF AL BENSON

Perjury was used openly by the Commonwealth's attorneys to convict Al Benson, January 5-8, 1933. Overconfident and grown careless through the ease with which they obtained convictions before Blue Grass juries the obvious perjury used makes it simple to establish that Benson was unjustly convicted.

Benson, assistant police chief of Evarts, was a union miner. Commonwealth witnesses testified he had carried an American flag heading union parades; others testified he had urged them to join the union. The defendant admitted these "offenses."

In Benson's trial the Commonwealth used both conspiracy and direct murder testimony. They charged he was present at the union meeting May 4 when the conspiracy to kill Daniels was made. They charged Benson had participated in the battle by shooting a high-powered rifle from the third floor of the Smith-Kelly building in Evarts, a half mile from the battle scene.

Only one witness, Bruce Releford, swore Benson was present at the May 4 meeting. He had testified in several previous trials and never mentioned Benson being at that meeting. While general testimony throughout all the trials proved the meeting had started at 7 or 7:30 P.M. Releford swore it started at 5 or 5:30 P.M. and

that he saw Benson about that time. Since it was common knowledge that Benson was guarding the A & P store and was locked in the store from 7 P.M. to 7 A.M. nightly it became necessary to set the meeting earlier to hook Benson up with the "conspiracy." Releford was the only witness who had previously testified that the May 4 meeting began at 5:30 P.M.

Releford's unsupported identification of Benson being present at the May 4 meeting opened the door for the customary "conspiracy" witnesses who testified about that meeting, with the same startling similarity as in previous cases, and, again were vague and faulty of memory in describing anything else that took place. The perjurers even slipped a cog here and there. Jude King didn't recall seeing Releford at the meeting. Sherman Garland swore Benson was not at the meeting to his knowledge. Harold Gibson testified he had never seen Benson at a closed meeting of the union, and the May 4 meeting was a closed one. Gibson swore the meeting started at 7 P.M.; Garland swore it started about 6 P.M.

There was no evidence to connect Benson with the "conspiracy" testimony except that he carried a union card. The jury presumably accepted the direct murder testimony. Proof that the eye-witness testimony was framed will be found in the record of the Jones trial (Nov., 1931) and the Benson trial (Jan., 1933).

Laura Cox, wife of a barber and small-time bootlegger, swore she saw Benson shooting from a third-floor window of the Smith-Kelly building with a high-powered rifle. Two other women, Lela Bartley and Easter Farley, were with her at the time. Her testimony was partly corroborated by her husband, Orval Cox. Lela Bartley testified for the Commonwealth that she was standing beside Laura Cox and saw Laurence Toney looking out of the window with field glasses. Lela Bartley didn't see Benson until the shooting was over. Benson got in a car and went toward Black Mountain. No other witnesses beside Laura and Orval Cox testified Benson was shooting from the Smith-Kelly.

In the trials of Hudson and Reynolds, held previous to the Benson trial, Laura Cox testified she saw three men shooting from the Smith-Kelly window, and named Benson and Toney. In the Reynolds trial she swore (p. 298) Toney fired the most shots. Testifying against Benson, she did not mention seeing Toney nor any one else shooting from the window. Mention of Toney was eliminated because he had agreed to testify against Benson to escape prose-

cution on the same murder charge himself, and, as will be proven later, to commit perjury to win his freedom.

Easter Farley, who had testified in the Hudson and Reynolds trials that she was standing beside Laura Cox and saw Toney and Mose King shooting from the Smith-Kelly window, was not called to testify by the Commonwealth and could not be located by the defense.

In the Reynolds trial (p. 302) Easter Farley testified:

Q 13. Tell what you saw?

A I saw Lawrence Toney and Mose King shoot out of the Smith-Kelly building.

Q 14. What part of it?

A The third story.

Q 15. How were they shooting?

A They were shooting in the direction of the cars.

Easter Farley has given an affidavit to the Kentucky Miners Defense deposing that she knew Benson well and that he was not with Toney and King shooting from the Smith-Kelly building. Mrs. Farley's testimony was suppressed by the prosecution in the Benson trial because King also was going to commit perjury in order to railroad Benson.

Lawrence Toney Does His Bit

Toney was a taxi-driver in Evarts and had been a union sympathizer. He testified as a defense witness in the Jones trial at Mount Sterling (p. 2435-2468). Later Toney was included in the indictments for the murder of Daniels. Terrified, he agreed to testify against Benson. Here is the story of his perjury:

Toney testified in the Jones trial that he was in Evarts when the battle started, then went home and returned at the end of the shooting. He saw City Judge Brad Burkhart talking to Al Benson on the street. Benson came over to his taxi, saying Judge Burkhart had ordered him to go to the Darby Mine, about a mile and a quarter from Evarts, to get rifles there, as it had been reported the company gun-men were going to "shoot Evarts off the map" in revenge for the killing of the guards. Toney testified he took Al Benson, Mose King, and Jack Griffith to the Darby mine, got the rifles, and returned to Evarts. Repeatedly Toney swore the shooting was all over before they started for the Darby Mine. (In the 35

pages of testimony Toney was asked 211 questions by Hamilton on cross and 34 on recross, mostly about the trip)

In the Benson trial Toney's testimony was changed completely. He swore he took Benson and King, during the battle, to Jones's house for ammunition and that Benson returned to Evarts with the ammunition and went up into the Smith-Kelly building. Toney denied he had ever gone to the Darby Mine. *Read the record*:

In the Jones trial (p. 2449) Lawrence Toney, cross-examined by Commonwealth's Attorney Hamilton, testified:

Q 21. I mean, did you bring some guns back to town when you made the trip out there?

A We did.

Q 22. Where did you get them?

A Darby Coal Company.

Q 23. What did you get them for?

A To protect the town.

Q 24. What do you mean by protecting the town?

A (Judge) Burkhart told us to get them.

Questions 25-30 deal with small specific references to the trip; then follows this question by the court:

Q Was this before the killing of Jim Daniels?

A No sir, afterwards.

After testifying on direct examination in the Benson trial that he had taken Benson to W. B. Jones's house for ammunition, Toney was asked the following questions (p. 238) by defense attorney D. B. Smith on cross-examination:

Q 77. You go anywhere?

A No.

Q 78. To refresh your recollection, did you go to the Woods Commissary? [NOTE: Woods Commissary and Darby Mine are local names for the same place.]

A No.

Q 79-80. Did you know Brad Burkhart, the City Judge?

A Yes.

Q 82. To refresh your recollection, didn't Brad Burkhart, in your presence, tell Al Benson, for him to go to the Woods Commissary or some place up the road and bring some guns to protect the town?

A Not in my presence.

Q 84. Did you make another trip up there with Al besides the one you told about?

A I did not.

The testimony of Lawrence Toney in the Jones trial was known to the Commonwealth's Attorneys. The price of his perjury was dismissal of the murder indictment against him. He got it.

The next perjurer who helped railroad Benson was Mose King, who first appeared as a Commonwealth witness in the Jones trial, pages 643-655. King testified he was standing on the bridge before the shooting and saw Jones pass with a rifle and that later during the shooting he saw Jones in Evarts. King swore he remained in Evarts all during the shooting.

Recalled for further cross-examination by the defense, King testified as follows: (Jones trial, p. 692-694)

Q 1. Mr. King, on the day of the shooting, did you attempt to get any guns or make any application for guns?

A The Chief of Police sent me after some guns, after the shooting began, to protect the town.

Q 3. What was going on when he told you to get the guns, was the shooting going on then?

A No.

Q 5-6. Did he tell you where to go? Where to get the guns?

A Woods Commisary.

Q 7. Who went with you?

A Lawrence Toney.

Q 8. For what purpose did he say he was going to get those guns?

A For the purpose of protecting the town.

In the Benson trial King, as a Commonwealth witness, said he went in Toney's car only to Jones's house for ammunition. This was during the shooting. The Commonwealth's attorneys were fully aware of King's testimony in the Jones trial. W. A. Brock, Joe Snyder, and R. L. Pope were the principal Commonwealth attorneys in the Jones trial and all succeeding trials. Benson's attorneys were not familiar with the Jones trial. None was present there.

Without a single line of defense testimony it is obvious that Benson was framed and railroaded to the penitentiary for life on the perjury of Toney and King. But we do not rest our case on

these points alone. We have more convincing and clinching evidence. At the next pardon hearing before Governor Chandler we will produce the confession of the man who framed Benson, the man who coached Toney and King in their perjury, the man who became the tool of the coal operators' prosecution to get even with Benson. Now 79 years old, a severe illness nearly resulting in death caused him to make an effort to right the wrong he did to Benson and brought about his confession.

Backing up the confession of this framer, the Kentucky Miners Defense also possesses another startling affidavit made by one of the Commonwealth attorneys who participated in all trials but refused to join in the prosecution of Benson because he knew Benson was innocent. His affidavit states flatly that Benson was framed, names the maker of the confession as the framer, and another chief Commonwealth attorney as aider and abetter of the framing.

Whole Case Against Benson Refuted

What did the defense witnesses say? Benson testified he did not attend the union meeting May 4, that he was at a meeting of the Town Council that night until 7 P.M. when he was locked in the A & P store until 7 A.M. City Judge Burkhart swore Benson was at the Town Council meeting. Four A & P employees swore Benson was locked in the store between 7 P.M. and 7 A.M. and could not get out until morning. Their unshaken testimony proved Benson could not have been at the meeting.

When the battle began Benson was in the A & P store and remained there all during the shooting as he believed it was a ruse to draw him away so the store could be robbed. Three A & P employees, and one customer, testified Benson did not leave the store during the shooting. One employee testified Benson left the store for two or three minutes and returned.

Benson testified he was ordered by Judge Burkhart and Police Chief Asa Cusick to go to the Darby Mine to get guns to protect the town. Toney drove the car and Jack Griffith went with them. Hazel Burkhart, daughter of the City Judge, rode home, about a mile, with them. Judge Burkhart, Hazel Burkhart, and Jack Griffith corroborated Benson. Frank Lawson, watchman at the Darby Mine, testified Benson and the men got the guns from the bookkeeper, Tobe Victory. All, including Lawson, testified it was after the shooting. Victory, unable to testify for Benson because of illness,

made an affidavit after the trial corroborating all points of Lawson's testimony and further clinches the perjury of Toney and King.

Several witnesses testified to seeing Benson, Griffith, and Hazel Burkhart in Toney's car going up the road toward the Darby Mine after the shooting. These included two Commonwealth witnesses, Daisy Turner and Miss Cecil Miller.

All testimony linking Benson with the "conspiracy" falls flat as he could not have attended the meeting. All testimony connecting him with the shooting collapses when the perjury is proven from the trial records. Al Benson, the policeman, who was a union man and carried the American flag in union parades was clearly framed because of his loyalty to unionism.

If any of you who read these lines still believe Benson might have been shooting from the third floor of the Smith-Kelly building, we invite you to go to Evarts, stand at the battle-scene, and look towards that building. You won't be able to see it because a line of trees blocks your view. Then go to the Smith-Kelly building and look toward the battle-field. You can't see the battle-field either! Mother Nature's silent testimony remains irrefutable. . . .

In October, 1935, the 12 Blue Grass jurors in the Benson case, who were from Woodford County (Governor Chandler's home county) had the fairness and courage to petition the Governor to set him free.

Within the brief scope of this booklet it is impossible to tell the full story of the Harlan miners' trials. In the main only an analysis of the Commonwealth's evidence has been presented and but little specific defense testimony cited. Our quotations from the testimony are not mere isolated specimens, but are characteristic of the Commonwealth's case throughout. Founded on falsehoods from beginning to end, that case collapses from its own contradictions. There is a virtual confession of this in the Commonwealth's appeal brief in the Jones trial:

"The crime committed by these defendants is one that staggers credulity. It is difficult to believe that intelligent men could be found who would entertain the thought, much less enter into and execute a conspiracy, the purpose of which was the wholesale assassination of the enforcement officers of the law." (p. 40)

And the emptiness of the Commonwealth's blustering contentions is further exemplified by this final quotation from the Commonwealth's Appeal Brief (p. 12):

"In discussing the question counsel for the appellants [the defendants] *made an unwarranted attack on the Black Mountain Coal Corporation and the Harlan County Coal Operators Association. It is said that these organizations are the real prosecutors of these cases. On page 5 of their brief we find the following language:*

What the Defense Attorneys Said

" 'Harlan County is filled up with splendid people, but there is a certain small group, as this evidence indicates, that disregards the law of both God and man and the dictates of common humanity, both politically and industrially. This small group holding industrial and political power could not be matched anywhere in this free country. The press and the records of this court have been filled with accounts of the rape of the ballot box. The wives and children of those who toil are too frequently totally ignored and trodden under foot, a policy of terrorism that invites disaster'."

Unblushingly the Commonwealth Attorneys make this rejoinder: *"This is indeed a harsh statement, with nothing in this record to justify or support it, unless it had been directed towards the appellants."*

Time, moving slowly onward, as prison days are counted, dealt a sad blow to the Commonwealth's pretensions. Four years after this brief was filed with the Kentucky Court of Appeals, the La Follette Committee's investigation of Harlan verified and amplified every statement made by counsel for the defendants and every statement issued throughout the years by the Kentucky Miners Defense about conditions in that "dark and bloody" county.

The LaFollette Committee reports on Harlan can be obtained by writing to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Parts 9-10-11-12-13 may be had for $1.40 for all. Part 12, at 30 cents, contains several pages about the Evarts-battle trials. The testimony of Lawrence "Peggy" Dwyer, veteran U.M.W. of A. organizer, Daniel Boone Smith, and others, is highly favorable to the convicted miners.

Kentucky and Harlan Fascism

Harlan coal operators repeatedly howled that the county was being criticized only by people "outside the state." But this editorial from the *Louisville Courier-Journal,* on April 25, 1937, entitled "Harlan County Justice," exemplifies steadily growing opinion in Kentucky:

> The Constitution of the United States does not operate in Harlan County. The Bill of Rights is a joke in Harlan County. The company-paid deputy sheriffs of Harlan County have been a good imitation of the private armies of Fascism.
>
> When the unions have been so daring as to try to organize the workers of Harlan County, these armies have made a reign of terror. There have been times when citizens were forbidden even to venture from their doors.
>
> There is a special form of iniquity known as "Harlan County justice." It is the justice of Mussolini's castor-oil squads, the justice of Hitler's brown-shirts. . . .
>
> These things have been known for years by the few people who have cared to learn the truth. Today these things are known by the whole country, as a result of the superb job of fact-finding done by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee of the United States Senate. What is the Government of Kentucky planning to do? . . .
>
> The American people do not wish to have Harlan Counties in their midst. The next move is for the State of Kentucky to make, and the American people are watching. A thorough clean-up at this point would not only be good for Kentucky; it would be good for the prestige of State Governments.

* * *

For years the Kentucky Miners Defense spread the facts about Harlan far and wide, assisted by "the few people who cared to know the truth." The unceasing activities of the Kentucky Miners Defense were among the prime factors in bringing about the La Follette Committee's inquiry.

Think of what Bloody Harlan was in 1931, when there was no NRA and no Wagner Act guaranteeing workers the right to organize. Read through the testimony brought out by the LaFollette investigation, and see how the Harlan coal operators flouted the

federal laws from 1933 to 1937. Even in recent years the coal-company guards—all deputized as were Jim Daniels and his men—carried on a reign of terror which shocked the press of the whole country.

The LaFollette inquiry proved that no man's life was safe in Harlan County if he was friendly to labor unions. Thugs sworn in as public officers trampled under foot the laws they had taken oath to defend—murdered union organizers, shot and beat others, broke up miners' meetings with machine-guns. They were serving the coal companies in a relentless campaign to crush unionism at every turn. Even in the recent years, too, as the LaFollette Committee testimony clearly shows, the courts were used flagrantly against the workers and for the protection of the gunmen.

Today conditions are improving in Harlan County. Union organizers are not molested; miners can join the union and attend meetings; the union is growing rapidly. Soon Harlan may be a solid union field.

The old gang of gunmen are still there, silent, but not subdued. Momentarily held in check by their masters, who fear the Federal "law," they may be unleashed again to murder and to maim. But by all the signs their day is done. "Bloody Harlan" is passing on . . . never to return, we hope.

Far away from the coal-fields the four victims of "Harlan County justice"—W. B. Jones, Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson—are still serving their life sentences in the Kentucky State Reformatory at La Grange.

While these forgotten men march to their daily tasks in prison uniform millions of newly organized workers go to their jobs with union buttons proudly displayed, and work under union conditions. What was denounced as "treason" in Harlan County six years ago is now the law of the nation.

The men who dared to raise the banner of unionism in Harlan in 1931, the men who dared to strike against starvation wages, the men who dared to picket despite the murderous gunmen . . . these union heroes are now merely numbered felons in a Kentucky prison.

How much longer they will remain there depends upon the workers and fair-minded citizens across the land.

A MESSAGE TO UNION MEN AND WOMEN

What has your union done, nationally or locally, to free the imprisoned Harlan miners? Will you make it your duty as an individual member, to find out what has been done recently?

We ask especially that you take this question up at the next meeting of your union Local and urge that some real support be given to these union brothers whose life sentences were imposed because they fought for the rights that you are enjoying today.

In the Harlan cases the cause of unionism was on trial. Every added day that these prisoners are kept behind the bars is a challenge to all who believe in unionism. Every effort made to free them is a blow struck in defense of union principles. Your support as an individual and your efforts to enlist the organized pressure of your union to force pardons for the Harlan miners defends the cause of unionism and defends your rights as a worker.

1. Take up the question of supporting the Harlan miners' pardon campaign at the next meeting of your union.
2. Send your name and address to the Kentucky Miners Defense so that you can be informed quickly of recent developments.
3. Send the address of your Local Union and the addresses of your Local officers so that recent information can be sent direct to your union.
4. Have your union investigate the facts of the Harlan miners' frame-ups, and if convinced pass a resolution demanding their freedom.
5. Have your union urge Senator Robert M. La Follette to extend the Harlan investigation to include the 1931-32 framed-up murder trials.
6. Circulate copies of this pamphlet among all workers. Help to spread the story of this frame-up. To insure widespread circulation 20 copies will be sent for $1.00, postage free. Send us your dollar today.

KENTUCKY MINERS DEFENSE
75 Fifth Avenue — New York, N. Y.

HOW YOU CAN HELP TO FREE THESE MEN

Three courses to set the Harlan prisoners free are open to us:

1. Pardons by the Governor.
2. Continuance of the LaFollette Committee's investigation to cover the period of the trials.
3. Appeal to the federal courts.

Ways in which you can help free these men:

1. Study the circumstances of their convictions, and if convinced that they were framed up, write to Gov. A. B. Chandler, Executive Mansion, Frankfort, Ky., appealing to him to grant unconditional pardons to W. B. Jones, Chester Poore, Jim Reynolds, and Al Benson. State your own reasons why you urge their liberation.

2. Write to U. S. Senator Robert M. LaFollette, Washington, D. C., urging him to extend the investigation of Harlan by his committee to include the 1931-32 framed-up murder trials.

3. Send money to the Kentucky Miners Defense to keep up the fight.

These loyal union men are counting on you. Do not fail them. They have been in prison more than six and a half years.

Act today. Send your contribution to:

KENTUCKY MINERS DEFENSE

HERBERT MAHLER, Secretary-Treasurer
75 Fifth Avenue — New York City
Telephone: Algonquin 4-2584

Authorized by the Prisoners:

W. B. Jones, Number 22064
Chester Poore, Number 22050
Jim Reynolds, Number 22051
Al Benson, Number 22052

Published November, 1937

357

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

A HANDBOOK OF THE INDUSTRY

Issued by

Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the Industrial Workers of the World

Price Fifteen Cents

Knowledge
Is Power

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

Building Construction

A Handbook of the Industry

ISSUED BY

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION No. 330 OF THE I. W. W.

PUBLISHED BY

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

1001 WEST MADISON STREET, CHICAGO, ILL.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

1. PRESENT CONDITIONS IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

THE GREAT BUILDING SHORTAGE AND THE RESULTING BUILDING BOOM

If we were to compress the information obtainable about the status of the building industry for the moment into a composite word picture, we should not be telling the whole story. Such a verbal snapshot would not tell us enough of the immediate past to give us the power to look into the immediate future. It is the general direction of the road over which we have just come which indicates to us whither we are going tomorrow and the day after, and we need information on that point, in order to act intelligently.

For this reason we shall briefly review the post-war conditions in the building industry, gradually working up to the present.

The conditions in the building industry during 1922 and 1923 are without parallel in the history of the country. It is a nation-wide boom of a thousandfold the magnitude of the booms of pioneer towns along the arteries of transcontinental traffic in the past.

In order to get as correct a view as possible of this extraordinary situation, we shall view the same from three different angles.

The first viewpoint is **the valuation of building permits.** The highest record ever reached in U. S. A. previous to 1922 was on

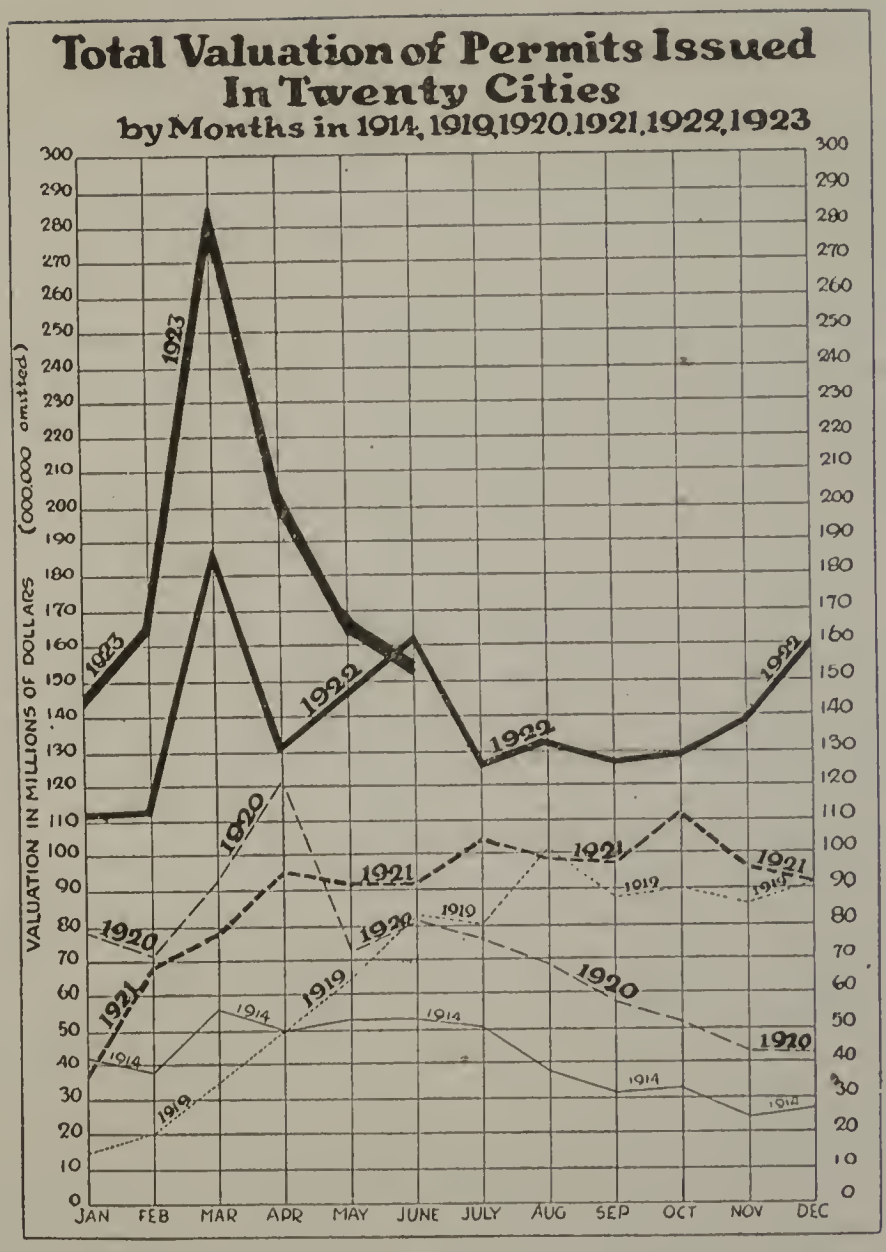
April 1, 1920, when the total valuation of building permits issued reached the high figure of $125,000,000. During 1922 the valuation is entirely above the peak of 1920, and the first half of 1923 breaks all previous records.

A graphic idea of the big lead the first half of 1923 has over the first six months of any former year may be gained by comparing the figures for twenty important cities for which valuations have been ascertained for each month since January 1, 1914. These valuations are illustrated in the accompanying chart reproduced from "The American Contractor" of Chicago, a high class publication for exact data on the building industry, which every ambitious and knowledge-seeking building worker should read steadily, in order to have the building situation constantly at his fingers' ends.

The valuation for these 20 cities for the first six months of 1922 is $825,326,767, but for the first six months of 1923 it is the much greater figure of $1,110,418,015. Chicago records the biggest June drop from May activity—the May figure was $32,-198,000, and the June figure is $17,683,550. New York registers the biggest gain, the May figure was $39,556,401 and the June figure is $57,216,625.

In chapter IV, which treats on "The Bosses' One Big Union in the building industry," we shall reveal the startling facts about the taming and subduing of the musty old "law of supply and demand," which may be considered as great a human achievement as the harnessing of Niagara. This will be better understood when we point out that the mountain peaks and the valleys and fluctuations on the accompanying chart are unmistakable signs of a terrible social disease, to wit, absurdly inadequate housing facilities for the people on the one side and reckless profiteering on the homeless on the other side.

Here follows the chart. It is easy to understand. The figures to the right and left signify the number of million dollars. The irregular lines crossing the chart signify the valuation of permits for each year. By following these lines and observing the reading on the sides and at the same time reading the month of the year at the bottom, you may get the correct valuation of permits for any month of the last ten years, with the actual war years excluded. Moreover, by studying the remarks in chapter IV, above referred to, you will be able to approximately trace in advance the building situation for some time to come.



The curve for 1923 comes down near the 150 million line in June, but for July it is again at the 160 million line.

In Chicago the total cost figure of September, 1923, permits is about twice the figure for September, 1922.

The second viewpoint of this record in building activity we obtain by noting the **total sum of contracts awarded.**

All records were broken in 1922 for volume of construction. The year's total for 27 northeastern states (including about three fourths of the construction of the country) was $3,345,950,000, which would indicate about $4,465,000,000 for the whole country.

Analysis of the 1922 record shows the distribution of building activities to have been approximately as follows:

Residential contracts	$1,341,009,000	or 40 p. c. of total
Public works and utilities	562,966,000	or 17 p. c. "
Business buildings	496,145,000	or 15 p. c. "
Industrial buildings	325,100,000	or 10 p. c. "
Educational buildings	303,272,000	or 9 p. c. "
Others		9 p. c. "

The third viewpoint is well brought out in an analysis of the **building shortage** worked out in 1922 by the Cleveland Trust Company of Cleveland, Ohio. From their report we gather the following valuable information on that subject:

Almost every one of the 50 cities investigated by the Trust Company shows **a large, accumulated building shortage,** which began to be evident about 1916 and has increased every year since then. The shortage for an entire group of 50 cities is so great that it would require the full time efforts of the building industry for nearly two and a half years to make it up. Stated in another way, this means that the builders and contractors would have to work 25 per cent above their normal rate for ten years to fill the existing deficit.

The greatest indicated shortage was that of Portland, Ore., amounting to three and a half years. That of Indianapolis was 2.3 years, and that city ranked 25th among 50 cities. The most serious building deficits are in the cities of the Western group, while the least shortage exists among the cities of the middle Atlantic section.

The 50 cities in question include about one fourth of the population of the country. The shortage was so great that it would apparently require 1,250,000 building operations to make it up. About 700,000 of these operations would consist of erecting new buildings, while the remaining ones would call for additions, alteration, etc. Of the 700,000 new buildings about 300,000 would be residences, and the majority of the rest would be garages.

Part of this shortage is due to a **rising standard of housing.** During the past quarter of a century a new type of dwelling house has come into existence in this country that is much finer than any that has heretofore been available for any except wealthy people. It has hardwood floors, steam heat, modern plumbing, electric lighting, improved windows, and a completely finished basement. These improvements are now being incorporated even in houses occupied by people of modest incomes. Similar changes are taking place in business, industries and

public structures, and these improvements largely account for the rising expenditure.

So far for the Cleveland Trust Company.

In their report as well as elsewhere one looks in vain for a sign of shame or contrition or a desire to shoulder the responsibility for this almost catastrophic condition of the housing facilities of the country. These people point with bejeweled fingers to the glorious prosperity of the country and claim the credit for all achievement in behalf of their captains of industry, but when you start looking for the particular captain responsible for the terrible conditions in the building industry, then there is "nobody home." Then they blame it on "natural causes," "economic laws," etc., that is, when there is no possible chance to blame it on the I. W. W.

No better proof than this shortage could be asked for, in order to prove the social irresponsibility and the incompetency of the capitalist class. They left the fleshpots of war profiteering and returned to building profiteering only when driven to it by the force of economic necessity, and after Uncle Sam was mulcted dry in the sign of patriotism and 100 per cent Americanism. The bankers did not divert the rivers of capital into the dry and barren fields of the building industry, until the masses of the people were so hard up for a roof over their head, that the building profiteers could literally hold the masses up like robbers and demand any price.

While thus trafficking in the economic necessity of the people they made and are making such a rich haul that the question of wages, hours and conditions becomes of minor importance to them.

What a fine prospect for the building workers to remodel the foundations of their organizations! What a splendid chance to tear down the stinking, rotten, antiquated craft union structure and replace it with industrial unionism! What a glorious opportunity for the members of the I. W. W. to shift from migratory occupations and capture control of a new industry by reorganizing it!

II. THE UNPRECEDENTED "LABOR SHORTAGE" IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

From all parts of the country the building industry employers are sending up the cry of "labor shortage." But the I. W. W. members have had too much experience with such cries as "5,000 men needed for the Kansas wheatfields," "farmers 100,000 men short to harvest bumper crop," etc., to fall for the first noise of this kind. We know that unless the applicants for a job stand in a hungry and submissive looking breadline several hundred deep, the employers send up the howl of "labor shortage," in order to attract more applicants and create competition, so that they may have greater power over the workers. But outside of such considerations there is an unprecedented state of affairs in the building industry, and has been for the last couple of years, inasmuch as there seems to be no such "breadline" just now, and inasmuch as most building construction workers seem to be steadily employed. On the whole we object to the term "labor shortage": the supply of labor power in an industry is an almost constant quantity. It is the demand that varies.

However, we will here let the employers themselves analyze the labor situation, as they pretend to see it, with a warning to the reader to take it "with a grain of salt," as we always should do with statements emanating from the other side.

"LABOR SHORTAGE" DESCRIBED BY BUILDING BOSSES

The following quotations are from "The American Contractor" of October 21, 1922:

> A general contractor of Chicago says: "A general shortage of building tradesmen is felt so acutely at present, because for the first time in the history of the construction industry we have had a boom that has swept every cranny of the country.
>
> "In previous years when Chicago and a few other big eastern cities went over the mark with a great building campaign, there was usually a slack period in the building activity of other places. As a result men could be drawn from these dull sections and a balance maintained in industry. This year there has been no slack, unless the conditions that prevailed in the narrow section around Montana and Idaho could be so represented.
>
> "Faced as we are with a shortage of some craftsmen that cannot

for several years be trained in sufficient numbers to fill existing needs, is it not possible to discover and put into effect some means to co-ordinate the building program of the nation?"

And then this writer goes on to suggest the shifting of the working force in the building industry back and forth between North and South, summer and winter, much as the agricultural workers travel with the season. He does not state who is to pay the fare and expenses and for lost time, but very likely he had a golden dream of building tradesmen riding blind baggage and brake beams in rainy nights, chased by marshals and constables for the bounty, as happens with the migratory I. W. W.'s in many places.

Such measures of co-ordination this writer considers:

"doubly important now. The stream of skilled workers that has flowed from Europe to our shores has stopped. I do not think that the immigration laws have anything to do with it. Consider that the northern European countries have the only craftsmen that are available for this work, and that the immigration from these countries has not come up to the quota allowed us. If these craftsmen wanted to come to this country, certainly no immigration bars have kept them out. No, they have not wanted to come."

In other words, the capitalists of this country have almost killed the goose that has laid the golden egg for them these many years. The I. W. W. does not blame the skilled workers of northern Europe for not being stampeded into the cattle-pens of Ellis Island, as soon as his nibs, the profiteer, would like to cut strips out of their hides. The workers of northern Europe are fairly well educated and most of them read socialist and syndicalist papers every day. They have no doubt heard of the 10,000 I. W. W. members thrown into jail during the last 17 years and of hundreds of I. W. W. men still in jail for alleged violation of the Espionage Act and the "Criminal Syndicalist Laws." They are all opposed to war, and large numbers of them are syndicalists. Furthermore, they have probably learnt of the funeral of liberty in this country, and of those splendid 100 per cent Americans who call themselves the Ku Klux Kan, who eat foreigners, negroes and syndicalists alive. Can you blame them for not coming in a trot when Mr. Capitalist waves his wad of tainted dollars!

IMMIGRATION AS A FACTOR IN ALLEGED LABOR SHORTAGE

In order to get the real facts in regard to immigration we will briefly review the situation.

With the intention of checking the expected tide of war-stricken and supposedly criminal syndicalist people of Europe

the Dillingham per centum limit plan law was enacted on May 19, 1921, and later extended to June 30, 1924. The principal feature of this law is the following point:

> "The number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted to U. S. A. in any fiscal year shall be limited to 3 per cent of the number of foreign born persons of such nationality resident in the U. S. A., as shown by the census of 1910."

The effect of this law has been to check the immigration from southern and eastern Europe, while northern and western Europe have not been affected at all. The following figures for the first 12 months of enforcement of this law tell the tale:

	Admissible	Admitted	Per cent
Northern and western Europe	198,082	91,862	46.4
Southern and eastern Europe	158,200	150,774	95.3

While not one half the number of admissibles from northern and western Europe have taken advantage of the opportunity, the other countries filled their quota in a few months. The former countries included the British Islands, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, which have supplied ready-made building workers in the past, raised and trained at the expense of those countries.

THE RUNAWAY LABOR MARKET

We continue to quote from various 1922 publications of the employers:

> "With business failures still running 50 per cent above normal we find ourselves confronted by a labor shortage and rising labor costs.
>
> "Already in from 3 to 6 months, increasing labor and material prices have noticeably increased building costs long before they were lowered to what we thought was a reasonable basis; and the danger symptoms of **bonus payments to workmen and competitive bidding for labor** by industrial groups again appear. As wages are approximately 44 per cent of the direct cost of building the effect of the increase on the construction cost is at once evident."
>
> "Labor is not a fixed caste in this country, and sons do not follow in their father's course of life. In Europe, where social class lines have long been crystallized, workmen's sons succeed their fathers, and the labor supply is fairly steady. Here there is a continuous shifting from the callous handed class to the white collar class. Throughout our history the main source of our common labor has been immigration. Skilled mechanics from native sources are not replaced as fast as they are eliminated by disability or death. The skilled American workman is not usually succeeded by his son.
>
> "In construction alone we need 35,000 new skilled workers and 12,000 additional common laborers annually, merely to replace those lost by death or other causes."

The I. W. W. has this to say to these distracted contractors: "Don't worry!" With the knowledge we have of the American slave markets in our big cities we should say that we can supply

the need of 12,000 additional building laborers annually upon 24 hours notice, and it will not show a ripple on the surface either, when those 12,000 men are picked out. It will merely relieve an insignificant part of the chronic poverty in our ranks. On that score you need not send for a single immigrant.

In regard to the 35,000 additional mechanics needed yearly the task of procuring them is not much more difficult, if there only were a semblance of good will on the part of the capitalist class to help men to their feet which in the course of the years they have ground down and made destitute and hopeless. There is nobody that can speak with more authority on the composition of the millions of migratory workers in this country than we and we can assure you that there are more than 35,000 yearly all around mechanics in those drifting millions, which with very little training would supply the pressing need for carpenters, painters, paperhangers, structural iron workers, hoisting engineers and what not. We only need to call attention to the phenomenon of how quickly several hundred thousand of shipbuilding mechanics were stamped out of the ground in war time in spite of conscription. As if by magic 50,000 carpenters' tool boxes came into evidence.

But instead of loosening up like sensible, practical men the log jam of poverty which separates these possible building mechanics from the work that goes a-begging, they merely frantically wave their roll and howl for immigration. Ready-made mechanics without cost to themselves is what they want. There are a hundred different ways of solving this problem, if there only were good will. Free transportation, room and board on credit for a couple of weeks and a box of tools on credit for a suitable time would solve the question. A well organized move of this kind would draw thousands and thousands of married and single men from rural communities of the backwoods, who only for lack of the first couple of hundred dollars to get a start with are held down in poverty. The rest would surely be supplied by the army of drifting mechanics who are trained in half a dozen trades and can quickly turn their hands to almost anything, if given a chance. Furthermore, those footloose mechanics have an up-to-date knowledge of everything American as well as of the language, and it would very likely be easier to break them in to their special task than to break in 35,000 greenhorns yearly. We have absolutely no objection to our European fellow workers fleeing from starvation across the water and coming here to share our bread, such as it is,

but we see no sense in flooding the country with greenhorns when we can easily take care of all the work without them, especially as it would take such a lot of greenhorns to get 35,000 building mechanics yearly. What are the rest of them to do?

We strongly suspect that the howl for increased immigration is insincere and has very sordid and shameless motives behind it. First of all there is the ever present effort of the employers to flood the labor market, in order to lower wages. This is, no doubt, the chief incentive of the patriotic howlers who are so anxious to save their country and the people from disaster again. But, in the second place, it brings to the surface another very important consideration. In all the past industrial history of this country, one of the chief sources of wealth for our labor exploiters has been to get ready-made mechanics for nothing. Europe has raised them and trained them, and the American capitalists get their services for just enough to feed them and clothe them while they have any use for them. They have been in the same enviable position as a large farmer would be, if he did not have to buy or raise his draft horses, but they came jumping over his barn yard fence full-grown, well broken in and harnessed, asking for a chance to pull his plows for just enough oats and hay to keep alive and a stall in his barn. That farmer would get rich quick, while his neighbors who had raised those runaway horses and lost them quite as naturally would get poor.

It is the prospect of having to pay for the training of his own mechanics on a large scale that all of a sudden makes the building profiteers, landlords and real estate sharks so patriotic that they would like to dump tens of thousands of despised foreigners on the country. Economic necessity is forcing them to face the question of training apprentices, but as it cuts into their shameless profits to some extent, they do not face it gracefully.

Incidentally these facts show how the people are at the mercy of irresponsible profiteers for their housing. It is high time for the building workers to get together and organize in such a manner that we can take the building business out of the hands of the money lender, the real estate speculator, the building material hog, the contractor with millionaire ambitions and all the rest of the parasites and grafters who stand between us and the possession of a home.

It is the function of the I. W. W. to so organize the building workers.

III. THE BUILDING WORKERS AND THEIR WAGES.

According to U. S. Census of 1920 the number of persons engaged in building erection were 2,338,210. Of these, 175,942 were classed as employers and independent workers, while the regular building construction workers numbered 2,162,268. These figures do not include the clerical force of the building industry, but for I. W. W. organization purposes these workers are also counted as building construction workers.

The above total of building construction workers is divided among the different crafts as follows:

	Employees	Employers and indep. workers	Total
Builders and Contractors	.....	90,109	90,109
Brick and Stone Masons	132,698	.....	132,698
Carpenters (83% of total carp.)	696,143	44,369	740,512
Cranemen and Hoistmen (½ of total)	18,944	.....	18,944
Electricians (1-3 of total electr.)	74,175	.....	74,175
Laborers	623,203	.....	623,203
Helpers (bldg. and hand trades)	63,519	.....	63,519
Mechanics, not otherwise specified	26,765	1,409	28,174
Painters	233,961	16,152	250,113
Paperhangers	17,981	937	18,918
Plasterers and Cement Finishers	43,980	2,294	46,274
Plumbers and Gasfitters	193,432	20,672	214,104
Roofers and Slaters	11,628	.....	11,628
Semiskilled (building and hand trades)	7,003	.....	7,003
Structural Iron Workers	18,836	.....	18,836
	2,162,268	175,942	2,338,210

WAGES

According to reports of U. S. Dept. of Labor the wages in the building industry have steadily increased since 1913, reaching the peak in 1921, 1922, 1923, in spite of craft unionism, mostly due to the extraordinary conditions above referred to. In most other industries the workers have not been able to hold their own against the increase in the cost of living.

We shall here give the wage increases for some building trades from 1913 to 1923 in some important cities, namely New York, Chicago, San Francisco-Oakland, Minneapolis and New Orleans. Above each such table we shall give the Government figures for the increase in the cost of living at the same time. In smaller cities and in rural districts wages are lower.

It is to be noted that the peak in wages has been reached contemporaneously with, and in spite of, the introduction of the open shop, partially or completely in most cities. Also that the building industry counts with about 2-3 working time or about 200 days a year.

NEW YORK

PER CENT INCREASE FROM DECEMBER, 1914 TO

Cost of living	Dec. 1915	Dec. 1916	Dec. 1917	Dec. 1918	Dec. 1919	Dec. 1920	Dec. 1921	June 1922
	2.0	14.9	44.7	77.3	103.8	101.4	79.7	70.7

Wages in cents per hour	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	Dec. 1922	March 1923
Bricklayers	70.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	81.3	87.5	125.0	125.0	125.0	125.0
Carpenters	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	68.8	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Cement finishers	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	70.0	70.0	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Inside Wiremen	56.3	60.0	60.0	60.0	65.0	65.0	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Painters	50.0	50.0	50.0	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Plasterers	68.8	68.8	68.8	75.0	75.0	75.0	93.8	118.8	125.0	125.0	125.0
Plast. laborers	40.6	40.6	40.6	43.8	46.9	56.3	62.5	87.5	93.8	93.8	93.8
Plumbers	68.8	68.8	68.8	68.8	68.8	75.0	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Sheet Metal Wor's	59.4	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	70.0	75.0	112.5	112.5	112.5	112.5
Struct. Iron Work's	62.5	62.5	62.5	66.3	68.8	75.0	90.0	115.0	112.5	112.5	112.5

For September, 1923, the New York wages for bricklayers and plasterers are given as $1.50 per hour, for plumbers and electricians as $1.25, for carpenters as $1.10 and for plasterers' laborers as $1.06½.

CHICAGO

PER CENT INCREASE FROM DECEMBER, 1914 TO

Cost of living	Dec. 1915	Dec. 1916	Dec. 1917	Dec. 1918	Dec. 1919	Dec. 1920	Dec. 1921	June 1922
	3.0	10.5	41.8	72.2	100.6	93.3	72.3	65.0

Wages in cents per hour	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	Dec. 1922	March 1923
Bricklayers	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	87.5	125.0	125.0	110.0	110.0
Building Laborers	40.0	40.0	40.0	42.5	45.0	50.0	57.5	100.0	100.0	72.5	72.5
Carpenters	65.0	65.0	65.0	70.0	70.0	70.0	80.0	125.0	125.0	100.0	100.0
Cement Finishers	65.0	65.0	65.0	65.0	67.5	75.0	80.0	125.0	125.0	85.0	85.0
Hod Carriers	40.0	40.0	40.0	42.5	45.0	50.0	57.5	100.0	100.5	72.5	72.5
Inside Wiremen	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	81.3	87.5	125.0	125.0	110.0	110.0
Painters	65.0	70.0	70.0	70.0	72.5	75.0	87.5	125.0	125.0	95.0	95.0
Plasterers	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	81.3	87.5	100.0	112.5	110.0	110.0
Plast. Helprs	48.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	56.3	62.5	106.3	106.3	78.8	78.8
Plumbers	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	84.4	125.0	125.0	95.0	95.0
Sheet Metal Wrks	65.0	68.8	68.8	70.0	70.0	70.0	75.0	125.0	125.0	95.0	95.0
Struct. Iron Work's	68.0	68.0	68.0	68.0	69.0	70.0	87.5	125.0	125.0	105.0	105.0

The above Chicago rates for 1922 and 1923 are from the Landis award. Many unions have retained their old wage scale. Others, such as bricklayers, plasterers and lathers in many cases obtain a bonus, making their daily earnings from $14.00 to $18.00, it is said.

For September 1, 1923, the following changes are noted in published tables, indicating the progressive collapse of the Landis award.

Bricklayers $1.25, carpenters $1.15, cement finishers $1.10, hod carriers 82½c, plasterers $1.25, plasterers' helpers 83½, plumbers $1.15, sheet metal workers $1.15, structural iron workers $1.25.

SAN FRANCISCO AND OAKLAND

PER CENT INCREASE FROM DECEMBER, 1914 TO

Cost of living	Dec. 1915 1.7	Dec. 1916 8.3	Dec. 1917 28.6	Dec. 1918 57.8	Dec. 1919 87.8	Dec. 1920 85.1	Dec. 1921 63.6	June 1922 56.8		
Wages in cents per hour	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	Dec. 1922	March 1923
Bricklayers	87.5	87.5	87.5	87.5	87.5	100.0	112.5	125.0	125.0	125.0	125.0
Building laborers	27.8	31.3	31.3	31.3	37.5	43.8	62.5	75.0	81.3	62.5	62.5
Carpenters	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	68.8	75.0	87.5	106.3	112.5	100.0	100.0
Cement finishers	75.5	75.5	75.5	75.5	75.5	87.5	100.0	112.5	112.5	106.25	106.25
Hod Carriers	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	62.5	75.0	93.8	100.0	81.25	81.25
Painters	56.3	59.4	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	87.5	106.3	106.3	100.0	100.0
Plasterers	87.5	87.5	87.5	87.5	87.5	100.0	112.5	125.0	137.5	125.0	125.0
Plast. Helpers	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	68.8	87.5	106.3	112.5	87.5	87.5
Plumbers	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	81.3	87.5	100.0	125.0	125.0	112.5	112.5
Sheet Met. Work's	68.8	68.8	68.8	68.8	75.0	82.5	100.0	112.5	125.0	106.25	106.25
Struct. Iron Wrks	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	75.0	87.5	100.0	112.5	125.0	112.5	112.5

San Francisco is supposed to be running on the so-called "American Plan," which, of course, means lowering wages to the tune of patriotism. In other cities they cut wages in the name of religion and morality.

The above wages were unchanged on September 1, 1923.

MINNEAPOLIS

PER CENT INCREASE FROM DECEMBER, 1917 TO

Cost of living	Dec. 1918 15.8	Dec. 1919 32.7	Dec. 1920 35.7	Dec. 1921 20.7	June 1922 17.3						
Wages in cents per hour	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	Dec. 1922	March 1923
Bricklayers	65.0	70.0	70.0	70.0	75.0	75.0	87.5	125.0	112.5	100.0	100.0
Bldg. Laborers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	55.0	50.0	50.0
Carpenters	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	65.0	70.0	80.0	100.0	112.5	80.0	80.0
Cement finishers	.....	50.0	50.0	50.0	55.0	55.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0
Inside Wiremen	50.0	50.0	56.3	56.3	56.3	68.8	68.8	81.3	100.0	80.0	80.0
Painters	50.0	50.0	50.0	55.0	55.0	62.5	70.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0
Plasterers	70.0	70.0	70.0	70.0	75.0	75.0	90.0	112.5	125.0	100.0	100.0
Plast. Helpers	40.6	40.6	45.0	45.0	50.0	55.0	60.0	85.0	85.0	.....	.....
Plumbers	56.3	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	68.8	75.0	87.5	100.0	87.5	87.5
Sheet Met. Wrks.	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	56.3	70.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0
Struct. Iron Wrks	56.3	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	87.5	112.5	80.0	80.0

On September 1, 1923, some improvement in these wages are to be noted: bricklayers and plasterers $1.12½; carpenters, cement finishers, electricians and painters 87½c.

NEW ORLEANS

PER CENT INCREASE FROM DECEMBER, 1917 TO

Cost of living	Dec. 1918 17.9	Dec. 1919 33.9	Dec. 1920 36.7	Dec. 1921 22.7	June 1922 18.9					
Wages in cents per hour	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	June 1922
Bricklayers	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Bldg. Laborers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50.0	50.0
Carpenters	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	50.0	60.5	75.0	100.0	100.0
Cement Finishers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0	100.0
Hod Carriers	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	65.0	65.0
Inside Wiremen	45.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	56.3	70.0	90.0	100.0	100.0
Painters	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	50.0	65.0	75.0	90.0	80.0
Plasterers	62.5	62.5	50.0	50.0	62.5	62.5	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Plast. Laborers	22.5	22.5	22.5	22.5	28.3	28.3	45.0	65.0	50.0	50.0
Plumbers	56.3	56.3	56.3	56.3	56.3	68.8	80.0	90.0	100.0	90.0
Sheet Met. Works	.....	40.0	40.0	40.0	45.0	68.8	80.0	100.0	100.0	90.0
Struct. Iron Wrks	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	62.5	75.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Later figures not available for New Orleans.

In order to make this account of wages in the building trades more up to date we will go beyond available statistics and quote a cheerful contributor in the Chicago organ of the bosses, "The American Contractor" of July 14, 1923:

> "A wage level has been found. With the passing of the first six months of 1923 comes definite indication that the big wave of boosting wages has broken itself on the shoreline, and any oncoming waves look small—merely ripples caused by too much displacement of the general level.
>
> "During the month of June, 1923, only twenty cities report wage changes as against 31 so reporting in May. During June a total of 79 trades (counting each separate trade in these 20 cities) received raises, whereas in May 280 trades received raises. Digesting these figures in the common sense light of present building conditions, which show a well defined trend towards recession, and in the light of the fact that most wage changes are generally made during the early months, we are led to the conclusion that upward revision during the remainder of this year is not going to be largely indulged in.
>
> "Decreases in large numbers cannot be expected, however, for there is sufficient volume of construction work and of common labor work to absorb the available supply. There were 8 cases of cutting wages in June."

This contributor, however, seems to have been a little too optimistic. During August there were 66 raises and 6 cuts reported from 22 cities.

WHAT DETERMINES WAGES?

The employers pay as much as they have to pay, in order to secure "the help" that they need, in order to carry out their profit-making enterprises. They pay the union scale, if they have to, that is if the union has power enough through solidarity to enforce the scale. Otherwise the practise of secretly working below the scale becomes a regular arrangement. They pay 50, 75 or 100 per cent above the union scale, even to unorganized men, if they have to. The employers pay no attention to "the standard of living." If they can get a sufficient supply of low-priced immigrant labor, so they do not have to worry about the workers dying out, they will not pay enough to enable them to raise children and propagate their kind. On the other hand, they do not care whether you are a 100 per cent American of revolutionary stock and related to the best families or a "damned foreigner," if they only need you badly enough. They pay what they have to in the open market. And right here we are coming to the point.

In the open labor market your wages are determined by your own economic necessity. If you are destitute enough to offer your labor power for lower price than the other fellow,

wages will come down. Standing alone with empty pockets you are no match for the boss with pockets bulging with money, and backed up by an intensive industrial organization.

The workers found this out more than 100 years ago and began to organize unions, pledging one another not to work below a certain price. If they worked vigorously to get all available workers into the union and if they practised solidarity to a high degree, they were able to shift the burden of economic necessity from their own shoulders to the employer's, and made him pay them "a living wage."

But the bosses soon found a way to fool the organized workers. They made them sign "sacred" and "binding" "contracts" for 3-5-7-10 years, and in the meantime prices on all the necessities of life were raised, so that at the end of the period the workers were worse off than when they signed the contract. Workers think very slowly. Although this cunning practise has been in use for more than 100 years, there are large masses of organized workers who take a ludicrous pride in the conscientious observance of their contract with the boss, even if their children have to suffer from it.

If you turn to the above wage tables from 5 American cities you will see numerous instances of wages that remain stationary at a pitiful figure for 3-4-5 years, while the cost of living is skyrocketing. These stupid contracts are a fundamental principle in the "collective bargaining" of the American Federation of Labor.

The I. W. W. condemns all such contracts with the employers. We will charge the employers all the traffic will bear for our labor power, and we will organize so as to increase our power to charge higher prices for the only thing we have to sell. We will leave the law of economic necessity free play in raising wages, for we have everything to gain thereby and nothing to lose. Contracts are in our way when we could better our condition, and they do not protect us when things go the other way, for if the contract calls for more than the boss thinks he has to pay, he will try to break the contract and establish "open shop," or perhaps, company unions.

We reserve the right to take advantage of the shifting economic situation to the limit, and will do so through the power we get by means of a well built organization and the practise of solidarity, thus shifting the bitter end of economic necessity over to the boss

IV. THE BOSSES' ONE BIG UNION IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

By this time it is so well known as to have become almost unnecessary of repetition that the capitalist class of the country is about to become solidly organized into "one big union." This one big union of the employers may well be likened to a tree. The trunk is Wall Street, that is, a dozen gigantic financial institutions owned and controlled by the Morgan interests, the Standard Oil interests, etc., all firmly united into one solid trunk. From that trunk rise a great number of great branches—the industries of the country. The smaller branches, the twigs and the leaves, are the individual industrial and commercial establishments. But under the surface are the roots from which this magnificent tree grows: the private ownership and control of the means of production and distribution, with the system of wage slavery resulting therefrom.

The "general convention" of this one big union of the employers is the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and that convention is also run by the Wall Street interests.

This one big union is the real government of the country, the government at Washington and in other capitals being controlled by this one big union, as is now openly being admitted by the liberal minority in Congress in their campaign speeches. It is in the directors' meetings in Wall Street that the public business of the country is decided, before it comes before the public through the camouflage government at Washington. When that camouflage government grips you by the throat in labor's big battles, it is really the capitalists' one big union you are up against.

The subordinate parts of this capitalist economic machine are becoming better organized each day. The employers in every industry have their "associations," local, state and national. In the building industry there has for many years been a number of such associations, but not until very recently have all the building interests come together in **one big union of the building industry,** and that one big union is called "The Ameri-

can Construction Council," an ominous and already powerful institution which has attracted hardly any attention in the labor journals.

THE AMERICAN CONSTRUCTION COUNCIL

On June 19, 1922, representatives of the whole building industry, including representatives of labor, met in Washington, D. C. and formed "The American Construction Council."

There were present about 200 men: architects, engineers, general contractors, sub-contractors, representatives of labor, and of manufacturers, dealers, bankers, insurance and bond interests, public utilities corporations, and state, federal, county and municipal construction departments.

In reviewing the situation a vice president of the Associated General Contractors said:

> "The extreme difficulties encountered in construction as compared with other industrial problems makes an organization such as this an inevitable factor. For 40 years American business has been passing through a transformation from individualistic to collective and co-operative activity, but the co-operation so far developed in the construction industry has been the efforts of the units of the industry, so that while individually we were important our co-operative efforts have proved ineffective."

This brief statement deserves to be framed. It is a fine, concise, business-like statement of the passing over from private capitalism to the next evolutionary stage: collective capitalism, a recognition by a public man in a public place, speaking from his own experience, of the fact that society is an evolutionary product. Having once unconsciously admitted this tremendous change in the forms of property, he has wrecked the old, stupid conception of the immutability of property, and at the same time raised the question of what evolutionary stages of property, that is, of society, have gone before and what will come after. Building contractors as a rule live merely in the present and have never studied social evolution, so we will help them out by stating the complete series of evolutionary stages that society has run through: primitive communism, family collectivism, feudalism, private capitalism, collective capitalism, and to this we will add INDUSTRIAL COMMUNISM, the next form of society, the one that the I. W. W. is working for. The collective capitalism that these great men of the building industry have met to create, is merely the bridge we are waiting for, in order to cross over into the next stage.

THE PROGRAM OF THE AMERICAN CONSTRUCTION COUNCIL

The immediate, tentative program of the American Construction Council resulting from the deliberations in Washington includes the following points:

1. The formation of a code of ethics acceptable to the whole building industry and to the public.
2. The gathering of adequate statistics from all sources and resulting interpretation having all the facts.
3. The reduction of the national shortage of building trades mechanics and the establishment of the necessary apprenticeship system.
4. Co-operation in establishing uniform building codes throughout the country.
5. Co-operation with the railroads in expediting the revision of existing freight rates on construction materials. The establishing and strengthening of local organizations throughout the country to bring about the co-operation of all elements in conformity with the principles of the council.
6. The mitigation of the evils of seasonal employment and trade migration of labor.
7. The encouragement of local building shows.
8. Simplification, STANDARDIZATION and elimination of waste.
9. Education of the public to the distribution of its construction and maintenance requirements more evenly throughout the year.
10. The promotion of the health and safety of workmen.
11. The reduction of loss of life and waste of construction materials from preventable fires.
12. The study of old buildings, in order to establish superior methods of construction.
13. The education of the public as to the necessity and economy of properly maintaining existing structures.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF BUILDING CONSTRUCTION

As will be seen, this establishes "the self-government of the building industry," to quote one of the delegates. This one big union of the building interests immediately proceeds to take the reins into its hands, and we realize with a start, that the "independent builder" is a thing of the past. He is simply abolished through the above program. The little feudal lords of

the building industry have been shorn of their power, and the American Construction Council is king of them all. We shall soon relate how this new king stretches out its powerful arm and guides the destiny of the building industry.

The employers have thus, driven by economic necessity, done what the A. F. of L. refuses to do and what the I. W. W. plans to do—from a different angle. While we workers are wrangling and fighting, the bosses stepped in and took the job of organizing industry off our hands. From now on the fate of the building workers will be largely decided by this one big union of the bosses, and their lives will run in courses laid out for them and determined by it, much as the earth and moon obediently run in predestined courses, determined by the sun and the law of gravitation, that is, unless the workers organize a one big union of their own which is so powerful as to be able to enforce its own will.

We call special attention to point No. 8, calling for **standardization.** We can see the time coming soon when the building crafts will almost disappear, to be displaced by industrial laborers working as assemblers of manufactured, standardized parts or operating building machines which will displace hand labor, such as, for instance, the paint-spraying machine, the cement mixer, pneumatic nailers, etc. We have already proceeded far along that line. What specialization there is left among the workers nowadays is not directed as much upon developing craft skill as rather upon developing **speed.** It is no longer the most skillful worker who commands attention, it is the speedy worker, the "robot," as a recent drama calls him, the sexless, statistical beast that is counted by the millions, of a uniform type, provided with iron nerves, void of human frailties, desires, ambitions and sentiments, but working away madly at a special monotonous task from a sheer sense of self-preservation. Such is the human factor that corresponds to standardization under capitalism.

This step marks the industrialization of building construction and requires industrial unionism to protect the workers, the "robots."

DEPOSING HIS MAJESTY "THE LAW OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND"

Individuals as well as trade journals commented on the sudden drop in the activities in the building industry in the early summer of 1923, ascribing it to this or that cause, but outside of the well informed "Monthly Labor Review," the monthly publication

issued by the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, there seems to be no realization of the mysterious power behind that drop. The mysterious power is The American Construction Council and its ramified connections with the world of politics, finance and industry.

The statement of the case by the expert writers of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics is so fine, so simple and so plain that we can do no better than reproduce the chapter on this subject from the July, 1923, issue almost word for word. Here we quote

"Suspension of building to stabilize the building industry.

"Meeting in New York City on May 16, 1923, the Board of Governors of the American Construction Council inaugurated a campaign for the temporary **suspension of all except urgently necessary building,** for the regular **diffusion of information as to building costs** and their probable trend, for the **curtailment of credit for speculative building,** until the present 'crisis' moderates, and, in general, for the **control and regularization of the building industry.** This action, taken because of uneasiness over the rapidly mounting costs of construction, is merely the latest development in a movement which has been going on for some time past.

"With the beginning of the year the more conservative building journals began to point out that while prospects were good for a year of intense building activity, there was a danger in the increasing costs of material and labor, which, unless they could be checked, threatened to produce a slump like that of the second half of 1920.

"If the building costs should rise too high there might be a buyers' strike and a period of deflation which would harm not only the building interests but the general prosperity of the country as a whole. Early in the season came an indication that these fears were not imaginary, when it was announced that the erection of a 3,000 room hotel in Chicago had been given up temporarily because of the tremendous rise in costs between the inception of the project and the time to begin building. The rise in cost of steel alone from April 1, 1922, for this project would be $900,000.

"Shortly after this came the publication of Secretary Hoover's letter to the President, recommending the withholding of contracts for State and Federal building until the demand upon the building facilities of the country should have somewhat diminished, and this in turn was followed by reports from various

parts of the country of projects relinquished or delayed because of high costs.

"It was at this point that the Governors of the American Construction Council met to formulate a policy. They felt that a serious crisis faced the industry. If the building activities of the country continued to progress at the present rate, the **demand** would soon far outstrip the **supply** (sic!) that prices would become actually prohibitive and a period of depression and disorganization must ensue. The grounds for this belief were set forth at some length.

We summarize:

"1. The volume of construction projected so far this year exceeds the volume of last year by more than 40 per cent, and the experience of 1922 demonstrated that during that year facilities for producing materials and conducting field operations were taxed about to the limit. Production in the basic materials is not only limited by the available supply of labor but, like other industries, by inadequate transportation. Construction is likewise limited by these factors, and, in addition, by the restricted supply of manufactured products and materials from the basic industries.

"2. Stocks of materials on hand in practically all of the materials entering construction are lower than last year while the unfilled orders are greater.

"3. Material prices are rapidly rising. Contractors in different parts of the country report that jobbers and manufacturers are unable to maintain their quotations for more than a day or two at a time on certain manufactured products, and it appears that the current demand has reached that stage where competition has passed from the seller to the buyer. The latter is bidding for materials and sending the prices upward. Furthermore, to aggravate the situation, deliveries are becoming uncertain and recourse is being taken to the practise of over-ordering for the job.

"4. Labor rates, like prices of materials, are rapidly increasing. In the building trades especially, employers are placed in the position of bidding for services and paying bonuses to an extent, in many instances, even greater than in 1920. Regardless of what the different opinions may be as to the reasonableness of a wage of $15 to $18 per day for skilled mechanics, we know that under the present conditions these scales will soon stop building operations and leave the laborer in a more unfavorable position than he will occupy under steady employment at a lower wage.

'5. The production capacity of various industries is limited and appears unable to meet a continuation of the present demand.

"To meet the situation created by these conditions the Council recommends several lines of action:

> "Speeding up of production and transportation is urged.
> "Co-operation of shippers with railroads is proposed.
> "Labor is urged to drop all restrictions on output.
> "Holding up of all but absolutely necessary building is recommended.
> "Publicity as to costs is suggested, as a means of letting people know when it is wise to build and to refrain.
> "The banking interests of the country are especially urged to curtail loans on speculative building. This action, the Council suggests, will exercise considerable influence in discouraging unnecessary projects and in bringing the volume of building into proper relation to the available supply of workers and material.

"Briefly, the result is that numerous building projects are being delayed for more favorable conditions.

"In consonance with these suggestions the New York Journal of Commerce reports, on May 25th that banking, mortgage and building loan interests are reported to be making it more difficult to obtain money for speculative building. Mortgage companies reduced their loans from 60 per cent or more to 50 and 40 per cent of total costs of new building.

"One of the most definite results of the Council's deliberations is an arrangement for the publication of a weekly forecast of the building industry of the whole country, much in the same manner as reports are now published by the Weather Bureau. By consulting this weekly report any intending builder can see just what are the conditions in his own locality, and whether or not the time is propitious for beginning his project. If prices are rising and labor is scarce, he will naturally be inclined to hold off, thus lessening the upward movement of costs, and if the contrary conditions prevail he will just as naturally be inclined to launch his undertaking, thus retarding the downward swing.

"The whole program is intended to stabilize the course of industry, to level down peaks and level up its depressions, making a comparatively steady volume of construction, avoiding the crises and slumps which have been painfully in evidence of late years.

"IT IS SAID TO BE THE FIRST DEFINITE ATTEMPT YET MADE TO UNITE ALL THE FACTORS OF AN INDUSTRY IN AN EFFORT TO CONTROL THE BUSINESS CYCLE."

Thus ends the Bureau of Labor report.

Having, for the sake of official propriety, to observe a rigid reserve of expression the Government Statistician cannot, like we in this book, point out without hesitation the real meaning of such efforts as those described above.

Putting it briefly, it means that both the contractors, the real estate men, the landlords and the building workers are fenced in. When this Council makes a move of some kind, the results will be immediately visible. We need only refer to the above mentioned curtailment of credit. One such blow makes the whole industry tremble. Contractors topple over and the bread is snatched out of many workers' mouths. Any time mere man grapples with the forces of nature, such as the forces called supply and demand, and conquers them, it is equal to a social earthquake. Adding to this the step taken by Sec'y Hoover, in causing 40-50 million dollars worth of Government building to be postponed (and no doubt this was done after consulting the Council) we have the explanation of the "drop" in activity above referred to.

Mr. Babson, the oracle and prophet of the business world, has good backing, consequently, when on July 10, 1923, he sent out the following piece of advice to his clients:

"If you are contemplating building write today to the contractors with whom you have been negotiating, that you have given up the work for the present. Write your architect today that you shall await lower prices. Abandon all new construction for the next 30-60 days."

The material dealers, who have so long been coining money out of the misery of the people did not dare to make open objection to the actions of The American Construction Council, but they took vengeance by all jumping on poor Babson for injuring their profits, virtually calling him a bum prophet who has been getting their money for years for nothing. That Babson's advice under the circumstances will be taken seriously can hardly be doubted.

Thus we have here the explanation of the lull in building operations in the summer of 1922, but it is an artificial lull, a mere damming up of people's needs. It now remains to be seen whether The American Construction Council will be able to regulate the dam they have built so that business will flow as regularly to their profit mill as the miller makes the water flow to his flour mill.

Through their dam, as well as through their weekly publication of building forecasts, the Council is going to affect the

wages, hours and conditions of the building workers most profoundly. They will make no noise about it, and it will not show on the surface, but every move of theirs will immediately be projected into the field of labor and will be felt by every worker in the industry. Thus the Council has in fact appointed itself the guardian of and dictator over the building workers. And we have enough experience and knowledge of our bosses to know that it will not be long before the Council will undertake by subtle and masked moves to reduce the wages of the building workers on a national basis, increase the hours, speed up the work and aggravate the conditions. The Council speaks gently and innocently, but, beware, behind its back it carries a terrible club.

The A. F. of L. leaders will be as putty in the Council's hands, and the building workers stand practically defenseless against a most powerful and remorseless enemy and exploiter, unless they answer with a counter-move of the right kind, that is, by organizing the building industry industrially.

V. THE DISORGANIZED STATE OF THE BUILDING WORKERS

What have the building workers to set up against this all-powerful One Big Union of the employers?

Leaving the I. W. W. out of consideration for the moment, as we have not entered into this industry to any great extent, the building workers have no organized body which is at all capable of protecting them against the terrible pressure which can be expected from The American Construction Council, working hand in hand with the subordinate associations of employers and with a shortcut connection with the big banking world. The treasurer of the Council is, namely, none less than John B. Larner of the American Bankers' Association. We say, what have the workers got to put up against this? Nothing as yet but the collapsing A. F. of L.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE A. F. OF L. IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

The craft unions in the building industry came into existence at a time when building construction was almost exclusively handled by petty craft contractors who had the knife on one another's throat most of the time. The tenacity of craft unionism in the building trades is still chiefly due to the existence of these craft contractors. Furthermore, at that time handicraft skill was still a great factor. Windows, doors, moldings and sashes and all sorts of fittings of wood or metal did not yet come ready-made from the mill and the factory, the paint had to be mixed by hand for each job, the granite blocks had to be cut and fitted by hand on the job instead of in the planing mill, etc., etc. Under such conditions the craft unions had a great function to fill. But as the process of industrialization progresses, craft lines are being obliterated more or less. The workers are becoming more and more assemblers of factory-made parts instead of artisans. The craft unions no longer correspond to the organization of the work on the buildings in the course of construction. And as industrialization progresses, the general contractor looms bigger and bigger and the craft contractor smaller and smaller. As soon as the American Construction Council's program plank calling for standardization is carried into effect

to its full extent, the craft contractor can pack up and go and join the mummies of the dead past.

Under these circumstances, when the craft unions in an ever decreasing degree are being held together by economic necessity, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the leaders to hold the membership together for dues-paying purposes, seeing that the union lost one fight after another in its stupid attempt to set the clock of industrial progress back. To make up for this decay of the very foundations of the craft unions and to check the gradual collapse, the leaders formed conspiracies to keep the members together by means of intimidation and terrorism. Bulldozing and slugging became the order of the day. Having thus lost their sincerity, as they themselves could not possibly any longer believe in a cause which required such means, the A. F. of L. leaders went down the inclined plane of dishonesty and corruption like oiled lightning. Court proceedings of recent years and months in New York and Chicago have shown that most officials were bandits, crooks, grafters, extorters, gunmen, dynamiters, common jailbirds, all of them "playing the labor game" much as rotten politicians play "the political game." We all know that conditions are more or less the same in other cities. The A. F. of L., particularly in the building industry, is going down and out in a perfect riot of crime, corruption and shame.

The proofs of this terrible statement are so numerous that without much trouble one could fill book upon book with it from the files of the press and from the court records. But what is the use of digging into stinking details that everybody knows of already, facts that nobody will deny except the crooks themselves and those dupes or worse who are picking up a miserable and dishonest living along their slimy trail.

The employers are, naturally, taking advantage of this situation for the purpose of shaking off the leeches that have constantly bled them in the past by declaring strikes and boycotts for their own mercenary purposes. It is largely due to the moral collapse of the A. F. of L. leaders that they have been so successful in establishing the open shop in certain places, completely or partially. The success of the open shop movement is not merely due to the economic out-of-dateness of the craft unions, but also to the fact that thousands and thousands of building workers are glad to get away from the sluggers, grafters and despots who have tyrannized them so long, even if they have to take chances on a hand to hand struggle with the em-

ployers, as individuals. They feel that they can at least have the satisfaction of knowing that they are not parties to and mixed up in any dirty business. Most men are righteous at heart, and they despise their leaders and suffer from having to be the tools of rascals and criminals.

Thus it has come to pass that in New York open shop conditions largely prevail, while in Chicago the Building Trades Council is actually broken up and 50-60 thousand unorganized men are at work on the buildings. In Philadelphia 13 trades were open shop some time ago, in Sioux City 16, in St. Joe, Mo. 8. Des Moines, Duluth and Tucson were all open shop, and Columbus, O., partly so. We say "were," as conditions are shifting so rapidly that what is true today may be only partly true tomorrow. The above cities are picked at random. The reader may easily find other open shop towns. We cannot here go into further details, but it is an undeniable fact that is plain to all building trades workers that craft unionism is about to collapse completely. The "labor shortage" may give the slugging dues-collectors of the A. F. of L. another chance for a while yet, but the cry for industrial unionism is rising from every part of the country inside the A. F. of L., though we must admit that we find a very poor understanding of industrial unionism in that quarter.

TRAFFICKING IN THE OPEN SHOP

Fully aware of the utter impracticability for the contractors to deal individually with millions of workers, the A. F. of L trafficks in the natural hostility toward the open shop, in order to get the workers back and to get that "recognition" of the union without which the labor fakir's job is not worth anything.

As a sample of the argument put up for that purpose let us quote what a friend of the craft unions says in New York Times:

> "To restore the open shop, with nothing to take the place of the present union is as impossible as to unscramble eggs and set them to hatch. Collective bargaining is an unescapable consequence of the size and complexity of modern industry. You can no more restore the individual bargain than you can restore hand-tool production. And the workers are going to determine for themselves the form of their own organization and choose their own representatives. The employers cannot formulate it for them. They can merely form, on their side also, such organizations as they may choose, to deal with such organzation as the workers may choose to form or join.
>
> "So far most employers' organizations have made the blunder of taking the I. W. W. instead of the trade unions as their model. That is, they have organized as 'one big union' of employers as a

class, instead of organizing by trades and industries and federating these groups. (!!!) Experience has long since shown that the one big union is efficient only for fighting and destruction but misfit for bargaining and business.

"If the purpose is to destroy capitalism, the I. W. W. is the way. If the purpose is to do business with it, the trade unions are the way. If the purpose is to do business with it, the federated organizations by industries is the way.

"The employers, like the employees, have the right to choose either way. But if they choose an organization only for fighting and try to do business with it, they must not be surprised if the business effort fails and breaks up into a fight. Also if they fight the craft unions they must not be surprised if they raise up the I. W. W. in their place. It would be better to deal with them." (Quotations reproduced from "The Carpenter," official craft union organ.)

Yes, if industrial evolution could be stopped by chiding and cajolery of this kind, and if the world with everything that is in it were the work and the plan of an omnipotent trifler, then muddle-headed craft unionists with an eye for "doing business with the employers" would be in clover forever. Their clock stopped on "recognition" and "collective bargaining" years ago, and they can get no further. They are mentally bankrupt. They want evolution to stop and come back and pick them up. The I. W. W. they use as a scarecrow, in order to make their argument more impressive, as the above writer.

The Eskimo Heaven is said to be the place where blubber is to be found any way you turn. Blubber to eat, blubber to drink, and nice little cozy blubber fires flickering and sputtering everywhere as far as the eye can see.

In the same way, the craft union official's Heaven is a place where "collective BARGAINING," with emphasis on bargaining, is the chief indoor sport. Table after table of collective bargainers as far as the eye can see, with "settlements" made under the table as often as above it! That's their Paradise, with so much per day, plus expenses, thrown in for good measure.

No wonder it makes their heart sad to see the employers take the cue from the I. W. W. and line up for a finish fight by means of "one big union," in obedience to industrial evolution.

VI. INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

At a time when the opportunities for organizing the building workers are greater than ever before, due principally to building shortage, but also due to the leveling process incidental to the industrialization of the building industry, we find these workers either drifting on the waterlogged ship of craft unionism or embarked upon a fool's errand—industrial unionism via amalgamation, while more than half of them are unorganized.

What is to be done to remedy this sad state of affairs? We, the building construction workers in the I. W. W., we know what should be done, and for that reason we dare, at this time, to come forward with a program that we think will solve all problems in this line and enable us to successfully take up the battle for life with the one big union of our employers.

THE I. W. W. PROGRAM

We cannot here go into a lengthy discussion of the I. W. W. program We have large separate books and pamphlets which treat that subject. Here we have to content ourselves with a brief and condensed statement.

The Industrial Workers of the World, or the I. W. W. for short, propose to organize all the usefully employed productive and distributive forces of mankind industrially, to the extent that they are ripe for it, that is, into **Industrial Unions** which shall have a twofold purpose, to wit:

1. To serve as fighting organs in the daily battles of the present for better wages, shorter hours, better conditions and increased control by the workers.

2. To serve as organs for taking over the industries in due time and as organs of production and distribution for the future.

At this point a thoughtful study of the Preamble to our Constitution will be helpful, and we here give that Preamble in full:

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

In order to make this program a reality the I. W. W. has planned to organize all the workers into 6 large **Industrial Departments,** or more if necessary, each one containing as many **Industrial Unions** as will be necessary to cover all the industries, each of which, in turn, shall contain as many branches, and sections of branches as will be necessary to take in all industrial establishments. Thus, as a rule, each shop, each shipyard, each ship on the seas, each construction job will constitute one complete branch or section of a branch, at the discretion of the workers there employed, irrespective of their different crafts or occupations. This is the central idea in industrial unionism that differentiates it from craft unionism, which organizes all workers with the same tools into one craft, irrespective of the industry they work in.

The I. W. W. proposes to organize the workers in the same way as production and distribution is now mainly organized, namely by industries, while craft unionism still organizes the workers along the lines that production and distribution followed in the past.

These I. W. W. unions hold their business meetings in halls when possible, like other unions, to discuss and to vote, but the chief activity of these unions will be right on the job, where

job delegates in sufficient numbers are always present to uphold the decisions of the union and where every member is expected to be constantly on guard against encroachments by the employer and constantly on the alert to increase and to exercise job control by the workers. The I. W. W. builds job unions rather than office unions. The job meeting, the shop meeting and the carrying out of their decisions on the job are the chief elements tending to build up control by the workers.

From this brief general description of the every day life of the I. W. W., which should be studied more in detail by reading our papers and other books and pamphlets, we shall now pass over to a consideration of the building construction workers in the I. W. W.

THE BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 330, I. W. W.

In analogy with the shop, the shipyard, the construction camp, etc., each building in erection is a "one big union" or a section thereof, that is, all the workers, irrespective of craft or occupation, carry the same card and belong to the same union. There is only one union on the whole job, and that is Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, I. W. W. The same delegate or delegates, if several are required, represent all the workers, technicians and laborers, plumbers and painters, granite cutters and asbestos workers, etc. These are, namely, no longer known by their trade, but they are, for union purposes, known as Building Construction Workers. To begin with, you will easily see that such an arrangement, such an industrial job union will make impossible such conditions as now prevail, where each craft union works separately, frequently out of communication with the rest and often scabbing on each other. The present conditions in Chicago will serve as a good sample of the results of craft unionism. Just think how different it would be if they threw away their craft union cards and all the workers on each building stuck together as one union!

We have started with a description of how the I. W. W. carries the union to the job, but the union also lives in business meeting halls. How will the I. W. W. arrange this feature?

As we have shown in a statistical table in a previous chapter the building construction workers constitute about 2 per cent of our population. If these were evenly distributed it would make a local branch of 1,000 members in a city of 50,000. Experience proves that a union of this size can carry on business

without subdividing. But they are not evenly distributed. The cities have a much larger percentage of building workers than the rural districts. In rural districts and towns of, say, less than 25,000 inhabitants, no subdivision of the local branch will be necessary for meeting and business purposes. All the building workers, plumbers and carpenters, electricians and laborers, gasfitters and draftsmen, etc., meet together and take joint control of the building industry of their locality. Can't you immediately see that such a union would be the strongest power in the community? Officials and politicians, newspaper reporters and contractors would gather in hushed expectancy in the anteroom of the meeting to learn of the decisions which would be the guides of their actions. There is no power in the world that can resist industrially organized workers.

The question of building shortage would have to be put up to these men, and they would solve it with the contractors, for the present, if they are nice and tractable, otherwise without the contractors.

Our plan is best understood by allowing the mind to keep this fundamental type of a branch as the pattern to build from.

When we come to cities over, say, 25,000 inhabitants, the matter becomes a little more complicated, and we want to say right here that the I. W. W. never lays down cast iron rules in advance for the workers to follow. The I. W. W. has been built up by natural growth and not according to blueprints or decrees. The workers will have to work out the best plan for organizing effectively even in the big cities. The United States have about 250 cities above 25,000 population where this problem would eventually have to be faced.

As this stage we merely offer some suggestions.

As long as the branch is not too big to carry on business in regular meeting, no subdivision should take place, unless it be necessary on account of the size of the city or for agitational purposes. Anyhow, this would have to be considered by the workers themselves in each case separately. It might be desirable in New York to start with a branch for lower Manhattan, one for Harlem, one for Bronx, one for Queens, one or several for Brooklyn, one for Staten Island, etc., as travelling to the meetings otherwise might take up too much of the worker's precious time. In the same manner it might be necessary in Chicago to have separate branches from the start for North Side, South Side and West Side, which later may subdivide as the pressure of circumstances upon them dictates, all the time re-

membering that it is on the job that the chief place is for the union to function.

This Industrial Union is as yet in the educational and agitational stage, and what is most suitable and serviceable now might have to be changed in conformity with economic conditions when we have increased in numbers so as to have actual job control.

In any event, it is absolutely necessary that these various branches be strongly united by the federated body established in the I. W. W. General Constitution, known as the "Industrial Union District Council." Representatives from all the branches should meet at regular and frequent intervals, so as always to meet every attack by the solidarity of the bosses, with the great resistance that solidarity of the workers affords. All disputes, and all strikes should be handled by the district council, or by committees from it and as being a portion of the functions of the said subordinate body.

We repeat, the I. W. W. does not dogmatically lay down cast iron rules for the workers to follow. We hold that society is an organism and not a manufactured machine, and as an organism it should be allowed to have a natural growth. We believe in implicitly obeying the Law of Economic Necessity and in following the line of least resistance, like everything else in nature. We want the proper forms to be experimentally determined as we go along. There is one thing, however, that we must remember amid all these considerations, and that is that we should adopt such forms that our unions will on short notice and at the earliest possible time be able to take over the whole industry with the social responsibility that goes with it. This form will at the same time strengthen the union for its daily battles with the employers.

THE BATTLE TO THE FINISH

This will, of course, mean a battle to the finish for control of the building industry between Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, I. W. W.,—the One Big Union of the Workers—and the American Construction Council—the One Big Union of the employers.

This battle need not necessarily be looked upon as social frightfulness and as a thing to be avoided. On the contrary, human progress is largely the history of such battles through the ages. They reflect economic necessity.

A good many of the elements now back of The American Construction Council and its subsidiaries may be considered parasitical in a broad sense, such as bankers, insurance men, real estate men. But the contractor as a rule exercises a necesssary supervisory function, in addition to having to scrape the money together required for building. Architects, civil engineers and draftsmen are as necessary as the carpenter and the electrician. A considerable part of the bosses' One Big Union, now subservient to the interests of capitalists, thus properly belong with the workers, although they are now enslaved by the money lenders, the real estate sharks and the speculators, just as the same elements reach out to enslave us, the manual workers. The A. F. of L. has already surrendered to them. The President of the Building Department of the A. F. of L. was "labor's" representative at the constituent meeting of The American Construction Council. With the noose dangling before his eyes, so to speak, this champion of labor, shortsighted on account of his craft vision, could in the new Council see only a realization of the craft official's golden dream, that is, a chance for national and complete "recognition" of his union and a convenient instrument for endless "negotiations" and parleys, to smooth out little difficulties between capital and labor, such concessions to be made in return for labor's recognition, through him, of the justice of exploitation and the acceptance, through him, of wage slavery as an eternal institution.

That the American Construction Council is, or soon will be, the capitalist organ for controlling the building industry and for carrying on the building operations in the U. S. A. over the heads of the craft unions seems not to have occurred to him. A fly crawling on the wall of a skyscraper does not realize what a big thing she is up against. The same way with the craft officials.

If the big capitalist interests in control of the American Construction Council and the subsidiary associations could have their way, they would completely ensnare and absorb in their sphere of control the manual workers also, and there would be nothing or nobody to effectively protest. The chains of slavery would be on our necks with the keys thrown away for ages to come. That is the bosses' ideal. The building industry would be completely organized, just as the I. W. W. proposes, only with this ghastly difference that the manual workers would be slaves instead of free men.

The I. W. W. greets with jubilant satisfaction the monu-

mental event in social evolution marked by the formation of The American Construction Council. It is going to bring order out of chaos. It is going to perform a considerable part of the task that the I. W. W. has set for itself, but which we have as yet hardly tackled in earnest, due to the ignorance and backwardness of the working class. Nor do we in the least fear the mighty arms of the capitalist octopus thus reaching out to capture us and crush us. We are confident of our inherent power as a class to successfully wage the battle for the freedom of all humanity and wrest control over this important industry from the pirates that now hold sway.

When we shall have gathered the manual workers of the building industry into one big union, through self-discipline, and through agitation, education and organization we shall be a power too strong to crush or enslave.

As we grow in strength we shall attract the forces of technical, supervisory and clerical labor indispensable to the industry. They are now more miserable slaves than we are, though some of them may roll in wealth. We shall emancipate them from slavery under the money lender and the real estate shark who now largely determine what shall be built, where and when and how. After that we shall jointly take over the building industry and make plenty of fine homes and transform our cities from dirty nightmares into beautiful Paradises of gardens and structures that will realize the dreams of our greatest architects and builders for the city beautiful.

The real estate shark and the building profiteer, the main cause of the present terrible housing conditions, will then be a thing of the past. Such crimes as a "building shortage" will be impossible. We shall all have a decent roof over our head. Such absurdities as alternating "labor shortages" and unemployment with their resultant sufferings to the workers will also be a thing of the past. And no longer shall the people be ground between the upper millstone of these sharks and the nether millstone of the building material profiteers as at the present.

The building industry will be jointly controlled, in the interest of society, by the manual, technical, clerical and supervisory workers of the industry, organized into Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330 of the I. W. W.

Capitalism throughout the world—disregarding the hectic flush on its cheeks in U. S. A. at present, coming from a boom due to mismanagement in the past rather than exuberant health —is in a state of collapse. The old organs of production have

come to a deadlock and are ceasing to function satisfactorily, as in the building industry. New organs are required. The race is on between the capitalists on the one side and the building workers on the other. The first lap belongs to the capitalists. The I. W. W. is a good second in the race for control and coming strong.

Upon the outcome of this race for control hangs the fate of all mankind, whether we shall be free men and women or wage slaves for ages to come.

Go to it, you building workers! Your fate and the fate of your children is in your own hands.

For further information and for organization supplies and literature write to

SECRETARY-TREASURER, Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330, I. W. W., 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill., or to

GENERAL SECRETARY-TREASURER, I. W. W., at the same address.

Just Off the Press

The History of the I.W.W.

A DISCUSSION OF ITS MAIN FEATURES

BY FOUR WORKINGMEN

BEGINS WITH FORMATION, GOES THROUGH WAR PERIOD, AND ENDS UP TO DATE

EXCEEDINGLY INTERESTING AND VALUABLE

PRICE, 10 CENTS PER COPY

Address:
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

The Only Magazine in America That Is

Of, For and By the Workers

The Industrial Pioneer

Brimful of Timely and Telling Articles Covering Every Phase of the Class Struggle from Fighting Labor's Own Viewpoint—Handsome Illustration, Able Editorials, and a Host of Other Splendid Features.

ORDER YOUR BUNDLE NOW

Price, Per Year, $2.00 Single Copies, 20 cents

Published by the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Printed in U. S. A.

Building Workers We Need a Union

■ ■ ■ ■

JOIN THE UNION OF YOUR CLASS

■ ■ ■ ■

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 330 OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD.

THE WORKERS DIVIDED

In the building industry there are a great many different classifications of labor, and consequently a great variety of so-called labor organizations.

This is the position in which the contractors like to see their workers, because they realize that division means defeat for the workers and domination for the contractors.

Craft unionism has time and again brought about the defeat of the different groups of building workers, and whenever they have been successful it has only been at the expense of other groups which in the end reflected upon the group or craft that did win. Craft organizations represented by the American Federation of Labor, have degenerated from labor unions to "dispute settling bodies," in which the members—the actual building workers—always get the worst of it.

The I. W. W., realizing the fallacy of dividing the workers into separate craft unions, so that the bosses who are organized into one national organization may more easily defeat them, seeks to organize every worker, whether he be craftsman or laborer, into one organization of building construction workers in this manner: when it becomes necessary for any of these workers to engage in strike against the employers and other workers also become involved, a general strike may be called, thus completely tieing up the job. This is the Industrial Union Ideal.

THE INDUSTRIAL UNION

To fully understand Industrial Unionism one must always remember that first he is a member of the I. W. W. regardless of what work he is doing. There is but one membership card to carry; once a member in one industry, always a member in all industries, but as it is impractical for the entire membership to meet together in one meeting, departments are formed of closely allied industries. For instance the Department of Construction is composed of the industrial unions covering the different

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

kinds of construction: No. 310, the General Construction Workers' Union, covering railroad, highways, canals, tunnels, etc., while No. 320 covers ship building and all maritime construction and 330 covers building of houses and shelter for men, animals and machinery.

We find that the workers in a department work under such varying conditions that the Industrial Union is absolutely necessary for comprehensive and intelligent action on the part of the workers.

We do not wish to be misunderstood and have it thought that the placing of workers in Industrial Unions is separating or dividing them; on the contrary, we claim that by organizing the workers in their respective industries we are welding them together into intelligent and responsive units which are closely linked together by a common tie into the greatest fighting mechanism the world has ever seen.

WHAT IS THE INDUSTRIAL UNION?

The Industrial Union is the organ of the working class in any given industry; in the building industry it is the Building Construction Workers' I. U. No. 330.

Its purpose is first to organize those who work at building construction in such a way that they may finally take charge of the industry on behalf of those who do the useful work.

To do this it is necessary to organize all the different craftsmen as well as laborers in such a way that no one individual, or set of individuals, will be subordinate to any other group of individuals.

This cannot be done without the organization of branches.

THE BRANCHES

A branch is composed of all building workers in a given locality irrespective of craft or calling. It is the center of communications between different workers in that locality, and between all the workers of that locality and the Industrial Union main office.

In large cities it may be necessary to

form sections where the distances are too great for everyone to attend meetings, but while we speak of branch and section meetings, we wish to emphasize the fact that the most important action, and the real power lies with the workers on the job.

THE JOB

It is on the job we are harassed mostly by the capitalist system. There it is that we are forced daily to grind out huge profits for the masters in order that we may be able to draw the wages that buy the necessities of life for ourselves and families and it is on the job where we must put up our fight against the encroachments of capitalism. We maintain that to be fully effective as a fighting union we must decide all questions pertaining to the job, on the job.

By having what we term **"job meetings,"** only those affected by the conditions on any job can take action and help make decisions regarding that job.

In this way any group of workers can decide for themselves, without any outside interference whatsoever, what shall be done on the job on which they work.

The building construction workers' union is a rank and file organization. The officials, instead of dictating policies, are only allowed to take such action as the membership instructs them to take and they stay in office only as long as the members permit them.

All power lies in the hands of the members, as the I. W. W. believes in direct action, which means dealing directly with the boss, and no one not engaged in the particular department interested in a strike has anything to say regarding the calling of the strike or settlement. If you wait for the officials of the I. W. W. to call off or settle a strike, you would have a long wait.

The strike is yours alone to settle and call off or to continue.

The workers on any job elect their own delegate or steward and then instruct him or them what to do, and the officials of the union are forced to abide by their decisions.

It is unnecessary to go into any lengthy explanation of how we carry on our meetings; suffice it to say that we have no permanent chairmen (presidents) to take charge of meetings and rule everything out of order that doesn't suit their fancy. On the job, the delegate or the job steward, or committee, if it be a big job, and a standing job committee is elected, calls the meetings and all questions are settled by a majority vote. There you have it, Fellow Workers. The voice of the majority—that is the governing power in B. C. W. I. U. No. 330 at all times. That is why the autocratic officials of the A. F. of L. hate us so ardently. Questions brought before a job meeting which affect more than those employed on that job must be ratified by a majority vote of all those who are concerned. There are few men on buildings who do not recognize the need for solidarity, in fact for complete solidarity, among the workers in this important industry, but they are aware that such solidarity cannot be achieved under the craft union system. **One union of building workers is the only way in which labor can meet and deal with the situation immediately ahead.** This union the workers must build up themselves; and, after they have built it, it will be up to them to see that it is used and serves only their interest.

The Building Construction Workers' Union of the I. W. W. is the hope of the building workmen, a hope that they, themselves, must realize. If they build it, they will have it; if they don't, they will have "what Paddy shot at." This is the weapon you need in your struggle to obtain your rightful share of the good things of life, which you work so hard to produce.

If you are with us you will join now, see the delegate on the job, or write to

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' I. U. NO. 330

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

ALL WORKERS IN THE BUILDING INDUSTRY

SURVEYORS
DRAFTSMEN
LABORERS
TEAMSTERS and Chauffeurs
CEMENT WORKERS
CARPENTERS
IRON WORKERS
BRICKLAYERS
HODCARRIERS
PLUMBERS and Gasfitters

STEAMFITTERS
ELECTRICIANS
SHEET METAL WORKERS & Tinners
MARBLE SETTERS
ROOFERS
LATHERS
PLASTERERS
TILE SETTERS
PAINTERS and Paper Hangers

DECORATORS
STONE CUTTERS
GLAZIERS
HOISTING ENGINEERS
ELEVATOR ERECTORS
AND ALL OTHERS

Should join the

BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 330 OF THE I. W. W.

1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

The CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

REVISED EDITION

By
Ralph Chaplin

The
TRUE STORY
OF ONE OF THE GREATEST JUDICIAL
OUTRAGES OF MODERN TIMES

General Defense Committee
CHICAGO

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

A Tongue of Flame

The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side. The minds of men are at last aroused; reason looks out and justifies her own, and malice finds all her work is ruin. It is the whipper who is whipped and the tyrant who is undone.—Emerson.

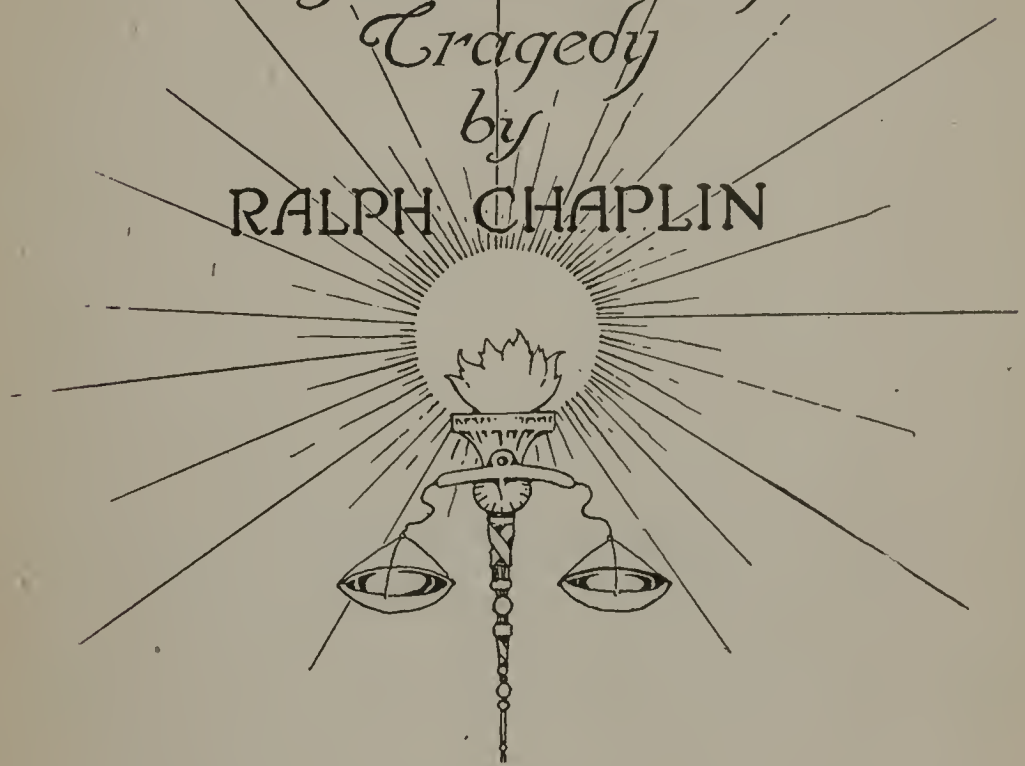
THEN... LIBRARY CHICAGO

The CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

The Truth About the Armistice Day Tragedy

by

RALPH CHAPLIN



Chicago, Illinois

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

THIRD EDITION, REVISED

Copyright, 1924, by the General Defense Committee

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

Introduction

The Centralia case is a part of the backwash of the world war. It marks the peak of the black wave of hysteria, hatred and intolerance that has swept the world since the beginning of hostilities. This wave, fortunately, shows signs of receding. Slowly but surely the war-born animosities are dying down, common sense if not real fellowship seems to be returning. The people are stirring restlessly and reaching out for priceless liberties that were taken from them under the excuse of "war necessity." The clutch of reaction upon the throat of the nation is weakening. The right of free speech, free press and free assembly are becoming something more than mere ornaments for political oratory. But the fight is not over, the final bulwarks are still unscaled. Victories of this kind are not conceded until they are won. Only the united and stubbornly persistent efforts of forward-looking men and women can undo the wrongs that were done and tear down the edifices of lies and oppression that were erected during the dark days. It is our hope that this book will not only help you to discover a mass of suppressed facts about the famous Centralia case but will also inspire you with a real determination to fight for well deserved and belated justice.

For members of the advanced working class movement in America the war period was an exceedingly bitter one. From the beginning the war was used by American plutocrats as an excuse to muzzle dissenting opinion and to destroy nonconformist labor organizations. Such a movement confronted them in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World—the hated I. W. W. Its philosophy, always unpopular with the exploiters of labor, was exceptionally so during the war. The I. W. W. claimed that that war was fundamentally the same as all other wars, that it was inspired by the same sinister influences and that it would have identically the same ending as other wars. This was its crime. As a menace to the prosecution of the war the I. W. W. was negligible; but as a challenge to oppression, exploitation and injustice it was formidable. At least it was considered formidable enough to merit the most

atrocious legal and extra legal persecution ever visited upon any movement in American history. Only the attempted suppression of the Abolitionists is comparable in any way.

In the Centralia case are summed up all of the class arrogance, hatred and intolerance that characterized the war period. The raid of the Legionaires and business men on the union hall was the culmination of a long series of similar outrages. The defense of this hall by the loggers was an act of desperate protest and not an act of vindictiveness or deliberate lawlessness. It called the attention of the nation to many hitherto unknown acts of mob violence.

The loggers who defended their union hall in Centralia were tried during the period of war hysteria. They were convicted by an intimidated jury and sentenced by a bitterly biased judge. The customary rules of courtroom procedure and legal ethics were set aside by a wealthy and powerful prosecution in order to obtain a conviction that could not have been obtained at any other time. The trial was full of errors and irregularities. Even the plea of the jury for clemency was ignored by the black robed gentleman on the bench. To call this trial a miscarriage of justice is to speak mildly. A dispassionate perusal of the court records will show that it was a disgrace to American jurisprudence. Six of the jurors have since made affidavits exonerating the loggers and complaining about the evidence withheld from them at the trial.

All things considered we feel that so much injustice was done in this case and with such terrible consequences to the victims that it now concerns every worker and thinker in America. We believe that you are seeking the light and are willing to investigate and find out the truth about this case. We believe also that you will be willing to spread the truth far and wide once you are convinced that it is the truth. In this book Ralph Chaplin relates the detailed story of the trial and the events which led up to the tragedy on Armistice Day, 1919. We want everyone to know the facts about this case. We believe the prison doors will swing open for the survivors of the Centralia mob just as soon as the people know the truth. The Centralia case is one of the big cases of the generation. If the horror and injustice of it were fully known it would so touch the hearts and minds of men and women that the entire country would resound with demands for the release of the victims.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

The Centralia Conspiracy

MURDER OR SELF-DEFENSE?

THIS BOOKLET is not an apology for murder. It is an honest effort to unravel the tangled mesh of circumstances that led up to the Armistice Day tragedy in Centralia, Washington. The writer is one of those who believe that the taking of human life is justifiable only in self-defense. Even then the act is a horrible reversion to the brute—to the low plane of savagery. Civilization, to be worthy of the name, must afford other methods of settling human differences than those of blood letting.

The nation was shocked on November 11, 1919, to read of the killing of four American Legion men by members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Centralia. The capitalist newspapers announced to the world that these unoffending paraders were killed in cold blood—that they were murdered from ambush without provocation of any kind. If the author were convinced that there was even a slight possibility of this being true, he would not raise his voice to defend the perpetrators of such a cowardly crime.

But there are two sides to every question and perhaps the newspapers presented only one of these. Dr. Frank Bickford, an ex-service man who participated in the affair, testified at the coroner's inquest that the Legion men were attempting to raid the union hall when they were killed. Sworn testimony of various eyewitnesses has revealed the fact that some of the "unoffending paraders" carried coils of rope and that others were armed with such weapons as would work the demolition of the hall and bodily injury to its occupants. These things throw an entirely different light on the subject. If this is true it means that the union loggers fired only in self-defense and not with the intention of committing wanton and malicious murder as has been stated. Now, as at least two of the union men who did the shooting were ex-soldiers, it appears that the tragedy must have resulted from something more than a mere quarrel between

loggers and soldiers. There must be something back of it all that the public generally doesn't know about.

There was one body of men in the Northwest which hated a union hall enough to have it raided—the lumber "interests." And now we get at the kernel of the matter, which is the fact that the affair was the outgrowth of a struggle between the lumber trust and its employees—between Organized Capital and Organized Labor.

A LABOR CASE

And so, after all, the famous trial at Montesano was not a murder trial but a labor trial in the strict sense of the word. Under the law, it must be remembered, a man is not committing murder in defending his life and property from the felonious assault of a mob bent on killing and destruction. There is no doubt whatever but what the lumber trust had plotted to "make an example" of the loggers and to destroy their hall on this occasion. And this was not the first time that such atrocities had been attempted and actually committed. Isn't it peculiar that, out of many similar raids, you only heard of the one where the men defended themselves? Self-preservation is the first law of nature, but the preservation of its holy profits is the first law of the lumber trust. The organized lumber workers were considered a menace to the super-prosperity of a few profiteers—hence the attempted raid and the subsequent killing.

What is more significant is the fact that the raid had been carefully planned three weeks in advance. There is a great deal of evidence to prove this point.

There is no question that the whole affair was the outcome of a struggle—a class struggle, if you please—between the union loggers and the lumber interests; the former seeking to organize the workers in the woods and the latter fighting this movement with all the means at its disposal.

In this light the Centralia affair does not appear as an isolated incident but rather an incident in an eventful industrial conflict, little known and less understood, between the lumber barons and loggers of the Pacific Northwest. This viewpoint will place Centralia in its proper perspective and enable one to trace the tragedy back to the circumstances and conditions that gave it birth.

But was there a conspiracy on the part of the lumber interests to commit murder and violence in an effort to drive organized labor from its domain?

Weeks of patient investigating in and around the scene of the occurrence has convinced the present writer that such a conspiracy existed. A considerable amount of startling evidence has been unearthed that has hitherto been suppressed. If you care to consider Labor's version of this unfortunate incident you are urged to read the following truthful account of this almost unbelievable piece of mediæval intrigue and brutality.

The facts will speak for themselves. Credit them or not, but read!

THE FORESTS OF THE NORTHWEST

The Pacific Northwest is world famed for its timber. The first explorers to set foot upon its fertile soil were awed by the magnitude and grandeur of its boundless stretches of virgin forests. Nature has never endowed any section of our fair world with such an immensity of kingly trees. Towering into the sky to unthinkable heights, they stand as living monuments to the fecundity

WITNESSES SAY MEN IN PARADE ATTACKED HALL

Testimony at Inquest Over Centralia Shooting Influences Jury's Verdict.

By Associated Press.

CENTRALIA, Nov. 13.—Testimony tending to show that the marching ex-service men started toward the I. W. W. hall before shots were fired from the building or from the Avalon hotel opposite, featured the coroner's inquest over the bodies of the four former soldiers killed here last Tuesday and is said to have been responsible for the failure of the jury in rendering its verdict to fix responsibility for the shooting.

Dr. Frank Bickford, one of the marchers, testified that the door of the I. W. W. hall was forced open by participants in the parade before the shooting began through the doorway or from the Avalon hotel opposite. Dr. Bickford said he was immediately in front of the I. W. W. hall at the time and that during a temporary halt some one suggested a raid on the hall.

Ready to Lead.

"I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow," he stated, "but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Some one next to me put his foot against the door and forced it open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening about us."

Dr Bickford told how he

—From Seattle Post Intelligencer.

THE TRUTH LEAKS OUT!

First statement to reach the world about reason for Armistice Day shooting. Dr. Bickford's sensational "slip" created a furor among reactionaries in the northwest. The A. P. reporter who wrote this story left Centralia by request in a hurry; suitcase and typewriter were left behind. After this the persecution started immediately to "manufacture" its case.

of natural life. Imagine, if you can, the vast wide region of the West coast, hills, slopes and valleys, covered with millions of fir, spruce and cedar trees, raising their verdant crests a hundred, two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet into the air.

When Columbus first landed on the uncharted continent these trees were already ancient. There they stood, straight and majestic with green and foam-flecked streams purling here and there at their feet, crowning the rugged landscape with superlative beauty, overtopped only by the snow-capped mountains—waiting for the hand of man to put them to the multitudinous uses of modern civilization. Imagine, if you can, the first explorer, gazing awe-stricken down those "calm cathedral aisles," wondering at the lavish bounty of our Mother Earth in supplying her children with such inexhaustible resources.

But little could the first explorer know that the criminal clutch of Greed was soon to seize these mighty forests, guard them from the human race with bayonets, hangman's ropes and legal statutes; and use them, robber-baron like, to exact unimaginable tribute from the men and women of the world who need them. Little did the first explorer dream that the day would come when individuals would claim private ownership of that which prolific nature had travailed through centuries to bestow upon mankind.

But that day has come and with it the struggle between master and man that was to result in Centralia—or possibly many Centralias.

LUMBER—A BASIC INDUSTRY

It seems the most logical thing in the world to believe that the natural resources of the Earth, upon which the race depends for food, clothing and shelter, should be owned collectively by the race instead of being the private property of a few social parasites. It seems that reason would preclude the possibility of any other arrangement, and that it would be considered as absurd for individuals to lay claim to forests, mines, railroads and factories as it would be for individuals to lay claim to the ownership of the sunlight that warms us or to the air we breathe. But the poor human race, in its bungling efforts to learn how to live in our beautiful world, appears destined to find out by bitter experience that the private ownership of the means of life is both criminal and disastrous.

Lumber is one of the basic industries—one of the industries mankind never could have done without. The whole structure of

what we call civilization is built upon wooden timbers, ax-hewn or machine finished as the case may be. Without the product of the forests humanity would never have learned the use of fire, the primitive bow and arrow or the bulging galleys of ancient commerce. Without the firm and fibrous flesh of the mighty monarchs of the forest men might never have had barges for fishing or weapons for the chase; they would not have had carts for their oxen or kilns for the fashioning of pottery; they would not have had dwellings, temples or cities; they would not have had furniture nor fittings nor roofs above their heads. Wood is one of the most primitive and indispensable of human necessities. Without its use we would still be groping in the gloom and misery of early savagery, suffering from the cold of outer space and defenseless in the midst of a harsh and hostile environment.

FROM PIONEER TO PARASITE

So it happened that the first pioneers in the northern forests were forced to bare their arms and match their strength with the wooded wilderness. At first the subjugation of the forests was a social effort. The lives and future prosperity of the settlers must be made secure from the raids of the Indians and the inclemency of the elements. Manfully did these men labor until their work was done. But this period did not last long, for the tide of emigration was sweeping westward over the sun-baked prairies to the promised land of the golden West.

Towns sprang up like magic, new trees were felled, sawmills erected and huge logs in ever increasing numbers were driven down the foaming torrents each year at spring time. The country was new, the market for lumber constantly growing and expanding. But the monopolist was unknown and the lynch-mobs of the lumber trust still sleeping in the womb of the future.

So passed the not unhappy period when opportunity was open to everyone, when freedom was dear to the hearts of all. It was at this time that the spirit of real Americanism was born, when the clean, sturdy name "America" spelled freedom, justice and independence. Patriotism in these days was not a mask for profiteers, and murderers were not permitted to hide their bloody hands in the folds of their nation's flag.

But modern capitalism was creeping like a black curse upon the land. Stealing, coercing, cajoling, defrauding, it spread from its plague-center in Wall Street, leaving misery, class antagonism and resentment in its trail. The old free America of our fathers

was undergoing a profound change. Equality of opportunity was doomed. A new social alignment was being created. Monopoly was loosed upon the land. Fabulous fortunes were being made as wealth was becoming centered into fewer and fewer hands. Modern capitalism was intrenching itself for the final and inevitable struggle for world domination. In due time the social parasites of the East, foreseeing that the forests of Maine, Michigan and Wisconsin could not last forever, began to look to the woods of the Northwest with covetous eyes.

STEALING THE PEOPLE'S FOREST LAND

The history of the acquisition of the forests of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and California is a long, sordid story of thinly veiled robbery and intrigue. The methods of the lumber barons in invading and seizing its "holdings" did not differ greatly, however, from those of the steel and oil kings, the railroad magnates nor any of the other industrial potentates who acquired great wealth by pilfering America and peonizing its people. The whole sorry proceeding was disgraceful, high-handed and treacherous, and only made possible by reason of the blindness of the generous American people, drugged with the vanishing hope of "success" and too confident of the continued possession of its blood-bought liberties. And so the lumber barons were unhindered in their infamous work of debauchery, bribery, murder and brazen fraud.

As a result the monopoly of the Northwestern woods became an established fact. The lumber trust came into "its own." The new social alignment was complete, with the idle, absentee landlord at one end and the migratory and possessionless lumberjack at the other. The parasites had appropriated to themselves the standing timber of the Northwest; but the brawny logger whose labor had made possible the development of the industry was given, as his share of the spoils, a crumby "bindle" and a rebellious heart. The masters had gained undisputed control of the timber of the country, three-quarters of which is located in the Northwest; but the workers who felled the trees, drove the logs, dressed, finished and loaded the lumber were left in the state of helpless dependency from which they could only extricate themselves by means of organization. And it was this effort to form a union and establish union headquarters that led to the tragedy at Centralia.

The lumber barons had not only achieved a monopoly of the woods but a perfect feudal domination of the woods as well.

Within their domain banks, ships, railways and mills bore their private insignia — and politicians, Employers' Associations, preachers, newspapers, fraternal orders and judges and gunmen were always at their beck and call. The power they wield is tremendous and their profits would ransom a kingdom. Naturally, they did not intend to permit either power or profits to be menaced by a mass of weather-beaten slaves in stag shirts and overalls. And so the struggle waxed fiercer just as the lumberjack learned to contend successfully for decent living conditions and adequate remuneration. It was the old, old conflict of human rights against property rights. Let us see how they compared in strength.

THE TRIUMPH OF MONOPOLY

The following extract from a document entitled "The Lumber Industry," by Herbert Knox Smith, federal Commissioner of Corporations, and published by the U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor (Bureau of Corporations) in 1911 will give some idea of the holdings and influence of the lumber trust:

"Ten monopoly groups, aggregating only one thousand eight hundred and two holders, monopolized one thousand, two hundred and eight billion eight hundred million (1,208,800,000,000) board feet of standing timber—each a foot square and an inch thick. These figures are so stupendous that they are meaningless without a hackneyed device to bring their meaning home. These one thousand, eight hundred and two timber business monopolists held enough standing timber, an indispensable natural resource, to yield the planks necessary (over and above manufacturing wastage) to make a floating bridge more than two feet thick and more than five miles wide from New York to Liverpool.

"It would supply one inch planks for a roof over France, Germany and Italy. It would build a fence eleven miles high along our entire coast line. All monopolized by one thousand, eight hundred and two holders, or interests more or less interlocked. One of those interests—a grant of only three holders—monopolized at one time two hundred and thirty-seven billion, five hundred million (237,500,000,000) feet which would make a column one foot square and three million miles high. Although controlled by only three holders, that interest comprised over eight per cent of all the standing timber in the United States at that time."

FIR AND SPRUCE TREES

The woods of the West coast abound with tall fir trees. Spruce was a war necessity and the lumber trust profiteered hugely during the late unpleasantness. Its patriotism paid.

Opposing this colossal aggregation of wealth and cussedness were the thousands of hard-driven and exploited lumber workers in the woods and sawmills. These had neither wealth nor influence---nothing but their hard, bare hands and a growing sense of solidarity. And the masters of the forests were more afraid of this solidarity than anything else in the world—and they fought it more bitterly, as events will show. Centralia is only one of the incidents of this struggle between the owner and worker. But let us see what this hated and indispensable logger —the productive and human basis of the lumber industry, the man who made all these things possible, is like.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT— "THE TIMBER BEAST"

Lumber workers are, by nature of their employment, divided into two categories—the sawmill hand and the logger. The former, like his brothers in the Eastern factories, is an indoor type while the latter is essentially a man of the open air. Both types are necessary to the production of finished lumber, and to both union organization is an imperative necessity.

Sawmill work is machine work---rapid, tedious and often dangerous. There is the monotonous repetition of the same act of motions day in and day

out. The sights, sounds and smells of the mill are never varied. The fact that the mill is permanently located tends to keep mill workers grouped about the place of their employment. Many of them, especially in the shingle mills, have lost fingers or hands in feeding the lumber to the screaming saws. It has been estimated that fully a half of these men are married and remain settled in the mill communities. The other half, however, are not nearly so migratory as the lumberjack. Sawmill workers are not the "rough-necks" of the industry. They are of the more conservative "home-guard" element and characterized by the psychology of all factory workers.

The logger, on the other hand, (and it is with him our narrative is chiefly concerned), is accustomed to hard and hazardous work in the open woods. His occupation makes him of necessity migratory. The camp, following the uncut timber from place to place, makes it impossible for him to acquire a family and settle down. Scarcely one out of ten has ever dared assume the responsibility of matrimony. The necessity of shipping from a central point in go-

CEDAR TREES OF THE NORTHWEST

With these giants the logger daily matches his strength and skill. The profit-greedy lumber trust has wasted enough trees of smaller size to supply the world with wood for years to come.

ing from one job to another usually forces a migratory existence upon the lumberjack in spite of his best intentions to live otherwise.

WHAT IS A CASUAL LABORER?

The problem of the logger is that of the casual laborer in general. Broadly speaking, there are three distinct classes of casual laborers: First, the "harvest stiff" of the middle West who follows the ripening crops from Kansas to the Dakotas, finding winter employment in the North, Middle Western woods, in construction camps or on the ice fields. Then there is the harvest worker of "the Coast" who garners the fruit, hops and grain, and does the canning of California, Washington and Oregon, finding out-of-season employment wherever possible. Finally there is the Northwestern logger, whose work, unlike that of the Middle Western "jack," is not seasonal, but who is compelled nevertheless to remain migratory. As a rule, however, his habitat is confined according to preference or force of circumstances, to either the "long log" country of Western Washington and Oregon as well as California, or to the "short log" country of Eastern Washington and Oregon, Northern Idaho and Western Montana. Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin are in what is called the "short log" region.

As a rule the logger of the Northwest follows the woods to the exclusion of all other employment. He is militantly a lumberjack and is inclined to be a little "patriotic" and disputatious as to the relative importance of his own particular branch of the industry. "Long loggers," for instance, view with a suspicion of disdain the work of "short loggers" and vice versa.

"LUMBERJACK" THE GIANT KILLER

But the lumberjack is a casual worker and he is the finished product of modern capitalism. He is the perfect proletarian type—possessionless, homeless, rebellious. He is the reverse side of the gilded medal of present day society. One the one side is the third generation idle rich—arrogant and parasitical, and on the other, the actual producer, economically helpless and denied access to the means of production unless he "beg his lordly fellow worm to give him leave to toil," as Robert Burns has it.

The logger of the Northwest has his faults. He is not any more perfect than the rest of us. The years of degradation and struggle he has endured in the woods have not failed to leave

their mark upon him. But, as the wage workers go, he is not the common but the uncommon type both as regards physical strength and cleanliness and mental alertness. He is generous to a fault and has all the qualities Lincoln and Whitman loved in men.

In the first place, whether as faller, rigging man or on the "drive," his work is muscular and out of doors. He must at all times conquer the forest and battle with the elements. There is a tang and adventure to his labor in the impressive solitude of the woods that gives him a steady eye, a strong arm and a clear brain. Being constantly close to the great green heart of Nature, he acquires the dignity and independence of the savage rather than the passive and unresisting submission of the factory worker. The fact that he is free from family ties also tends to make him ready for an industrial frolic or fight at any time. In daily matching his prowess and skill with the products of the earth he feels in a way, that the woods "belong" to him and develops a contempt for the unseen and unknown employers who kindly permit him to enrich them with his labor. He is constantly reminded of the glaring absurdity of the private own-

"TOPPING" A TREE

After one of these huge trees is "topped" it is called a "spar tree"—very necessary in a certain kind of logging operations. As soon as the chopped-off portion falls, the trunk vibrates rapidly from side to side—sometimes shaking the logger to certain death below.

ership of natural resources. Instinctively he becomes a rebel against the injustice and contradictions of capitalist society.

Dwarfed to ant-like insignificance by the verdant immensity around him, the logger toils daily with ax, saw and cable. One after another forest giants of dizzy height crash to the earth with a sound like thunder. In a short time they are loaded on flat cars and hurried across the stump-dotted clearing to the river, whence they are dispatched to the noisy, ever-waiting saws at the mill. And always the logger knows in his heart that this is not done that people may have lumber for their needs, but rather that some overfed parasite may first add to his holy dividends. Production for profit always strikes the logger with the full force of objective observation. And is it any wonder, with the process of exploitation thus naked always before his eyes, that he should have been among the very first workers to challenge the flimsy title of the lumber barons to the private ownership of the woods?

THE FACTORY WORKER AND THE LUMBERJACK

Without wishing to disparage the ultimate worth of either, it might be well to contrast for a moment the factory worker of the East with the lumberjack of the Pacific Northwest. To the factory hand the master's claim to the exclusive title of the means of production is not so evidently absurd. Around him are huge, smoking buildings filled with roaring machinery—all man-made. As a rule he simply takes for granted that his employers—whoever they are—own these just as he himself owns, for instance, his pipe or his furniture. Only when he learns, from thoughtful observation or study, that such things are the appropriated products of the labor of himself and his kind, does the truth dawn upon him that labor produces all and is entitled to its own.

It must be admitted that factory life tends to dispirit and cow the workers who spend their lives in the gloomy confines of the modern mill or shop. Obedient to the shrill whistle they pour out of their clustered grey dwellings in the early morning. Out of the labor ghettos they swarm and into their dismal slave-pens. Then the long monotonous, daily "grind," and home again to repeat the identical proceeding on the following day. Almost always tired, trained to harsh discipline or content with low comfort, they are all too liable to feel that capitalism is invincibly colossal and that the possibility of a better day is hopelessly remote. Most of them are unacquainted with their neighbors. They live in small family or boarding house units and, having

no common meeting place, realize only with difficulty the mighty potency of their vast numbers. To them organization appears desirable at times but unattainable. The dickering conservatism of craft unionism appeals to their cautious natures. They act only en masse, under awful compulsion and then their release of repressed slave emotion is sudden and terrible.

Not so with the weather-tanned husky of the Northwestern woods. His job life is a group life. He walks to his daily task with his fellow workers. He is seldom employed for long away from them. At a common table he eats with them, and they all sleep in common bunkhouses. The trees themselves teach him to scorn his master's adventitious claim to exclusive ownership. The circumstances of his daily occupation show him the need of class solidarity. His strong body clamours constantly for the sweetness and comforts of life that are denied him, his alert brain urges him to organize and his independent spirit gives him the courage and tenacity to achieve his aims. The union hall is often his only home and the One Big Union his best-beloved. He is fond of reading and discussion. He resents industrial slavery as an insult. He resented filth, overwork and poverty, he resented being made to carry his own bundle of blankets from job to job; he gritted his teeth together and fought until he had ground these obnoxious things under his iron-caulked heel. The lumber trust hated him just in proportion as he gained and used his industrial power; but neither curses, promises nor blows could make him budge. He knew what he wanted and he knew how to get what he wanted. And his bosses didn't like it very well.

The lumberjack is secretive and not given to expressed emotion—except in his union songs. The bosses don't like his songs either. But the logger isn't worried a bit. Working away in the woods every day, or in his bunk at night, he dreams his dream of the world as he thinks it should be—that "wild wobbly dream" that every passing day brings closer to realization—and he wants all who work around him to share his vision and his determination to win so that all will be ready and worthy to live in the New Day that is dawning.

In a word the Northwestern lumberjack was too human and too stubborn ever to repudiate his red-blooded manhood at the behest of his masters and become a serf. His union meant to him all that he possessed or hoped to gain. Is it any wonder that he endured the tortures of hell during the period of the war rather than yield his Red Card—or that he is still determined and still undefeated? Is it any wonder the lumber barons hated him

and sought to break his spirit with brute force and legal cunning—or that they conspired to murder it at Centralia with mob violence—and failed?

WHY THE LOGGERS ORGANIZED

The condition of the logger previous to the period of organization beggars description. Modern industrial autocracy seemed with him to develop its most inhuman characteristics. The evil plant of wage slavery appeared to bear its most noxious blossoms in the woods.

The hours of labor were unendurably long, ten hours being the general rule—with the exception of the Grays Harbor district, where the eleven or even twelve hour day prevailed. In addition to this men were compelled to walk considerable distances to and from their work and meals through the wet brush. Not infrequently the noon lunch was made almost impossible because of the order to be back on the job when work commenced. A ten hour stretch of arduous labor, in a climate where incessant rain is the rule for at least six months of the year, was enough to try the strength and patience of even the strongest. The wages too were pitiably inadequate.

The camps themselves, always more or less temporary affairs, were inferior to the cow-shed accommodations of a cattle ranch. The bunkhouses were over-crowded, ill-smelling and unsanitary. In these ramshackle affairs the loggers were packed like sardines. The bunks were arranged tier over tier and nearly always without mattresses. They were uniformly vermin-infested and sometimes of the "muzzle-loading" variety. No blankets were furnished, each logger being compelled to supply his own. There were no facilities for bathing or the washing and drying of sweaty clothing. Lighting and ventilation were, of course, always poor.

In addition to these discomforts the unorganized logger was charged a monthly hospital fee for imaginary medical service. Also it was nearly always necessary to pay for the opportunity of enjoying these privileges by purchasing employment from a "job shark" or enlisting the good graces of a "man catcher." The former often had "business agreements" with the camp foreman and, in many cases, a man could not get a job unless he had a ticket from a labor agent in some shipping point..

It may be said that the conditions just described were more prevalent in some parts of the lumber industry than in others. Nevertheless, these prevailed pretty generally in all sections of

the industry before the workers attempted to better them by organizing. At all events such were the conditions the lumber barons sought with all their power to preserve and the loggers to change.

A LOGGER OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

This is a type of the men who work in the "long log" region of the West coast. His is a man's sized job, and his efforts to organize and better the working conditions in the lumber industry have been manly efforts—and bitterly opposed.

ORGANIZATION AND THE OPENING STRUGGLE

A few years before the birth of the Industrial Workers of the World the lumber workers had started to organize. By 1905, when the above mentioned union was launched, lumberworkers were already united in considerable numbers in the old Western, afterwards the American Labor Union. This organization took steps to affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World and was thus among the very first to seek a larger share of life in the ranks of that militant and maligned organization. Strike followed strike with varying success and the conditions of the loggers began perceptibly to improve.

Scattered here and there in the cities of the Northwest were many locals of the Industrial Workers of the World. Not until 1912, however, were these consolidated into a real industrial unit. For the first time a sufficient number of loggers and saw mill men were organized to be grouped into an integral part of the One Big Union. This was done with considerable success. In the following year the American Federation of Labor attempted a similar task but without lasting results, the loggers preferring the industrial to the craft form of organization. Besides this, they were predisposed to sympathize with the ideal of solidarity and Industrial Democracy for which their own union had stood from the beginning.

The "timber beast" was starting to reap the benefits of his organized power. Also he was about to feel the force and hatred of the "interests" arrayed against him. He was soon to learn that the path of labor unionism is strewn with more rocks than roses. He was making an earnest effort to emerge from the squalor and misery of peonage and was soon to see that his overlords were satisfied to keep him right where he had always been.

Strange to say, almost the first really important clash occurred in the very heart of the lumber trust's domain, in the little city of Aberdeen, Grays Harbor County—only a short distance from Centralia, now of mob fame!

This was in 1912. A strike had started in the saw mills over demands for a $2.50 daily wage. Some of the saw mill workers were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. They were supported by the union loggers of Western Washington. The struggle was bitterly contested and lasted for several weeks. The lumber trust bared its fangs and struck viciously at the workers in a manner that has since characterized its tactics in all labor disputes.

The jails of Aberdeen and adjoining towns were filled with strikers. Picket lines were broken up and the pickets arrested. When the wives of the strikers with babies in their arms, took the places of their imprisoned husbands, the fire hose was turned on them with great force, in many instances knocking them to the ground. Loggers and saw mill men alike were unmercifully beaten. Many were slugged by mobs with pick handles, taken to the outskirts of the city in automobiles and told that their return would be the occasion of a lynching. At one time an armed mob of business men at Hoquiam dragged 150 of the strikers from their homes or boarding houses, herded them into waiting box-cars, sealed up the doors and were about to deport them en masse. The sheriff, getting wind of the unheard-of proceeding, stopped it at the last moment. Many men were badly scarred by beatings they received. One logger was crippled for life by the brutal treatment accorded him.

But the strikers won their demands and conditions were materially improved. The Industrial Workers of the World continued to grow in numbers and prestige. This event may be considered the beginning of the labor movement on Grays Harbor that the lumber trust sought finally to crush with mob violence on a certain memorable day in Centralia seven years later.

Following the Aberdeen strike one or two minor clashes occurred. The lumber workers were usually successful. During

this period they were quietly but effectually spreading One Big Union propaganda throughout the camps and mills in the district. Also they were organizing their fellow workers in increasing numbers into their union. The lumber trust, smarting under its last defeat, was alarmed and alert.

A MASSACRE AND A NEW LAW

But no really important event occurred until 1916. At this time the union loggers, organized in the Industrial Workers of the World, had started a drive for membership around Puget Sound. Loggers and mill hands were eager for the message of Industrial Unionism. Meetings were well attended and the sentiment in favor of the organization was steadily growing. The A. F. of L. shingle weavers and longshoremen were on strike and had asked the I. W. W. to help them obtain free speech in Everett. The ever-watchful lumber interests decided the time to strike had again arrived. The events of "Bloody Sunday" are too well known to need repeating here. Suffice to say that after a summer replete with illegal beatings and jailings five men were killed in cold blood and forty wounded in a final desperate effort to drive the union out of the city of Everett, Washington. These unarmed loggers were slaughtered and wounded by the gunfire of a gang of business men and plug-uglies of the lumber interests. True to form, the lumber trust had every union man in sight arrested and seventy-four charged with the murder of a gunman who had been killed by the cross-fire of his own comrades. None of the desperadoes who had done the actual murdering was ever prosecuted nor even reprimanded. The charge against the members of the Industrial Workers of the World was pressed. The case was tried in court and the industrialists declared "not guilty." George F. Vanderveer was the attorney for the defense.

The lumber interests were infuriated at their defeat, and from this time on the struggle raged in deadly earnest. Almost everything from mob law to open assassination had been tried without avail. The execrated One Big Union idea was gaining members and power every day. The situation was truly alarming. Their heretofore trustworthy "wage plugs" were showing unmistakable symptoms of intelligence. Workingmen were waking up. They were, in appalling numbers, demanding the right to live like men. Something must be done—something new and drastic—to split asunder this on-coming phalanx of industrial power.

But the gunman-and-mob method was discarded, temporarily at least, in favor of the machinations of lumber trust tools in

the law making bodies. Big Business can make laws as easily as it can break them—and with as little impunity. So the notorious Washington "criminal syndicalism" law was devised. This law, however, struck a snag. The honest-minded governor of the state, recognizing its transparent character and far-reaching effects, promptly vetoed the measure. After the death of Governor Lister the criminal syndicalism law was passed, however, by the next State Legislature. Since that time it has been used against the American Federation of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Socialist Party and even common citizens not affiliated with any of these organizations. The criminal syndicalism law registers the high water mark of reaction. It infringes more on the liberties of the people than any of the labor-crushing laws that blackened Russia during the dynasty of the Romanoffs.

THE 8 HOUR DAY AND "TREASON"

Nineteen hundred and seventeen was an eventful year. It was then the greatest strike in the history of the lumber industry occurred—the strike for the eight hour day. For years the logger and mill hand had fought against the unrestrained greed of the lumber interests. Step by step, in the face of fiercest opposition, they had fought for the right to live like men; and step by step they had been gaining. Each failure or success had shown them the weakness or strength of their union. They had been consolidating their forces as well as learning how to use them. The lumber trust had been making huge profits the while, but the lumber workers were still working ten hours or more and the logger was still packing his dirty blankets from job to job. Dissatisfaction with conditions was wider and more prevalent than ever before. Then came the war.

As soon as this country had taken its stand with the allied imperialists the price of lumber, needed for war purposes, was boosted to sky-high figures. From $16.00 to $116.00 per thousand feet is quite a jump; but recent disclosures show that the government paid as high as $1,200.00 per thousand for spruce that private concerns were purchasing for less than one-tenth of that sum. Gay parties with plenty of wild women and hard drink are alleged to have been instrumental in enabling the "patriotic" lumber trust to put these little deals across. Due to the duplicity of this same bunch of predatory gentlemen the airplane and ship building program of the United States turned

LOGGING OPERATIONS

Look around you at the present moment and you will see wood used for many different purposes. Have you ever stopped to think where the raw material comes from or what the workers are like who produce it? Here is a scene from a lumber camp showing the loggers at their daily tasks. The lumber trust is willing that these men should work—but not organize.

out to be a scandal instead of a success. Out of 21,000 feet of spruce delivered to a Massachusetts factory, inspectors could only pass 400 feet as fit for use. Keep these facts and figures in mind when you read about what happened to the "disloyal" lumber workers during the war—and afterwards.

Discontent had been smouldering in the woods for a long time. It was soon fanned to a flame by the brazen profiteering of the lumber trust. The loggers had been biding their time —rather sullenly it is true—for the day when the wrongs they had endured so patiently and so long might be rectified. Their quarrel with the lumber interests was an old one. The time was becoming propitious.

In the early summer of 1917 the strike started. Sweeping through the short log country it spread like wild-fire over nearly all the Northwestern lumber districts. The tie-up was practically complete. The industry was paralyzed. The lumber trust, its mouth drooling in anticipation of the many millions it was about to make in profits, shattered high heaven with its cries of rage.

Immediately its loyal henchmen in the Wilson administration rushed to the rescue. Profiteering might be condoned, moralized over or winked at, but miltant labor unionism was a menace to the government and the prosecution of the war. It must be crushed. For was it not treacherous and treasonable for loggers to strike for living conditions when Uncle Sam needed the wood and the lumber interests the money? So Woodrow Wilson and his coterie of political troglodytes from the slave-owning districts of the old South, started out to teach militant labor a lesson. Corporation lawyers were assembled. Indictments were made to order. The bloodhounds of the Department of "Justice" were unleashed. Grand Juries of "patriotic" business men were impaneled and did their expected work not wisely but too well. All the gunmen and stoolpigeons of Big Business got busy. And the opera bouffe of "saving our government" was staged.

INDUSTRIAL HERETICS AND THE WHITE TERROR

For a time it seemed as though the strikers would surely be defeated. The onslaught was terrific, but the loggers held out bravely. Workers were beaten and jailed by the hundreds. Men were herded like cattle in blistering "bull-pens," to be freed after months of misery, looking more like skeletons than human beings. Ellensburg and Yakima will never be forgotten in Washington. One logger was burned to death in a wooden jail in Troy, Montana. In the Northwest the military was used and the bayonet of the soldier could be seen glistening beside the cold steel of the hired thug. Union halls were raided all over the land. Thousands of workers were deported. Dozens were tarred and feathered and mobbed. Some were even taken out in the dead of night and hanged to railway bridges. Hundreds were convicted of imaginary offenses and sent to prison for terms of from one to twenty years. Scores were held in filthy jails for as long as twenty-six months awaiting trial. The Espionage Law, which never convicted a spy, and the Criminal Syndicalism Laws, which never convicted a criminal, were used savagely and with full force against the workers in their struggle for better conditions. By means of newspaper-made war hysteria the profiteers of Big Business entrenched themselves in public opinion. By posing as "100% Americans" (how stale and trite the phrase has become from their long misuse of it!) these social parasites sought to convince the nation that they, and not the truly American unionists whose backs they were

trying to break, were working for the best interests of the American people. Our form of government, forsooth, must be saved. Our institutions must be rescued from the clutch of the "reds." Thus was the war-frenzy of their dupes lashed to madness and the guarantees of the constitution suspended so far as the working class was concerned.

So all the good, wise and noisy men of the nation were induced by diverse means to cry out against the strikers and their union. The worst passions of respectable people were appealed to. The hoarse blood-cry of the mob was raised. It was echoed and re-echoed from press and pulpit. The very air quivered from its reverberations. Lynching parties became "respectable." Indictments were flourished. Hand-cuffs flashed. The clinking feet of workers going to prison rivaled the sound of the soldiers marching to war. And while all this was happening, the head of the American Federation of Labor glared through his thick spectacles and nodded his approval. But the lumber trust licked its fat lips and leered at its swollen dividends. All was well and the world was being made "safe for democracy."

AUTOCRACY VERSUS UNIONISM

This unprecedented struggle was really a test of strength between industrial autocracy and militant unionism. The former was determined to restore the palmy days of peonage for all time to come, the latter to fight to the last ditch in spite of hell and high water. The lumber trust sought to break the strike of the loggers and destroy their organization. In the ensuing fracas the lumber barons came out only second best—and they were bad losers. After the war-fever had died down—one year after the signing of the Armistice—they were still trying in Centralia to attain their ignoble ends by means of mob violence.

But at this time the ranks of the strikers were unbroken. The heads of the loggers were "bloody but unbowed." Even at last, when compelled to yield to privation and brute force and return to work, they turned defeat into victory by "carrying the strike onto the job." As a body they refused to work more than eight hours. Secretary of War Baker and President Wilson had both vainly urged the lumber interests to grant the eight hour day. The determined industrialists gained this demand, after all else had failed, by simply blowing a whistle when the time was up. Most of their other demands were won as well. In spite of even

EUGENE BARNETT

The prosecution tried desperately to prove that this man fired the shot which killed Warren O. Grimm. Barnett's alibi remained unshaken to the end. His frankness and candor on the witness stand were damaging to the prosecutor's case.

the Disque despotism, mattresses, clean linen and shower baths were reluctantly granted as the fruits of victory.

But even as these lines are written the prisons of America are filled with men whose only crime is loyalty to the working class—victims of "criminal syndicalism laws." The war profiteers are still wallowing in luxury. None has ever been placed behind the bars. Before he was lynched in Butte, Frank Little had said, "I stand for the solidarity of labor." That was enough. The vials of wrath were poured on his head for no other reason. And for no other reason was the hatred of the employing class directed at the valiant workers who now rot in prison for longer terms than those meted out to felons. And like procurers and thieves America still deports workingmen for the crime of thought. The boys at Centralia were conspired against because they too stood "for the solidarity of labor." It is simply lying and camouflage to attempt to trace such persecutions to any other source. These are things America will be ashamed of when she comes to her senses. Such grewsome events are paralleled in no other country save the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm or the Russia of the Czar.

The picture of labor persecution in free America—terrible but true—will serve as a background for the dramatic history of the events leading up to the climacteric tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day, 1919.

WHILE IN WASHINGTON . . .

All over the state of Washington the mobbing, jailing and tar and feathering of workers continued the order of the day until long after the cessation of hostilities in Europe. The organization had always urged and disciplined its members to avoid violence as an unworthy weapon. Usually the loggers had left their halls to the mercy of mobs when they knew a raid was con-

templated. Centralia was the one exception. Here the outrages heaped upon them could no longer be endured.

In Yakima and Sedro Woolley, among other places in 1918, union men were stripped of their clothing, beaten with rope ends and hot tar was applied to bleeding flesh. They were then driven half naked into the woods. A man was hanged at night in South Montesano about this time and another had been tarred and feathered. As a rule the men were taken unaware before being treated in this manner. In one instance a stationary delegate of the Industrial Workers of the World received word that he was to be "decorated" and ridden out of town on a rail. He slit a pillow open and placed it in the window with a note attached stating that he knew of the plan; would be ready for them, and would gladly supply his own feathers. He did not leave town either on a rail or otherwise.

EUGENE BARNETT

(After the man-hunt)

Coal miner. Born in North Carolina. Member of U. M. W. A. and I. W. W. Went to work underground at the age of eight. Self-educated, a student and philosopher. Upon reaching home Barnett, fearful of the mob, took to the woods with his rifle. He surrendered to the posse only after he had convinced himself that their purpose was not to lynch him.

In Seattle, Tacoma and many other towns, union halls and print shops were raided and their contents destroyed or burned. In the former city in 1919, men, women and children were knocked insensible by policemen and detectives riding up and down the sidewalks in automobiles, striking to right and left with "billy" and night stick as they went. These were accompanied by auto trucks filled with hidden riflemen and an armored tank bristling with machine guns. A peaceable meeting of union men was being dispersed.

In Centralia, Aberdeen and Montesano, in Grays Harbor County, the struggle was more local but not less intense. No fewer than twenty-five loggers on different occasions were taken from their beds at night and treated to tar and feathers. A great number were jailed for indefinite periods on indefinite charges. As an additional punishment these were frequently locked in

their cells and the fire hose played on their drenched and shivering bodies. "Breach of jail discipline" was the reason given for this "cruel and unusual" form of lumber trust punishment.

In Aberdeen and Montesano there were several raids and many deportations of the tar and feather variety. In Aberdeen in the fall of 1917 during a "patriotic" parade, the battered hall of the union loggers was again forcibly entered in the absence of its owners. Furniture, office fixtures, victrola and books were dumped into the street and destroyed. In the town of Centralia, about a year before the tragedy, the union secretary was kidnaped and taken into the woods by a mob of well dressed business men. He was made to "run the gauntlet" and severely beaten. There was a strong sentiment in favor of lynching him on the spot, but one of the mob objected, saying it would be "too raw." The victim was then escorted to the outskirts of the city and warned not to return under pain of the usual penalty. On more than one occasion loggers who had expressed themselves in favor of the Industrial Workers of the World, were found in the morning dangling from trees in the vicinity. No explanation but that of "suicide" was ever offered. The whole story of the atrocities perpetrated during these days of the White Terror, in all probability, will never be published . The criminals are well known but their influence is too powerful to ever make it expedient to expose their crimes. Besides, who would care to get a gentleman in trouble for killing a mere "wobbly"? The few instances noted above will, however, give the reader some slight idea of the grewsome events that were leading inevitably to that grim day in Centralia in November, 1919.

WEATHERING THE STORM

EUGENE BARNETT'S FAMILY
Mrs. Barnett and son, Clifford.

Through it all the industrialists clung to their Red Cards and to the One Big Union for which they had sacrificed so much. Time after time, with incomparable patience, they would refurnish and reopen their beleaguered halls, heal up the wounds of rope, tar or "billy" and proceed with the work of organization as though nothing had happened. With union cards or credentials hidden in their heavy shoes they would meet secretly in the woods at

night. Here they would consult about members who had been mobbed, jailed or killed, about caring for their families—if they had any—about carrying on the work of propaganda and laying plans for the future progress of their union. Perhaps they would take time to chant a rebel song or two in low voices. Then, back on the job again to "line up the slaves for the New Society!"

Through a veritable inferno of torment and persecution these men had refused to be driven from the woods or to give up their union—the Industrial Workers of the World. Between the two dreadful alternatives of peonage or persecution they chose the latter—and the lesser. Can you imagine what their peonage must have been like?

BERT FAULKNER

American. Logger. 21 years of age. Member of the Industrial Workers of the World since 1917. Was in the hall when raid occurred. Faulkner personally knew Grimm, McElfresh and various others who marched in the parade. He is an ex-soldier himself. The prosecution used a great deal of pressure to make this boy turn state's evidence. He refused stating that he would tell nothing but the truth. After the state had concluded its testimony, Faulkner was discharged by the court for lack of any evidence against him.

SINISTER CENTRALIA

But Centralia was destined to be the scene of the most dramatic portion of the struggle between the entrenched interests and the union loggers. Here the long persecuted industrialists made a stand for their lives and fought to defend their own, thus giving the glib-tongued lawyers of the prosecution the opportunity of accusing them of "wantonly murdering unoffending paraders" on Armistice Day.

Centralia in appearance is a creditable small American city—the kind of city smug people show their friends with pride from the rose-scented tranquility of a super-six in passage. The streets are wide and clean, the buildings comfortable, the lawns and shade trees attractive. Centralia is somewhat of a coquette but she is as sinister and cowardly as she is pretty. There is a shudder lurking in every corner and a nameless fear sucks the sweetness out of every breeze. Song birds warble at the out-

skirts of the town but one is always haunted by the cries of the human beings who have been tortured and killed within her confines. Main Street is the name of the chief thoroughfare.

A red-faced business man motors leisurely down the wet street. He shouts a laughing greeting to a well dressed group at the curb who respond in kind. But the roughly dressed lumberworkers drop their glances in passing one another. The Fear is always upon them. As these lines were written several hundred discontented shingle-weavers were threatened with deportation if they dared to strike. They did not strike, for they knew too well the consequences. The man-hunt of November, 1919, was not forgotten and the terror of it gripped their hearts whenever they thought of opposing the will of the Moloch that dominates their every move.

Around Centralia are wooded hills; men have been beaten beneath these trees and lynched from them. The beautiful Chehalis River flows near by; Wesley Everest was left dangling from one of its bridges. But Centralia is provokingly pretty for all that. It is small wonder that lumber trust henchmen wish to keep it all for themselves.

Well tended roads lead in every direction, bordered with clearings of worked out camps and studded with occasional tree stumps of great age and truly prodigious size. At intervals are busy saw mills with thousands of feet of odorous lumber piled up in orderly rows. In all directions stretches the pillared immensity of the forests. The vistas through the trees seem enchanted rather than real—unbelievably green and of form and depth that remind one of painted settings for a Maeterlinck fable rather than matter-of-fact timber land.

THE HIGH PRIESTS OF LABOR HATRED

Practically all of this land is controlled by the trusts; much of it by the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, of which F. B. Hubbard is the head. The strike of 1917 almost ruined this worthy gentleman. He has always been a strong advocate of the open shop, but during the last few years he has permitted his rabid labor-hatred to reach the point of fanaticism. This Hubbard figures prominently in Centralia's business, social and mob circles. He was one of the moving spirits in the Centralia conspiracy. The Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, besides large tracts of land, owns sawmills, coal mines and a railway. The Centralia newspapers are its mouthpieces while the Chamber of Commerce and the Elks' Club are its general headquarters. The

Farmers' & Merchants' Bank is its local citadel of power. In charge of this bank is a sinister character, one Uhlman, a German of the old school and a typical Prussian junker. At one time he was an officer in the German army but at present is a "100% American"—an easy metamorphosis for a Prussian in these days. His native born "brother-at-arms" is George Dysart whose son led a posse in the man-hunt that followed the shooting. In Centralia this bank and its Hun dictator dominates the financial, political and social activities of the community. Business men, lawyers, editors, doctors and local authorities all kow-tow to the institution and its Prussian president. And woe be to any who dare do otherwise! The power of the "interests" is a vengeful power and will have no other power before it. Even the mighty arm of the law becomes palsied in its presence.

The Farmers' & Merchants' Bank is the local instrumentality of the invisible government that holds the nation in its clutch. Kaiser Uhlman has more influence than the city mayor and more power than the police force. The law has always been a little thing to him and his clique. The inscription on the shield of this bank is said to read "To hell with the Constitution; this is Lewis County." As events will show, this inspiring maxim has been faithfully adhered to. It has been the rallying cry for the reactionaries throughout years of effort to crush the union movement among loggers and sawmill workers.

THE LOVED AND HATED UNION HALL

Now the loggers, being denied the luxury of home and family life, have but three places they can call "home." The bunkhouse in the camp, the cheap rooming house in town, and the union hall. This latter is by far the best loved of all. It is here the men can gather around a crackling wood fire, smoke their pipes and warm their souls with the glow of comradeship. Here they can, between jobs or after work, discuss the vicissitudes of their daily lives, read their books and magazines and sing their songs of solidarity, or merely listen to the "tinned" humor or harmony of the much-prized victrola. Also they here attend to affairs of their union —line up members, hold business and educational meetings and a weekly "open forum." Once in awhile a rough and wholesome "smoker" is given. The features of this great event are planned for weeks in advance and sometimes talked about for months afterwards.

These halls are at all times open to the public and induce-

RAY BECKER

Logger. American born. Twenty-five years of age. Studied four years for the ministry before going to work in the woods. His father and brother are both preachers. Becker joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917 and has always been a strong believer in the cause of the solidarity of Labor. He has the zeal of a prophet and the courage of a lion. Defended himself inside the hall with an Ivor Johnson, 38, until his ammunition was exhausted. He surrendered to the authorities—not to the mob.

ments are made to get workers to come in and read thoughtful treatises on industrial questions. The latch-string is always out for people who care to listen to a lecture on economics or similar subjects. Inside the hall there is usually a long reading table littered with books, magazines or papers. In a rack or case at the wall are to be found copies of the 'Seattle Union Record," "Industrial Solidarity," "The Industrial Worker," "The Liberator," the "New Republic" and "The Nation." Always there is a shelf of thumb-worn books on history, science, economics and socialism. On the walls are lithographs or engravings of noted champions of the cause of Labor,a few photographs of local interest and the monthly bulletins and statements of the union. Invariably there is a blackboard with jobs, wages and hours written in chalk for the benefit of men seeking employment. There are always a number of chairs in the room and a roll top desk for the secretary. Sometimes at the end of the hall is a plank rostrum—a modest altar to the Goddess of Free Speech and open discussion. This is what the loved and hated I. W. W. halls are like—the halls that were raided and destroyed by the hundreds during the years of the White Terror.

Remember, too, that in each of these raids the union men were not the aggressors and that there was never any attempt at reprisal. In spite of the fact that the lumber workers were within their legal right to keep open their halls and to defend them from felonious attack, it had never happened until November 11, that active resistance was offered the marauders. This fact alone speaks volumes for the long-suffering patience of the logger and for his desire to settle his problems by peaceable

means wherever possible. But the Centralia raid was the straw that broke the camel's back. The lumber trust went a little too far on this occasion and it got the surprise of its life. Four of its misguided dupes paid for their lawlessness with their lives, and a number of others were wounded. There has not since been a raid on a union hall in the Northwestern District.

It is well that workingmen and women throughout the country should understand the truth about the Armistice Day tragedy in Centralia and the circumstances that led up to it. But in order to know why the hall was raided it is necessary first to understand why this, and all similar halls, are hated by the oligarchies of the woods.

The issue contested is whether the loggers have the right to organize themselves into a union, whether they must remain chattels—mere hewers of wood and helpless in the face of the rapacity of their industrial overlords—or whether they have the right to keep open their halls and peacefully to conduct the affairs of their union. The lumber workers contend that they are entitled by law to do these things and the employers assert that, law or no law, they shall not do so. In other words, it is a question of whether organized labor shall retain its foothold in the lumber industry or be driven from the woods.

PIONEERS OF UNIONISM

It is hard for workers in most of the other industries—especially in the East—to understand the problems, struggles and aspirations of the husky and unconquerable lumber workers of the Northwest. The reason is that the average union man takes his union for granted. It seldom enters his mind that the privileges and benefits that surround him and the protection he enjoys are the result of the efforts and sacrifices of the nameless thousands of pioneers that cleared the way. But these unknown heroes of the great struggle of the classes did precede him with their loyal hearts and strong hands; otherwise workers now organized would have to start the long hard battle at the beginning and count their gains a step at a time, just as did the early champions of industrial organization, or as the loggers of the West Coast are now doing.

The working class owes all honor and respect to the first men who planted the standard of labor solidarity on the hostile frontier of unorganized industry. They were the men who made possible all things that came after and all things that are still to come. They were the trail blazers. It is easier to follow them

than to have gone before them—or with them. They established the outposts of unionism in the wilderness of industrial autocracy. Their voices were the first to proclaim the burning message of Labor's power, of Labor's mission and of Labor's ultimate emancipation. Their breasts were the first to receive the blows of the enemy; their unprotected bodies were shielding the countless thousands to follow. They were the forerunners of the solidarity of Toil. They fought in a good and a great cause; for without solidarity, Labor would have attained nothing yesterday, gained nothing today nor dare to hope for anything tomorrow.

THE BLOCK HOUSE AND THE UNION HALL

In the Northwest today the rebel lumberjack is a pioneer. Just as our fathers had to face the enmity of the Indians, so are these men called upon to face the fury of the predatory interests that have usurped the richest timber resources of the richest nation in the world. Just outside Centralia stands a weather-beaten landmark. It is an old, brown, dilapidated block house of early days. In many ways it reminds one of the battered and wrecked union halls to be found in the heart of the city.

The evolution of industry has replaced the block house with the union hall as the embattled center of assault and defense. The weapons are no longer the rifle and the tomahawk but the boycott and the strike. The frontier is no longer territorial but industrial. The new struggle is as portentous as the old. The stakes are larger and the warfare even more bitter.

The painted and be-feathered scalp-hunter of the Sioux or Iroquois were not more heartless in maiming, mutilating and killing their victims than the "respectable" profit-hunters of today—the type of men who conceived the raid on the union hall in Centralia on Armistice Day—and who fiendishly tortured and hanged Wesley Everest for the crime of defending himself from their inhuman rage. It seems incredible that such deeds could be possible in the twentieth century. It is incredible to those who have not followed the bloody trail of the lumber trust and who are not familiar with its ruthlessness, its greed and its lust for power.

As might be expected the I. W. W. halls in Washington were hated by the lumber barons with a deep and undying hatred. Union halls were a standing challenge to their hitherto undisputed right to the complete domination of the forests. Like the block houses of early days, these humble meeting places were the outposts of a new and better order planted in the stronghold

of the old. And they were hated accordingly. The thieves who had invaded the resources of the nation had long ago seized the woods and still held them in a grip of steel. They were not going to tolerate the encroachments of the One Big Union of the lumber workers. Events will prove that they did not hesitate at anything to achieve their purposes.

THE FIRST CENTRALIA HALL

In the year 1918 a union hall stood on one of the side streets in Centralia. It was similar to the halls that have just been described. This was not, however, the hall in which the Armistice Day tragedy took place. You must always remember that there were two halls raided in Centralia; one in 1918 and another in 1919. The loggers did not defend the first hall and many of them were manhandled by the mob that wrecked it. The loggers did defend the second and were given as reward a hanging, a speedy, fair and impartial conviction and sentences of from 25 to 40 years. No member of the mob has ever been punished or even taken to task for his misdeed. Their names are known to all. They kiss their wives and babies at night and go to church on Sundays. Yet they are a greater menace to this country's institutions than all the "reds." In a world where Mammon is king the king can do no wrong. But the question of "right" or "wrong" did not concern the lumber interests when they raided the union hall in 1918. "Yes, we raided the hall; what are you going to do about it?" is the position they took in the matter.

During the 1917 strike the two lumber trust papers in Centralia, the "Hub" and the "Chronicle" were bitter in their denunciation of the strikers. Repeatedly they urged that most drastic and violent measures be taken by the authorities and "citizens" to break the strike, smash the union and punish the strikers. The war-frenzy was at its height and these miserable sheets went about their work like Czarist papers inciting a pogrom. The lumber workers were accused of "disloyalty," "treason," "anarchy"—anything that would tend to make their cause unpopular. The Abolitionists were spoken about in identical terms before the Civil War. As soon as the right atmosphere for their crime had been created the employers struck and struck hard.

It was in May, 1918. Like many other cities in the land Centralia was conducting a Red Cross drive. Among the feat-

ures of this event were a bazaar and a Memorial Day parade.

The profits of the lumber trust were soaring to dizzy heights at this time and its patriotism was proportionately exalted. There was the usual brand of hypocritical and fervid speech-making. The flag was waved, the Government was lauded and the Constitution praised. Then, after the war-like proclivities of the stay-at-home heroes had been sufficiently worked upon; flag, Government and Constitution were forgotten long enough for the gang to go down the street and raid the "wobbly" hall.

Dominating the festivities was the figure of F. B. Hubbard, at that time President of the Employers' Association of the State of Washington. This is neither Hubbard's first nor last appearance as a terrorist and mob-leader—usually behind the scenes, however, or putting in a last minute appearance.

THE 1918 RAID

It had been rumored about town that the union hall was to be wrecked on this day but the loggers at the hall were of the opinion that the business men, having driven their secretary out of town a short time previously, would not dare to perpetrate another atrocity so soon afterwards. In this they were sadly mistaken.

Down the street marched the parade, at first presenting no unusual appearance. The Chief of Police, the Mayor and the Governor of the State were given places of honor at the head of the procession. Company G of the National Guard and a gang of broadcloth hoodlums disguised as "Elks" made up the main body of the marchers. But the crafty and unscrupulous Hubbard had laid his plans in advance with characteristic cunning. The parade, like a scorpion, carried its sting in its rear.

Along the main avenue went the guardsmen and the gentlemen of the Elks Club. So far nothing extraordinary had happened. Then the procession swerved to a side street. This must be the right thing for the line of march had been arranged by the Chamber of Commerce itself. A couple of blocks more and the parade had reached the intersection of First Street and Tower Avenue. What happened then the Mayor and Chief of Police probably could not have stopped even had the Governor himself ordered them to do so. From somewhere in the line of march a voice cried out, "Let's raid the I. W. W. Hall!" And the crowd at the tail end of the procession broke ranks and leaped to their work with a will.

In a short time the intervening block that separated them from the union hall was covered. The building was stormed

with clubs and stones. Every window was shattered and every door was smashed, the very sides of the building were torn off by the mob in its blind fury. Inside the rioters tore down the partitions and broke up chairs and pictures. The union men were surrounded, beaten and driven to the street where they were forced to watch furniture, records, typewriter and literature demolished and burned before their eyes. An American flag hanging in the hall, was torn down and destroyed. A victrola and a desk were carried to the street with considerable care. The former was auctioned off on the spot for the benefit of the Red Cross. James Churchill, owner of a glove factory, won the machine. He still boasts of its possession. The desk was appropriated by F. B. Hubbard himself. This was turned over to an expressman and carted to the Chamber of Commerce. A small boy picked up the typewriter case and started to take it to a nearby hotel office. One of the terrorists detected the act and gave warning. The mob seized the lad, took him to a nearby light pole and treatened to lynch him if he did not tell them where books and papers were secreted which somebody said had been carried away by him. The boy denied having done this, but the hoodlums went into the hotel, ransacked and overturned everything. Not finding what they wanted, they left with a notice that the proprietor would have to take the sign down from his building in just twenty-four hours. Then the mob surged around the unfortunate men who had been found in the union hall. With cuffs and blows these were dragged to waiting trucks where they were lifted by the ears to the body of the machine and knocked prostrate one at a time. Sometimes a man would be dropped to the ground just after he had been lifted from his feet. Here he would lie with ear drums bursting and writhing from the kicks and blows that had been freely given. Like all similar mobs this one carried ropes, which were placed about the necks of the loggers. "Here's an I. W. W.," yelled someone. "What shall we do with him?" A cry was given to "lynch him!" Some were taken to the city jail and the rest were dumped unceremoniously on the other side of the county line.

Since that time the wrecked hall has remained tenantless and unrepaired. Grey and gaunt like a house in battle-scarred Belgium, it stands a mute testimony of the labor-hating ferocity of the lumber trust. Repeated efforts have since been made to destroy the remains with fire. The defense tried without avail to introduce a photograph of the ruin as evidence to prove that the second hall was raided in a similar manner on Armistice

LOREN ROBERTS

American. Logger. 19 years old. Loren's mother said of him at the trial: "Loren was a good boy, he brought his money home regularly for three years. After his father took sick he was the only support for his father and me and the three younger ones." The father was a sawyer in a mill and died of tuberculosis after an accident had broken his strength. This boy, the weakest of the men on trial, was driven insane by the unspeakable "third degree" administered in the city jail. One of the lumber trust lawyers was in the jail at the time Roberts signed his so-called "confession." "Tell him to quit stalling," said a prosecutor to Vanderveer, when Roberts left the witness stand. "You cur!" replied the defense attorney in a low voice, "You know who is responsible for this boy's condition." Roberts was one of the loggers on Seminary Hill.

Day, 1919. Judge Wilson refused to permit the jury to see either the photographs or the hall. But in case of another trial . . . . ? Evidently the lumber trust thought it better to have all traces of its previous crime obliterated.

The raid of 1918 did not weaken the lumber workers' union in Centralia. On the contrary it served to strengthen it. But not until more than a year had passed were the loggers able to establish a new headquarters. This hall was located next door to the Roderick Hotel on Tower Avenue, between Second and Third Streets. Hardly was this hall opened when threats were circulated by the Chamber of Commerce that it, like the previous one, was marked for destruction. The business element was lined up solid in denunciation of and opposition to the union hall and all that it stood for. But other anti-labor matters took up their attention and it was some time before the second raid was actually accomplished.

There was one rift in the lute of lumber trust solidarity in Centralia. Business and professional men had long been groveling in sycophantic servility at the feet of "the clique." There was only one notable exception.

A LAWYER—AND A MAN

A young lawyer had settled in the city a few years previous to the Armistice Day tragedy. Together with his parents and four brothers he had left his home in Minnesota to seek fame and fortune in the woods of Washington. He had worked his way through McAlester College and the Law School of the Univer-

sity of Minnesota. He was young, ambitious, red-headed and husky, a loving husband and the proud father of a beautiful baby girl. Nature had endowed him with a dangerous combination of gifts,—a brilliant mind and a kind heart. His name was just plain Smith—Elmer Smith—and he came from old rugged American stock.

Smith started to practice law in Centralia, but unlike his brother attorneys, he held to the assumption that all men are equal under the law—even the hated I. W. W. In a short time his brilliant mind and kind heart had won him as much hatred from the lumber barons as love from the down-trodden,—which is saying a good deal. The "interests" studied the young lawyer carefully for awhile and soon decided that he could be neither bullied nor bought. So they determined either to break his spirit or to break his neck. Smith was thrown into prison charged with murder. This is how it happened:

AFTER THE TORTURE

This is possibly one of the most dramatic photographs ever taken. The poor boy had been so tortured by the fiendish "third degree" that for a while he was a mental and physical wreck. His suffering is plainly visible on his face.

Smith established his office in the First Guarantee Bank Building, quite the proper thing to do. Then he began to handle law suits for wage-earners, which was altogether the reverse. Caste rules in Centralia, and Elmer Smith was violating its most sacred mandatories by giving the "working trash" the benefit of his talents instead of people really worth while.

Warren O. Grimm, who was afterwards shot while trying to break into the union hall with a mob, once cautioned Smith of the folly and danger of such a course. "You'll get along all right," said he, "if you will come in with us." Then he continued:

"How would you feel if one of your clients would come up to you in public, slap you on the back and say 'Hello, Elmer'?"

"Very proud," answered the young lawyer.

Some months previous Smith had taken a case for an I. W. W. logger. He won it. Other cases in which workers needed

legal advice came to him. He took them. A young girl was working at the Centralia "Chronicle." She was receiving three dollars a week, which was a violation of the minimum wage law of the state for women. Smith won the case. Also he collected hundreds of dollars in back wages for workers whom the companies had sought to defraud. Workers in the clutches of loan sharks were extricated by means of the bankruptcy laws, hitherto only used by their masters. An automobile firm was making a practice of replacing Ford engines with old ones when a machine was brought in for repairs. One of the victims brought his case to Smith, and a lawsuit followed. This was an unheard-of proceeding, for heretofore such little business tricks had been kept out of court by common understanding.

A worker, formerly employed by a subsidiary of the Eastern Lumber & Railway Company, had been deprived of his wages on a technicality of the law by the corporation attorneys. This man had a large family and hard circumstances were forced upon them by this misfortune. One of his little girls died from what the doctor called malnutrition—plain starvation. Smith filed suit and openly stated that the lawyers of the corporation were responsible for the death of the child. The indignation of the business and professional element blazed to white heat. A suit for libel and disbarment proceedings were started against him. Nothing could be done in this dirction as Smith had not only justice but the law on his side. His enemies were waiting with great impatience for a more favorable opportunity to strike him down. Open threats were beginning to be heard against him.

A union lecturer came to town. The meeting was well attended. A vigilance committee of provocateurs and business men was in the audience. At the close of the lecture those gentlemen started to pass the signal for action. Elmer Smith sauntered down the aisle, shook hands with the speaker and told him he would walk to the train with him.

The following morning the door to Smith's office was ornamented with a cardboard sign. It read: "Are you an American? You had better say so. Citizens' Committee." This was lettered in lead pencil. Across the bottom were scrawled these words: "No more I. W. W. meetings for you."

In 1919 an event occurred which served further to tighten the noose about the stubborn neck of the young lawyer. On this occasion the terrorists of the city perpetrated another shameful crime against the working class—and the law.

Tom Lassiter made his living by selling newspapers at a little stand on a street corner. Tom is blind, a good soul and

well liked by the loggers. But Tom has vision enough to see that there is something wrong with the hideous capitalist system we live under; and so he kept papers on sale that would help enlighten the workers. Among these were the "Seattle Union Record," "The Industrial Worker" and "Solidarity." To put it plainly, Tom was a thorn in the side of the local respectability because of his modest efforts to make people think. And his doom had also been sealed.

Early in June the news stand was broken into and all his clothing, literature and little personal belongings were taken to a vacant lot and burned. A warning sign was left on a short pole stuck in the ashes. The message, "You leave town in 24 hours, U. S. Soldiers, Sailors and Marines," was left on the table in his room.

BLIND MAN STANDS HIS GROUND

With true Wobbly determination, Lassiter acquired a new stock of papers and immediately re-opened his little stand. About this time a Centralia business man, J. H. Roberts by name, was heard to say, "This man (Lassiter) is within his legal rights and if we can't do anything by law we'll take the law into our own hands." This is precisely what hapened.

On the afternoon of June 30th, Blind Tom was crossing Tower Avenue with hesitating steps when, without warning, two business men seized his groping arms and yelled in his ear, "We'll get you out of town **this** time!" Lassiter called for help. The good Samaritan came along in the form of a brute-faced creature known as W. R. Patton, a rich property owner of the city. This Christian gentleman sneaked up behind the blind man and lunged him forcibly into a waiting Oakland automobile. The machine is owned by Cornelius McIntyre, who is said to have been one of the kidnaping party.

"Shut up or I'll smash your mouth so you can't yell," said one of his assailants as Lassiter was forced, still screaming for help, into the car. Turning to the driver one of the party said, "Step on her and let's get out of here." About this time Constable Luther Patton appeared on the scene. W. R. Patton walked over to where the constable stood and shouted to the bystanders, "We'll arrest the first person that objects, interferes or gets too loud."

"A good smash on the jaw would do more good," suggested the kind-hearted official.

LUMBERWORKERS' UNION HALL, RAIDED IN 1918

The first of the two halls to be wrecked by Centralia's terrorists. This picture was not permitted to be introduced as evidence of the conspiracy to raid the new hall. Judge Wilson didn't want the jury to know anything about this event.

"Well, we got that one pretty slick and now there are two more we have to get," stated W. R. Patton, a short time afterwards.

Blind Tim was dropped helpless in a ditch just over the county line. He was picked up by a passing car and eventually made his way to Olympia, capital of the state. In about a week he was back in Centralia. But before he could again resume his paper selling he was arrested on a charge of "criminal syndicalism.

Before his arrest, however, Lassiter had engaged Elmer Smith as counsel. Smith appealed to County Attorney Herman Allen for protection for his client. After a half-hearted effort to locate the kidnapers—who were known to everybody—this official gave up the task saying he was "too busy to bother with the affair, and, besides, the offense was only third degree assault which is punishable with a fine of one dollar and costs." The young lawyer did not waste any more time with the County authorities. Instead he obtained sworn statements of the facts in the case and submitted them to the Governor. These were duly acknowledged and placed on file in Olympia. But up to date no action has been taken by the executive to prosecute the criminals who committed the crime.

"Handle these I. W. W. cases if you want to," Smith was warned by an attorney for one of the local banks, "but

sooner or later they're all going to be hanged or deported anyway."

Smith was feathering a nest for himself—feathering it with steel and stone and a possible coil of hempen rope The shadow of the prison bars was falling blacker on his red head with every passing moment. His fearless championing of the cause of the "under dog" had won him the implacable hatred of his own class. To them his acts of kindness and humanity were nothing less than treason. Smith had been ungrateful to the clique that had offered him every inducement to "come in with us." A lawyer with a heart is as dangerous as a working man with brains. Elmer Smith yould be punished all right; it would just be a matter of time.

THE SCENE OF THE ARMISTICE DAY TRAGEDY

This is what is left of the union hall the loggers tried to defend on Nov. 11, 1919. Three of the raiders, Grimm, McElfresh and Casagranda, were killed in the immediate vicinity of the doorway. Several others were wounded while attempting to rush the doors.

The indifference of the county and state authorities regarding the kidnaping of Blind Tom gave the terrorists renewed confidence in the efficacy and "legality" of their methods. Also it gave them a hint as to the form their future depredations were to take. And so, with the implied approval of everyone worth considering, they went about their plotting with still greater determination and a soothing sense of security.

THE CONSPIRACY DEVELOPS

The cessation of hostilities in Europe deprived the gangsters of the cloak of "patriotism" as a cover for their crimes. But this cloak was too convenient to be discarded so easily. "Let the man in uniform do it" was an axiom that had been proved both profitable and safe. Then came the organization of the local post of the American Legion and the now famous Citizens' Protective League—of which more afterwards.

With the signing of the Armistice, and the consequent almost

imperceptible lifting of the White Terror that dominated the country, the organization of the loggers began daily to gather strength. The Chamber of Commerce began to growl menacingly, the Employers' Association to threaten and the lumber trust papers to incite open violence. And the American Legion began to function as a cat's paw for the men behind the scenes.

Why should the beautiful city of Centralia tolerate the hated union hall any longer? Other halls had been raided, men had been tarred and feathered and deported—no one had ever been punished! Why should the good citizens of Centralia endure a lumber workers' headquarters and their despised union itself right in the midst of their peaceful community? Why indeed! The matter appeared simple enough from any angle. So then and there the conspiracy was hatched that resulted in the tragedy on Armistice Day. But the forces at work to bring about this unhappy conclusion were far from local. Let us see what these were like before the actual details of the conspiracy are recounted.

There were three distinct phases of this campaign to "rid the woods of the agitators." These three phases dovetail together perfectly. Each one is a perfect part of a shrewdly calculated and mercilessly executed conspiracy to commit constructive murder and unlawful entry. The diabolical plan itself was designed to brush aside the laws of the land, trample the Constitution underfoot and bring about an unparalleled orgy of unbridled labor hatred and labor repression that would settle the question of unionism for a long time.

THE CONSPIRACY—AND A SNAG

First of all comes the propaganda stage with the full force of the editorial virulence of the trust-controlled newspapers directed against labor in favor of "law and order," i. e., the lumber interests. All the machinery of newspaper publicity was used to villify the lumber worker and to discredit his union. Nothing was left unsaid that would tend to produce intolerance and hatred or to incite mob violence. This is not only true of Centralia, but of all the cities and towns located in the lumber district. Centralia happened to be the place where the tree of anti-labor propaganda first bore its ghastly fruit. Space does not permit us to quote the countless horrible things the I. W. W. was supposed to stand for and to be constantly planning to do. Statements made by General Wood and young Theodore Roosevelt to the effect that citizens should not argue with Bolshevists

but meet them "head on," were conspicuously displayed. Any addle-headed mediocrity, in or out of uniform, who had anything particularly atrocious to say against the labor movement in general or the "radicals" in particular, was afforded every opportunity to do so. The papers were vying with one another in devising effectual, if somewhat informal, means of dealing with the "red menace."

Supported by, and partly the result of this barrage of lies, misrepresentation and incitation, came the period of attempted repression by "law." This was probably the easiest thing of all because the grip of Big Business upon the law making and law-enforcing machinery of the nation is incredible. At all events a state "criminal syndicalism law" had been conveniently passed and was being applied vigorously against union men, A. F. of L. and I. W. W. alike, but chiefly against the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500, of the Industrial Workers of the World, the basic lumber industry being the largest in the Northwest and the growing power of the organized lumberjack being therefore more to be feared.

No doubt the lumber interests had great hope that the execution of these made-to-order laws would clear up the atmosphere so far as the lumber situation was concerned. But they were doomed to a cruel and surprising disappointment.

Arrests of workers were made in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and even Nevada. Fifty or sixty men all told were arrested and their trials rushed as test cases. During this period from April 25 to October 20, 1919, the lumber trust saw with chagrin and dismay each of the state cases in turn either won outright by the defendants or else dismissed in the realization that it would be impossible to win them. By October 20, so George F. Vanderveer, chief attorney for the defense, declared, there was not a single member of the I. W. W. in custody in Washington, Idaho or Montana under this charge. In Seattle, Washington, an injunction was obtained restraining the mayor from closing down the new union hall in that city under the new law. Thus it appeared that the nefarious plan of the employers and their subservient lawmaking adjuncts, to outlaw the lumber workers' union and to penalize the activities of its members, was to be doomed to an ignominious failure.

RENEWED EFFORTS—LEGAL AND OTHERWISE

Furious at the realization of their own impotency the "interests" launched forth upon a new campaign. This truly machi-

avellian scheme was devised to make it impossible for accused men to obtain legal defense of any kind. All labor cases were to be tried simultaneously, thus making it impossible for the defendants to employ adequate counsel. George F. Russell, Secretary-Manager of the Washington Employers' Association, addressed meetings over the state urging all Washington prosecuting attorneys to organize that this end might be achieved. It is reported that Governor Hart, of Washington, looked upon the scheme with favor when it was brought to his personal attention by Russell.

However, the fact remains that the lumber trust was losing and that it would have to devise even more drastic measures if it were to hope to escape the prospect of a very humiliating defeat. And, all the while the organization of the lumber workers continued to grow.

In Washington the situation was becoming more tense, momentarily. Many towns in the heart of the lumber district had passed absurd criminal syndicalism ordinances. These prohibited membership in the I. W. W.; made it unlawful to rent premises to the organization or to circulate its literature. The Employers' Association had boasted that it was due to its efforts that these ordinances had been passed. But still they were faced with the provocative and unforgettable fact, that the I. W. W. was no more dead than the cat with the proverbial nine lives. Where halls had been closed or raided the lumber workers were transacting their union affairs right on the job or in the bunkhouses, just as though nothing had happened. What was more deplorable a few union halls were still open and doing business at the same old stand. Centralia was one of these; drastic measures must be applied at once or loggers in other localities might be encouraged to open halls also. As events prove these measures were taken—and they were drastic.

THE EMPLOYERS SHOW THEIR FANGS

That the Employers' Association was insidiously preparing its members for action suitable to the situation is evidenced by the following quotations from the official bulletin addressed privately "to Members of the Employers' Association of Washington." Note them carefully; they are published as "suggestions to members" over the written signature of George F. Russell, Secretary-Manager:

June 25th, 1918.—"Provide a penalty for idleness . . Common labor now works a few days and then loafs to spend the money earned . . Active prosecution of the I. W. W. and other radicals."

SEMINARY HILL

The union hall looks out on this hill, with Tower avenue and an alley betwen. It was admitted that Loren Roberts, Bert Bland and the missing Ole Hanson fired at the attacking mob from this position.

April 30th, 1919.—"Keep business out of the control of radicals and I. W. W. . . Overcome agitation . . .Closer co-operation between employers and employes . . Suppress the agitators . . Hang the Bolshevists."

May 31st, 1919.—"If the agitators were taken care of we would have very little trouble . . Propaganda to counteract radicals and overcome agitation . . Put the I. W. W. in jail."

June 30th, 1919.—"Make some of the Seattle papers print the truth . . . Get rid of the I. W. W.s."

July 2nd, 1919.—"Educate along the line of the three R's and the golden rule, economy and self denial . . Import Japanese labor . . . Import Chinese labor."

July 31st, 1919.—"Deport about ten Russians in this community."

August 31st, 1919.—"Personal contact between employer and employe, stringent treatment of the I. W. W."

October 15th, 1919.—"There are many I. W. W.s—mostly in the logging camps." . . .

October 31st, 1919.—(A little over a week before the Centralia raid.)—"Run your business or quit . . Business men and tax payers of Vancouver, Washington, have organized the Loyal Citizens' Protective League; opposed to Bolsheviki and the Soviet form of government and in favor of the open shop . . . Jail the radicals and deport them . . Since the Armistice these radicals have started in again. ONLY TWO COMMUNITIES IN WASHINGTON ALLOW I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS." (!!!)

December 31st, 1919.—"Get rid of all the I. W. W. and all other un-American organizations. . . Deport the radicals or use

the rope as at Centralia. Until we get rid of the I. W. W. and radicals we don't expect to do much in this country . . Keep cleaning up on the I. W. W. . . Don't let it die down . . Keep up public sentiment . ."

These few choice significant morsels of one hundred per cent (on the dollar) Americanism are quoted almost at random from the private bulletins of the officials of the Iron Heel in the state of Washington. Here you can read their sentiments in their own words; you can see how dupes and hirelings were coached to perpetrate the crime of Centralia, and as many other similar crimes as they could get away with. Needless to say these illuminating lines were not intended for the perusal of the working class. But now that we have obtained them and placed them before your eyes you can draw your own conclusion. There are many, many more records germane to this case that we would like to place before you, but the Oligarchy has closed its steel jaws upon them and they are at present inaccessible. Men are still afraid to tell the truth in Centralia. Some day the workers may learn the whole truth about the inside workings of the Centralia conspiracy. Be that as it may the business interests of the Northwest lumber country stand bloody handed and doubly damned, black with guilt and foul with crime; convicted before the bar of public opinion, by their own statements and their own acts.

FAILURE AND DESPERATION

Let us see for a moment how the conspiracy of the lumber barons operated to achieve the unlawful ends for which it was designed. Let us see how they were driven by their own failure at intrigue to adopt methods so brutal that they would have disgraced the head-hunter; how they tried to gain with murder-lust what they had failed to gain lawfully and with public approval.

The campaign of lies and slander inaugurated by their private newspapers failed to convince the workers of the undesirability of labor organization. In spite of the armies of editors and news-whelps assembled to its aid, it served only to lash to a murderous frenzy the low instincts of the anti-labor elements in the community. The campaign of legal repression, admittedly instituted by the Employers' Association, failed also in spite of the fact that all the machinery of the state from dog-catcher up to Governor was at its beck and call on all occasions and for all purposes.

Having made a mess of things with these methods the lumber barons threw all scruples to the winds—if they ever had any—threw aside all pretension of living within the law. They started out, mad-dog like, to rend, wreck and destroy the last vestige of labor organization from the woods of the Northwest, and furthermore, to hunt down union men and martyrize them with the club, the gun, the rope and the courthouse.

It was to cover up their own crimes that the heartless beasts of Big Business beat the tom-toms of the press in order to lash the "patriotism" of their dupes and hirelings into hysteria. It was to hide their own infamy that the loathsome war dance was started that developed perceptibly from uncomprehending belligerency into the lawless tumult of mobs, raids and lynchings! And it will be an everlasting blot upon the fair name of America that they were permitted to do so.

The Centralia tragedy was the culmination of a long series of unpunished atrocities against labor. What is expected of men who have been treated as these men were treated and who were denied redress or protection under the law? Every worker in the Northwest knows about the wrongs lumberworkers have endured—they are matters of common knowledge. It was common knowledge in Centralia and adjoining towns that the I. W. W. hall was to be raided on Armistice Day. Yet eight loggers have been sentenced from twenty-five to forty years in prison for the crime of defending themselves from the mob that set out to murder them! But let us see how the conspiracy was operating in Centralia to make the Armistice Day tragedy inevitable.

THE MAELSTROM—AND FOUR MEN

Centralia was fast becoming the vortex of the conspiracy that was rushing to its inevitable conclusion. Event followed event in rapid succession, straws indicating the main current of the flood tide of labor-hatred. The Commercial Club was seething with intrigue like the court of old France under Catherine de Medici; only this time it was industrial unionists instead of Huguenots who were being marked for a new night of St. Bartholomew. The heresy to be uprooted was industrial instead of religious protestantism; but the stake and the gibbet were awaiting the New Idea just as they had the old.

The actions of the lumber interests were now but thinly veiled and their evil purpose all too manifest. The connection between the Employers' Association of the state and its local

representatives in Centralia had become unmistakably evident. And behind these loomed the gigantic silhouette of the Employers' Association of the nation—the colossal "invisible government"—more powerful at times than the Government itself. More and more stood out the naked brutal fact that the purpose of all this plotting was to drive the union loggers from the city and to destroy their hall. The names of the men actively interested in this movement came to light in spite of strenuous efforts to keep them obscured. Four of these stand out prominently in the light of the tragedy that followed: George F. Russell, F. B. Hubbard, William Scales and last, but not least, Warren O. Grimm.

The first named, George F. Russell, was a hired manager for the Washington Employers' Association, whose membership employed between 75,000 and 80,000 workers in the state. Russell is known to be a reactionary of the most pronounced type. He is an avowed union smasher and a staunch upholder of the open shop principle, which is widely advertised as the "American plan" in Washington. Incidentally he is an advocate of the scheme to import Chinese and Japanese coolie labor as a solution of the "high wage and arrogant unionism" problem.

F. B. Hubbard is a small-bore Russell, differing from his chief only in that his labor hatred is more fanatical and less discreet. Hubbard was hard hit by the strike of 1917 which fact has evidently won him the significant title of "a vicious anti-labor reptile." He is the man who helped to raid the 1918 union hall in Centralia and who appropriated for himself the stolen desk of the union secretary. His nephew Dale Hubbard was shot while trying to lynch Wesley Everest.

William Scales is a Centralia business man and a virulent sycophant. He is a parochial replica of the two persons mentioned above. Scales was in the Quartermaster's Department down on the border during the trouble with Mexico. Because he was making too much money out of Uncle Sam's groceries, he was relieved of his duties quite suddenly and discharged from the service. He was fortunate in making France instead of Fort Leavenworth, however, and upon his return, became an ardent proselyte of Russell and Hubbard and their worthy cause. Also he continued in the grocery business.

Warren O. Grimm came from a good family and was a small town aristocrat. His brother is city attorney at Centralia. Grimm was a lawyer, a college athlete and a social lion. He had been with the American forces in Siberia and his chief bid for distinction was a noisy dislike for the Workers' and Peasants' Re-

public of Russia, and the I. W. W. which he termed the "American Bolsheviki." During the 1918 raid on the Centralia hall Grimm is said to have been dancing around "like a whirling dervish" and waving the American flag while the work of destruction was going on. Afterwards he became prominent in the American Legion and was the chief cat's paw for the lumber interests who were capitalizing the uniform to gain their own unholy ends. Personally he was a clean-cut modern young man.

AVALON HOTEL

From this point Elsie Hornbeck claimed she identified Eugene Barnett in the open window with a rifle. Afterwards she admitted that her identification was based only on a photograph shown her by the prosecution. This girl nearly fainted on the witness stand while trying to patch her absurd story together.

SHADOWS CAST BEFORE

On June 26, 1919, the following notice appeared conspicuously on the first page of the Centralia Hub:

MEETING OF BUSINESS MEN CALLED FOR FRIDAY EVENING

"Business men and property owners of Centralia are urged to attend a meeting tomorrow in the Chamber of Commerce rooms to meet the officers of the Employers' Associaton of the state to discuss ways and means of bettering the conditions which now confront the business and property interests of the state. George F. Russell, Secretary-Manager, says in his note to business men: 'We need your advice and your co-operation in support of the movement for the defense of property and property rights. It is the most important question before the public today.'"

At this meeting Russell dwelt on the statement that the "radicals" were better organized than the property interests. Also he pointed out the need of a special organization to protect "rights of property" from the encroachment of all "foes of

the government." The Non-Partisan League, the Triple Alliance and the A. F. of L. were duly condemned. The speaker then launched out into a long tirade against the Industrial Workers of the World which was characterized as the most dangerous organization in America and the one most necessary for "good citizens" to crush. Needless to state the address was chock full of 100% Americanism. It amply made up in forcefulness anything it lacked in logic.

So the "Citizens' Protective League" of Centralia was born. From the first it was a law unto itself—murder lust wearing the smirk of respectability—Judge Lynch dressed in a business suit. The advent of this infamous league marks the final ascendancy of terrorism over the Constitution in the city of Centralia. The only things still needed were a secret committee, a coil of rope and—an opportunity.

F. B. Hubbard was the man selected to pull off the "rough stuff" and at the same time keep the odium of crime from smirching the fair names of the conspirators. He was told to "perfect his own organiaztion." Hubbard was eminently fitted for his position by reason of his intense labor-hatred and his aptitude for intrigue.

BERT BLAND

Logger. American. (Brother of O. C. Bland.) One of the men who fired from Seminary Hill. Bland has worked all his life in the woods. He joined the Industrial Workers of the World during the great strike of 1917. Bert Bland took to the hills after the shooting and was captured a week later during the man-hunt.

The following day the Centralia Daily Chronicle carried the following significant news story:

Business Men of County Organize

Representatives from many communities attend meeting in Chamber of Commerce, presided over by Secretary of Employers' Association.

"The labor situation was thoroughly discussed this afternoon at a meeting held in the local Chamber of Commerce which was attended by representative business men from various parts of Lewis County. George F. Russell, Secretary of the Employers' Association, of Washington, presided at the meeting.

"A temporary organization was effected with F. B. Hubbard, President of the Eastern Railway & Lumber Company, as chairman. He was empowered to **perfect his own organization.** A similar meeting will be held in Chehalis in connection with the noon luncheon of the Citizens' Club. . . . "

The city of Centralia became alive with gossip and speculation about this new move on the part of the employers. Everybody knew that the whole thing centered around the detested hall of the union loggers. Curiosity seekers began to come in from all parts of the county to have a peep at this hall before it was wrecked. Business men were known to drive their friends from the new to the old hall in order to show what the former would look like in a short time. People in Centralia generally knew for a certainty that the present hall would go the way of its predecessor. It was just a question now as to the time and circumstances of the event.

Warren O. Grimm had done his bit to work up sentiment against the union loggers and their hall. Only a month previously—on Labor Day, 1919,—he had delivered a "labor" speech that was received with great enthusiasm by a local clique of business men. Posing as an authority on Bolshevism on account of his Siberian service Grimm had elaborated on the dangers of this pernicious doctrine. With a great deal of dramatic emphasis he had urged his audience to beware of the sinister influence of "the American Bolsheviki—the Industrial Workers of the World."

A few days before the hall was raided Elmer Smith called at Grimm's office on legal business. Grimm asked him, by the way, what he thought of his Labor Day speech. Smith replied that he thought it was "rotten" and that he couldn't agree with Grimm's anti-labor conception of Americanism. Smith pointed to the deportation of Tom Lassiter as an example of the "Americanism" he considered disgraceful. He said also that he thought free speech was one of the fundamental rights of all citizens.

"I can't agree with you," replied Grimm. "That's the proper way to treat such a fellow."

THE NEW BLACK HUNDRED

On October 19 the Daily Hub published a news story headed "Employers Called to Discuss Handling of 'Wobbly' Problem." This story urged all employers to attend, stated that the meeting would be held in the Elks' Club and mentioned the wrecking of the union hall in 1918. On the following day, October 20,

three weeks before the shooting, this meeting was held at the hall of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—the now famous Elks' Club of Centralia. The avowed purpose of this meeting was to "deal with the I. W. W. problem." The chairman was William Scales, at that time Commander of the Centralia Post of the American Legion. The I. W. W. hall was the chief topic of discussion. F. B. Hubbard opened up by saying that the I. W. W. was a menace and should be driven out of town. Chief of Police Hughes, however, cautioned them against such a course. He is reported to have said that "the I. W. W. is doing nothing wrong in Centralia—is not violating any law—and you have no right to drive them out of town in this manner." The Chief of Police then proceeded to tell the audience that he had taken up the matter of legally evicting the industrialists with City Attorney C. E. Grimm, a brother of Warren O. Grimm, and the chief declared, "Gentlemen, there is no law by which you can drive the I. W. W. out of town." City Commissioner Saunders and County Attorney Allen spoke to the same effect. The latter, Allen, had gone over the literature of the organization with regard to violence and destruction and had voluntarily dismissed a "criminal syndicalist" case without trial for want of evidence.

Hubbard was furious at this turn of affairs and shouted to Chief of Police Hughes: "It's a damned outrage that these men should be permitted to remain in town! Law or no law, if I were Chief of Police they wouldn't stay here twenty-four hours."

"I'm not in favor of raiding the hall **myself**," said Scales. "But I'm certain that if anybody else wants to raid the I. W. W. Hall there is no jury in the land will ever convict them."

After considerable discussion the meeting started to elect a committee to deal with the situation. First of all an effort was made to get a workingman elected as a member to help camouflage its very evident character and make people believe that "honest labor" was also desirous of ridding the town of the hated I. W. W. Hall. A switchman named Henry, a member of the Railway Brotherhood, was nominated. When he indignantly declined, Hubbard, red in the face with rage, called him a "damned skunk."

THE INNER CIRCLE

Scales then proceeded to tell the audience in general and the city officials in particular that he would himself appoint a committee "whose inner workings will be secret," and see if he

could not get around the matter that way. The officers of the League were then elected. The President was County Coroner David Livingstone, who made his money from union miners. William Scales was vice president and Hubbard was treasurer. The secret committee was then appointed by Hubbard. As its name implies it was an underground affair, similar to the Black Hundreds of Old Russia. No record of any of its proceedings has ever come to light, but according to best available knowledge Warren O. Grimm, Arthur McElfresh, B. S. Cormier and one or two others who figured prominently in the raid, were members. At all events on November 6th, five days before the shooting, Grimm was elected Commander of the Centralia Post of the American Legion, taking the place of Scales, who resigned in his favor. Scales evidently was of the opinion that a Siberian veteran and athlete was better fitted to lead the "shock troops" than a mere counter-jumper like himself. There is no doubt that the secret committee had its members well placed in positions of strategic importance for the coming event.

ELMER SMITH

Attorney at law. Old American stock—born on a homestead in North Dakota. By championing the cause of the "under-dog" in Centralia, Smith brought down on himself the wrath of the lumber trust. He defended many union men in the courts, and at one time sought to prosecute the kidnapers of Tom Lassiter. Smith is the man Warren O. Grimm told would get along all right, "if you come in with us." He bucked the lumber trust instead and landed in prison on a trumped-up murder charge. Smith was found "not guilty" by the jury, but was immediately re-arrested on practically the same charge. He is not related to Britt Smith.

The following day the Tacoma News Tribune carried a significant editorial on the subject of the new organization:

"At Centralia a committee of citizens has been formed that takes the mind back to the old days of vigilance committees of the West, which did so much to force law-abiding citizenship upon certain lawless elements. It is called the Centralia Protective Association, and its object is to combat I. W. W. activities in that city and the surrounding country. It invites to membership all citizens who favor the enforcement

of law and order. . . It is high time for the people who do believe in the lawful and orderly conduct of affairs to take the upper hand. . . Every city and town might, with profit, follow Centralia's example."

The reference to "lawful and orderly conduct of affairs" has taken a somewhat ironical twist, now that Centralia has shown the world what she considers such processes to be.

No less significant was an editorial appearing on the same date in the Centralia Hub:

"If the city is left open to this menace, we will soon find ourselves at the mercy of an organized band of outlaws bent on destruction. What are we going to do about it?" And, referring to the organization of the secret committee, the editorial stated: "It was decided that the inner workings of the organization were to be kept secret, to more effectively combat a body using similar tactics."

The editorial reeks with lies; but it was necessary that the mob spirit should be kept at white heat at all times. Newspaper incitation has never been punished by law, yet it is directly responsible for more murders, lynchings and raids than any other one force in America.

THE PLOT LEAKS OUT

By degrees the story of the infamous secret committee and its diabolical plan leaked out, adding positive confirmation to the many already credited rumors in circulation. Some of the newspapers quite openly hinted that the I. W. W. Hall was to be the object of the brewing storm. Chief of Police Hughes told a member of the Lewis County Trades Council, William T. Merriman by name, that the business men were organizing to raid the hall and drive its members out of town. Merriman, in turn carried the statement to many of his friends and brother unionists. Soon the prospective raid was the subject of open discussion,—over the breakfast toast, on the street corners, in the camps and mills—every place.

So common was the knowledge in fact that many of the craft organizations in Centralia began to discuss openly what they should do about it. They realized that the matter was one which concerned labor and many members wanted to protest and were urging their unions to try to do something. At the Lewis County Trades Council the subject was brought up for discussion by its president, L. F. Dickson. No way of helping the loggers was found, however, if they would stubbornly try to keep open

their headquarters in the face of such opposition. Harry Smith, a brother of Elmer Smith, the attorney, was a delegate at this meeting and reported to his brother the discussion that took place.

Secretary Britt Smith and the loggers at the union hall were not by any means ignorant of the conspiracy being hatched against them. Day by day they had followed the development of the plot with breathless interest and not a little anxiety. They knew from bitter experience how union men were handled when they were trapped in their halls. But they would not entertain the idea of abandoning their principles and seeking personal safety. Every logging camp for miles around knew of the danger also. The loggers there had gone through the hell of the organization period and had felt the wrath of the lumber barons. Some of them felt that the statement of Secretary of Labor Wilson as to the attitude of the Industrial Workers of the World towards "overthrowing the government," and "violence and destruction" would discourage the terrorists from attempting such a flagrant and brutal injustice as the one contemplated.

Regarding the deportation of I. W. W.'s for belonging to an organization which advocates such things, Secretary of Labor Wilson had stated a short time previously: "An exhausitve study into the by-laws and practices of the I. W. W. has thus far failed to disclose anything that brings it within the class of organizations referred to."

Others of the loggers were buoyed up with the many victories won in the courts on "criminal syndicalism" charges and felt that the raid would be too raw a thing for the lumber interests even to consider. All were secure in the knowledge and assurance that they were violating no law in keeping open their hall. And they wanted that hall kept open.

Of course the question of what was to be done was discussed at their business meetings. When the news reached them on November 4th of the contemplated "parade" they decided to publish a leaflets telling the citizens of Centralia about the justice and legality of their position, the aims of their organization and the real reason for the intense hatred which the lumber trust harbored against them. Such a leaflet was drawn up by Secretary Britt Smith and approved by the membership. It was an honest, outspoken appeal for public sympathy and support. This leaflet—word for word as it was printed and circulated in Centralia—is reprinted below:

TO THE CITIZENS OF CENTRALIA WE MUST APPEAL:

"To the law-abiding citizens of Centralia and to the working

WESLEY EVEREST

Logger. American (old Washington pioneer stock). Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917. A returned soldier. Earnest, sincere, quiet, he was the "Jimmy Higgins" of the Centralia branch of the Lumberworkers Union. Everest was mistaken for Britt Smith, the union secretary, whom the mob had started out to lynch. He was pursued by a gang of terrorists and unmercifully manhandled. Later—at night—he was taken from the city jail and hanged to a bridge. In the automobile, on the way to the lynching, he was unsexed by a human fiend—a well known Centralia business man—who used a razor on his helpless victim. Even the lynchers were forced to admit that Everest was the most "dead game" man they had ever seen.

class in general: We beg of you to read and carefully consider the following:

"The profiteering class of Centralia have of late been waving the flag of our country in an endeavor to incite the lawless element of our city to raid our hall and club us out of town. For this purpose they have inspired editorials in the Hub, falsely and viciously attacking the I. W. W., hoping to gain public approval for such revolting criminality. These profiteers are holding numerous secret meetings to that end, and covertly inviting returned service men to do their bidding. In this work they are ably assisted by the bankrupt lumber barons of southwest Washington who led the mob that looted and burned the I. W. W. hall a year ago.

"These criminal thugs call us a band of outlaws bent on destruction. This they do in an attempt to hide their own dastardly work in burning our hall and destroying our property. They say we are a menace; and we are a menace to all mobocrats and pilfering thieves. Never did the I. W. W. burn public or private halls, kidnap their fellow citizens, destroy their property, club their fellows out of town, bootleg or act in any way as lawbreakers. These patriotic profiteers throughout the country have, falsely and without any foundation whatever charged the I. W. W. with every crime on the statute books. For these alleged crimes thousands of us have been jailed in foul and filthy cells throughout this country, often without charge, for months and in some cases, years, and when released re-arrested and again thrust in jail to await a trial that is never called. The only convictions

JUST BEFORE THE BOX WAS LOWERED

After the mob had worked its will upon the helpless body, the mortal remains of Wesley Everest were bundled into a rough box and dumped into a hole along the railroad tracks.

of the I. W. W. were those under the espionage law, where we were forced to trial before jurors, all of whom were at political and industrial enmity towards us, and in courts hostile to the working class. This same class of handpicked courts and juries also convicted many labor leaders, socialists, non-partisans, pacifists, guilty of no crime save that of loyalty to the working class.

"By such courts Jesus the Carpenter was slaughtered upon the charge that 'he stirreth up the people.' Only last month 25 I. W. W. were indicted in Seattle as strike leaders, belonging to an unlawful organization, attempting to overthrow the government and other vile things under the syndicalist law passed by the last legislature. To exterminate the 'wobbly' both the court and jury have to lie in every charge. The court held them a lawful organization and their literature was not disloyal nor inciting to violence, though the government had combed the country from Chicago to Seattle for witnesses, and used every pamphlet taken from their hall in government raids.

"In Spokane 13 members were indicted in the Superior Court for wearing the I. W. W. button and displaying their emblem. The jury unanimously acquitted them and the court held it no crime.

"In test cases last month both in the Seattle and Everett Superior Courts, the presiding judge declared the police had no

authority in law to close their halls and the padlocks were ordered off and the halls opened.

"Many I. W. W. in and around Centralia went to France and fought and bled for the democracy they never secured. They came home to be threatened with mob violence by the law and order outfit that pilfered every nickel possible from their mothers and fathers while they were fighting in the trenches in the thickest of the fray.

"Our only crime is solidarity, loyalty to the working class and justice to the oppressed."

"LET THE MEN IN UNIFORM DO IT"

On November 6th, the Centralia Post of the American Legion met with a committee from the Chamber of Commerce to arrange for a parade—another "patriotic" parade! The first anniversary of the signing of the armistice was now but a few days distant and Centralia felt it incumbent upon herself to celebrate. Of course the matter was brought up rather circumspectly, but knowing smiles greeted the suggestion. One business man made a motion that the brave boys wear their uniforms. This was agreed upon.

The line of march was also discussed. As the union hall was a little off the customary parade route, Scales suggested that their course lead past the hall "in order to show them how strong we are." It was intimated that a command "eyes right" would be given as the legionaires and business men passed the union headquarters. This was merely a poor excuse of the secret committeemen to get the parade where they needed it. But many innocent men were lured into a "lynching bee" without knowing that they were being led to death by a hidden gang of broadcloth conspirators who were plotting at murder. Lieutenant Cormier, who afterwards blew the whistle that was the signal for the raid, endorsed the proposal of Scales as did Grimm and McElfresh—all three of them secret committeemen.

Practically no other subject but the "parade" was discussed at this meeting. The success of the project was now assured for it had been placed into the hands of the men who alone could arrange to "have the men in uniform do it." The men in uniform had done it once before and people knew what to expect.

The day following this meeting the Centralia Hub published an announcement of the coming event stating that the legionaires had "voted to wear uniforms." The line of march was published for the first time. Any doubts about the real purpose of

the parade vanished when people read that the procession was to march from the City Park to Third Street and Tower Avenue and return. The union hall was on Tower between Second and Third streets, practically at the end of the line of march and plainly the objective of the demonstrators.

"DECENT LABOR"—HANDS OFF!

A short time after the shooting a virulent leaflet was issued by the mayor's office stating that the "plot to kill had been laid two or three weeks before the tragedy," and that "the attack (of the loggers) was without justification or excuse." Both statements are bare faced lies. The meeting was held the 6th and the line of march made public on the 7th. The loggers could not possibly have planned a week and a half previously to shoot into a parade they knew nothing about and whose line of march had not yet been disclosed. It was proved in court that the union men armed themselves at the very last moment, after everything else had failed and they had been left helpless to face the alternative of being driven out of town or being lynched.

There is a report that about this time coils of rope were

LABOR'S SILENT JURY

W. J. Beard, Central Labor Council, Tacoma; Paul K. Mohr, Central Labor Council, Seattle; Theodore Meyer, Central Labor Council, Everett; E. W. Thrall, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia; John O. Craft, Metal Trades Council, Seattle.

purchased in a local hardware store. This rope is all cut up into little pieces now and most of it is dirty and stained. But many of Centralia's best families prize their souvenir highly. They say it brings good luck to a family.

A few days after the meeting just described William Dunning, vice president of the Lewis County Trades and Labor Assembly, met Warren Grimm on the street. Having fresh in his mind a recent talk about the raid in the Labor Council meetings, and being well aware of Grimm's standing and influence, Dunning broached the subject.

"We've been discussing the threatened raid on the I. W. W. hall," he said.

"Who are you, an I. W. W.?" asked Grimm.

Dunning replied stating that he was vice president of the Labor Assembly and proceeded to tell Grimm the feeling of his organization on the subject.

"Decent labor ought to keep its hands off," was Grimm's laconic reply.

The Sunday before the raid a public meeting was held in the union hall. About a hundred and fifty persons were in the audience, mostly working men and women of Centralia. Numerous loggers were present, dressed in the invariable mackinaw, stagged overalls and caulked shoes. John Foss, an I. W. W. shipbuilder from Seattle, was the speaker. Secretary Britt Smith was chairman. Walking up and down the aisle, selling the union's pamphlets and papers, was a muscular and sun-burned young man with a rough, honest face and a pair of clear hazel eyes in which a smile was always twinkling. He wore a khaki army coat above stagged overalls of a slightly darker shade,—Wesley Everest, the ex-soldier who was shortly to be mutilated and lynched by the mob.

"I HOPE TO JESUS NOTHING HAPPENS"

The atmosphere of the meeting was already tainted with the Terror. Nerves were on edge. Every time any newcomer would enter the door the audience would look over their shoulders with apprehensive glances. At the conclusion of the meeting the loggers gathered around the secretary and asked him the latest news about the contemplated raid. For reply Britt Smith handed them copies of the leaflet "We Must Appeal" and told of the efforts that had been made and were being made to obtain legal protection and to let the public know the real facts in the case.

"If they raid the hall again as they did in 1918 the boys

won't stand for it," said a logger, clenching his fists.

"If the law won't protect us we've got a right to protect ourselves," ventured another.

"I hope to Jesus nothing happens," replied the secretary.

Wesley Everest laid down his few unsold papers, rolled a brown paper cigarette and smiled enigmatically over the empty seats in the general direction of the new One Big Union label on the front window. His closest friends say he was never afraid of anything in all his life.

None of these men knew that the loggers from nearby camps, having heard of the plan to raid the hall, were watching the hall night and day to see that "nothing happens."

The next day, after talking things over with Britt Smith, Mrs. McAllister, wife of the proprietor of the Roderick hotel from whom the loggers rented the hall, went to see Chief of Police Hughes. This is how she told of the interview:

"I got worried and I went to the Chief. I says to him, 'Are you going to protect my property?' Hughes says, 'We'll do the best we can for you, but as far as the wobblies are concerned they wouldn't last fifteen minutes if the business men start after them. The business men don't want any wobblies in this town.' "

The day before the tragedy Elmer Smith dropped in at the union hall to warn his clients that nothing could now stop the raid. "Defend it if you choose to do so," he told them. "The law gives you that right."

It was on the strength of this remark, overheard by the stoolpigeon, Morgan, and afterwards reported to the prosecution, that Elmer Smith was hailed to prison charged with murder in the first degree. His enemies had been certain all along that his incomprehensible delusion about the law being the same for the poor man as the rich would bring its own punishment. It did; there can no longer be any doubt on the subject.

THE SCORPION'S STING

November 11th was a raw, gray day; the cold sunlight barely penetrating the mist that hung over the city and the distant tree-clad hills. The parade assembled at the City Park. Lieutenant Cormier was marshal. Warren Grimm was commander of the Centralia division . In a very short time he had the various bodies arranged to his satisfaction. At the head of the procession was the "two-fisted" Centralia bunch, followed by one from Chehalis, the county seat. Then came a few sailors and marines

and a large body of Elks. The school children who were to have marched did not appear. At the very end were a couple of dozen boy scouts and an automobile carrying pretty girls dressed in Red Cross uniforms. Evidently this parade, unlike the one of 1918, did not, like a scorpion, carry its sting in the rear. But wait until you read how cleverly this part of it had been arranged!

The marchers were unduly silent and those who knew nothing of the lawless plan of the secret committee felt somehow that something must be wrong. City Postmaster Thomas H. McCleary and Ex-Mayor W. H. Thompson were seen carrying coils of rope. Thompson is a veteran of the Civil War and an ex-clergyman. On the witness stand he afterwards swore he picked up the rope from the street and was carrying it "as a joke." It turned out that the "joke" was on Wesley Everest.

"Be ready for the command 'eyes right' or 'eyes left' when we pass the 'reviewing stand,'" Grimm told the platoon commanders just as the parade started.

The procession covered most of the line of march without incident. When the union hall was reached there was some craning of necks but no outburst of any kind. A few of the out-of-town paraders looked at the place curiously and several business men were seen pointing the hall out to their friends. There were some dark glances and a few long noses but no demonstration.

"THERE AIN'T ANY REVIEWING STAND"

"When do we reach the reviewing stand?" asked a parader, named Joe Smith, of a man marching beside him.

"Hell, there ain't any reviewing stand," was the reply. "We're going to give the wobbly hall 'eyes right' on the way back."

The head of the column reached Third Avenue and halted. A command of 'about face' was given and the procession again started to march past the union hall going in the opposite direction. The loggers inside felt greatly relieved as they saw the crowd once more headed for the city. But the Centralia and Chehalis contingents, that had headed the parade, were now in the **rear**—just where the "scorpion sting" of the 1918 parade had been located! The danger was not yet over. Bad things might happen yet. The wobblies waited silently.

WHERE BARNETT'S RIFLE WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND

Eugene Barnett was said to have left his rifle under this sign-board as he fled from the scene of the shooting. It would have been much easier to hide a gun in the tall brush in the foreground. In reality Barnett did not have a rifle on November 11th and was never within a mile of this place. Prosecutor Cunningham said he had "been looking all over for that rifle" when it was turned over to him by the "finder." Strangely enough Cunningham knew the number of the gun before he placed hands on it.

"LET'S GO! AT 'EM, BOYS!"

The Chehalis division had marched past the hall and the Centralia division was just in front of it when a sharp command was given. The latter stopped squarely in front of the hall but the former continued to march. Lieutenant Cormier of the secret committee was riding between the two contingents on a bay horse. Suddenly he placed his fingers to his mouth and gave a shrill whistle. Immediately there was a hoarse cry of "Let's go-o-o! At 'em, boys!" About sixty feet separated the two contingents at this time, the Chehalis men still continuing the march. Cormier spurred his horse and overtook them. "Aren't you boys in on this?" he shouted.

At the words "Let's go," the paraders from both ends and the middle of the Centralia contingent broke ranks and started on the run for the union headquarters. A crowd of soldiers surged against the door. There was a crashing of glass and a splintering of wood as the door gave way. A few of the marauders had actually forced their way into the hall. Then there was a shot, three more shots . . . and a small volley. From Seminary hill also rifles began to crack.

The mob stopped suddenly, astounded at the unexpected opposition. Out of hundreds of halls that had been raided during the past two years this was the first time the union men had attempted to defend themselves. It had evidently been planned to stampede the entire contingent into the attack by having

the secret committeemen take the lead from both ends and the middle. But before this could happen the crowd, frightened at the shots, started to scurry for cover. Two men were seen carrying the limp figure of a soldier from the door of the hall. When the volley started they dropped it and ran. The soldier was a handsome young man, named Arthur McElfresh. He was left lying in front of the hall with his feet on the curb and his head in the gutter. The whole thing had been a matter of seconds.

"I HAD NO BUSINESS BEING THERE"

Several men had been wounded. A pool of blood was widening in front of the doorway. A big man in officer's uniform was seen to stagger away bent almost double and holding his hands over his abdomen. "My God, I'm shot!" he had cried to the soldier beside him. This was Warren O. Grimm; the other was his friend, Frank Van Gilder. Grimm walked unassisted to the rear of a nearby soft drink place, whence he was taken to a hospital. He died a short time afterwards. Van Gilder swore on the witness stand that Grimm and himself were standing at the head of the column of "unoffending paraders" when his friend was shot. He stated that Grimm had been his life-long friend but admitted that when his "life-long friend" received his mortal wound he (Van Gilder), instead of acting like a hero in No Man's Land, had deserted him in precipitate haste. Too many eye witnesses had seen Grimm stagger wounded from the doorway of the hall to suit the prosecution. Van Gilder knew at which place Grimm had been shot but it was necessary that he be placed at a convenient distance from the hall. It is reported on good authority that Grimm, just before he died in the hospital, confessed to a person at his bedside: "It served me right, I had no business being there."

A workingman, John Patterson, had come down town on Armistice Day with his three small children to watch the parade. He was standing thirty-five feet from the door of the hall when the raid started. On the witness stand Patterson told of being pushed out of the way by the rush before the shooting began. He saw a couple of soldiers shot and saw Grimm stagger away from the doorway wounded in the abdomen. The testimony of Dr. Bickford at the coroner's inquest under oath was as follows:

"I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow, but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Someone next to me put his foot against the door and forced it

open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening about us." Dr. Bickford is an A. E. F. man and one of the very few legionaires who dared to tell the truth about the shooting. The Centralia business element has since tried repeatedly to ruin him.

In trying to present the plea of the self-defense to the court, Defense Attorney Vanderveer stated:

"There was a rush, men reached the hall under the command of Grimm, and yet counsel asks to have shown a specific overt act of Grimm before we can present the plea of self-defense. Would he have had the men wait with their lives at stake? The fact is that Grimm was there and in defending themselves these men shot. Grimm was killed because he was there. They could not wait. Your honor, self-defense isn't much good after a man is dead."

The prosecution sought to make a point of the fact that the loggers had fired into a street in which there were innocent bystanders as well as paraders. But the fact remains that the only men hit by bullets were those who were in the forefront of the mob.

THROUGH THE HALL WINDOW

How the raid looked from the inside of the hall can best be described from the viewpoint of one of the occupants, Bert Faulkner, a union logger and ex-service man. Faulkner described how he had dropped in at the hall on Armistice Day and stood watching the parade from the window. In words all the more startling for their sheer artlessness he told of the events which followed: First the grimacing faces of the business men, then as the soldiers returned, a muffled order, the smashing of the window, with the splinters of glass falling against the curtain, the crashing open of the door . . . and the shots that "made his ears ring," and made him run for shelter to the rear of the hall, with the shoulder of his overcoat torn with a bullet. Then how he found himself on the back stairs covered with rifles and was commanded to come down with his hands in the air. Finally how he was frisked to the city jail in an automobile with a business man standing over him armed with a piece of gas pipe.

Eugene Barnett gave a graphic description of the raid as he saw it from the office of the adjoining Roderick hotel. Barnett said he saw the line go past the hotel. The business men were ahead of the soldiers and as this detachment passed the hotel returning the soldiers were going north. The business men were

looking at the hall and pointing it out to the soldiers. Some of them had their thumbs to their noses and others were saying various things.

"When the soldiers turned and came past I saw a man on horseback ride past. He was giving orders which were repeated along the line by another. As the rider passed the hotel he gave a command and the second man said: 'Bunch up, men.'

"When this order came the men all rushed for the hall. I heard glass break. I heard a door slam. There was another sound and then shooting came. It started from inside the hall.

"As I saw these soldiers rush the hall I jumped up and threw off my coat. I thought there would be a fight and I was going to mix in. Then came the shooting, and I knew I had no business there."

Later Barnett went home and remained there until his arrest the next day.

In the union hall, besides Bert Faulkner, were Wesley Everest, Ray Becker, Britt Smith, Mike Sheehan, James McInerney and Tom Morgan. These, with the exception of Faulkner and Everest, remained in the hall until the authorities came to place them under arrest. They had, after the first furious rush of their assailants, taken refuge in a big and long disused ice box in the rear of the hall. Britt Smith was unarmed, his revolver being found afterwards, fully loaded, in his roll-top desk. After their arrest the loggers were taken to the city jail which was to be the scene of an inquisition unparalleled in the history of the United States. After this, as an additional punishment, they were compelled to face the farce of a "fair trial" in a capitalistic court.

WESLEY EVEREST

But Destiny had decided to spare one man the bitter irony of judicial murder. Wesley Everest still had a pocket full of cartridges and a forty-five automatic that could speak for itself. This soldier-lumberjack had done most of the shooting in the hall. He held off the mob until the very last moment, and, instead of seeking refuge in the refrigerator after the "paraders" had been dispersed, he ran out of the back door, reloading his pistol as he went. It is believed by many that Arthur McElfresh was killed inside the hall by a bullet fired by Everest.

In the yard at the rear of the hall the mob had already reorganized for an attack from that direction. Before anyone knew what had happened Everest had broken through their

ranks and scaled the fence. "Don't follow me and I won't shoot," he called to the crowd, displaying the still smoking blue steel pistol in his hand.

"There goes the secretary!" yelled someone, as the logger started at top speed down the alley. The mob surged in pursuit, collapsing the board fence before them with sheer force of numbers. There was a rope in the crowd and the union secretary was the man they wanted. The chase that followed probably saved the life, not only of Britt Smith, but the remaining loggers in the hall as well.

HIS UNCLE PLANNED IT

Dale Hubbard, killed in self-defense by Wesley Everest on Armistice Day, 1919. F. B. Hubbard, lumber baron and uncle of the dead man, is held to have been the instigator of the plot in which his nephew was shot. Hubbard was martyrized by the lumber trust's determination "to let the men in uniform do it."

Running pell-mell down the alley the mob gave a shout of exultation as Everest slowed his pace and turned to face them. They stopped cold, however, as several quick shots rang out and bullets whistled and zipped around them. Everest turned in his tracks and was off again like a flash, reloading his pistol as he ran. The mob again resumed the pursuit. The logger ran through an open gateway, paused to turn and again fire at his pursuers; then he ran between two frame dwellings to the open street. When the mob again caught the trail they were evidently under the impression that the logger's ammunition was exhausted. At all events they took up the chase with redoubled energy. Some men in the mob had rifles and now and then a pot-shot would be taken at the fleeing figure. The marksmanship of both sides seems to have been poor for no one appears to have been injured.

DALE HUBBARD

This kind of running fight was kept up until Everest reached the river. Having kept off his pursuers thus far the boy started boldly for the comparative security of the opposite shore, splashing the water violently as he waded out into the stream. The mob was getting closer all the time. Suddenly Everest seemed to

change his mind and began to retrace his steps to the shore. Here he stood dripping wet in the tangled grasses to await the arrival of the mob bent on his destruction. Everest had lost his hat and his wet hair stuck to his forehead. His ammunition was nearly gone. Eye witnesses declare his face still wore a quizzical half-bantering smile when the mob overtook him. With the pistol held loosely in his rough hand Everest stood at bay, ready to make a last stand for his life. Seeing him thus, and no doubt thinking his final bullet had been expended, the mob made a rush for its quarry.

"Stand back!" he shouted. "If there are 'bulls' in the crowd, I'll submit to arrest; otherwise lay off of me."

No attention was paid to his words. Everest shot from the hip four times,—then his gun stalled. A group of soldiers started to run in his direction. Everest was tugging at the gun with both hands. Raising it suddenly he took careful aim and fired. All the soldiers but one wavered and stopped. Everest fired twice, both bullets taking effect. But the soldier did not stop. Two more shots were fired almost point blank before the logger dropped his pursuer at his feet. Then he tossed away the empty gun and the mob surged upon him.

The legionaire who had been shot was Dale Hubbard, a nephew of F. B. Hubbard, the lumber baron. He was a strong, brave and misguided young man—worthy of a nobler death.

"LET'S FINISH THE JOB!"

Everest attempted to fight with his fists but was overpowered and severely beaten. Various men clamoured for immediate lynching, but saner counsel prevailed for the time and he was dragged through the streets towards the city jail. When the mob was half a block from this place the "hot heads" made another attempt to cheat the state executioner. A wave of fury seemed here to sweep the crowd. Men fought with one another for a chance to strike, kick or spit in the face of their victim. It was an orgy of hatred and blood-lust. Everest's arms were pinioned, blows, kicks and curses rained upon him from every side. One business man clawed strips of bleeding flesh from his face. A woman slapped his battered cheek with a well groomed hand. A soldier tried to lunge a hunting rifle at the helpless logger; the crowd was too thick. He bumped them aside with the butt of the gun to get room. Then he crashed the muzzle with full force into Everest's mouth. Teeth were broken and blood flowed profusely.

A rope appeared from somewhere. "Let's finish the job!" cried a voice. The rope was placed about the neck of the logger. "You haven't got guts enough to lynch a man in the daytime," was all he said.

At this juncture a woman brushed through the crowd and took the rope from Everest's neck. Looking into the distorted faces of the mob she cried indignantly, "You are curs and cowards to treat a man like that!"

There may be human beings in Centralia after all.

Wesley Everest was taken to the city jail and thrown without ceremony upon the cement floor of the "bull pen." In the surrounding cells were his comrades who had been arrested in the union hall. Here he lay in a wet heap, twitching with agony. A tiny bright stream of blood gathered at his side and trailed slowly along the floor. Only an occasional quivering moan escaped his torn lips as the hours slowly passed by.

"HERE IS YOUR MAN"

Later, at night, when it was quite dark, the lights of the jail were suddenly snapped off. At the same instant the entire city was plunged in darkness. A clamour of voices was heard beyond the walls. There was a hoarse shout as the panel of the outer door was smashed in. "Don't shoot, men," said the policeman on guard; "here is your man." It was night now, and the business men had no further reason for not lynching the supposed secretary. Everest heard their approaching footsteps in the dark. He arose drunkenly to meet them. "Tell the boys I died for my class," he whispered brokenly to the union men in the cells. These were the last words he uttered in the jail. There were sounds of a short struggle and of many blows. Then a door slammed and in a short time the lights were switched on. The darkened city was again illuminated at the same moment. Outside three luxurious automobiles were purring themselves out of sight in the darkness.

The only man who had protested the lynching at the last moment was William Scales. "Don't kill him, men," he is said to have begged of the mob. But it was too late. "If you don't go through with this you're an I. W. W. too," they told him. Scales could not calm the evil passions he had helped to arouse.

But how did it happen that the lights were turned out at such an opportune time? Could it be that city officials were working hand in glove with the lynch mob?

Defense Attorney Vanderveer offered to prove to the court

that such was the case. He offered to prove this was a part of the greater conspiracy against the union loggers and their hall, —offered to prove it point by point from the very beginning. Incidentally Vanderveer offered to prove that Earl Craft, electrician in charge of the city lighting plant, had left the station at seven o'clock on Armistice Day after securely locking the door; and that while Craft was away the lights of the city were turned off and Wesley Everest taken out and lynched. Furthermore, he offered to prove that when Craft returned, the lights were again turned on and the city electrician, his assistant and the Mayor of Centralia were in the building with the door again locked.

These offers were received by his honor with impassive judicial dignity, but the faces of the lumber trust attorneys were wreathed with smiles at the audacity of the suggestion. The corporation lawyers very politely registered their objections which the judge as politely sustained.

THE NIGHT OF HORRORS

After Everest had been taken away the jail became a nightmare—as full of horrors as a madman's dream. The mob howled around the walls until late in the night. Inside, a lumber trust lawyer and his official assistants were administering the "third degree" to the arrested loggers, to make them "confess." One at a time the men were taken to the torture chamber, and so terrible was the ordeal of this American Inquisition that some were almost broken—body and soul. Loren Roberts had the light in his brain snuffed out. Today he is a shuffling wreck. He is not interested in things any more. He is always looking around with horror-wide eyes, talking of "voices" and "wires" that no one but himself knows anything about. There is no telling what they did to the boy, but he signed the "confession."

When interviewed by Frank Walklin of the Seattle Union Record the loggers told the story in their own way:

"I have heard tales of cruelty," said James McInerney, "but I believe what we boys went through on those nights can never be equalled. I thought it was my last night in earth and had reconciled myself to an early death of some kind, perhaps hanging. I was taken out once by the mob, and a rope was placed around my neck and thrown over a cross-bar or something.

"I waited for them to pull the rope. But they didn't. I

heard voices in the mob say, 'That's not him,' and then I was put back into jail."

John Hill Lamb, another defendant, related how several times a gun was poked through his cell window by someone who was aching to get a pot shot at him. Being ever watchful he hid under his bunk and close to the wall where the would-be murderer could not see him.

Britt Smith and Roy Becker told with bated breath about Everest as he lay half-dead in the corridor, in plain sight of the prisoners in the cells on both sides. The lights went out and Everest, unconscious and dying, was taken out. The men inside could hear the shouts of the mob diminishing as Everest was hurried to the Chehalis River bridge.

ARTHUR McELFRESH

A Centralia druggist. His wife warned him not to march to the union headquarters because "she knew he'd get hurt." McElfresh is the man said to have been shot inside the hall when the mob burst through the door.

None of the prisoners was permitted to sleep that night; the fear of death was kept upon them constantly, the voices outside the cell windows telling of more lynchings to come.

"Every time I heard a footstep or the clanking of keys," said Britt Smith, "I thought the mob was coming after more of us. I didn't sleep, couldn't sleep; all I could do was strain my ears for the mob I felt sure was coming." Ray Becker, listening at Britt's side, said: "Yes, that was one hell of a night." And the strain of that night seems to linger in their faces; probably it always will remain—the expression of a memory that can never be blotted out.

When asked if they felt safer when the soldiers arrived to guard the Centralia jail, there was a long pause, and finally the answer was "Yes." "But you must remember," offered one, "that they took 'em out at Tulsa from a supposedly guarded jail; and we couldn't know from where we were what was going on outside."

"For ten days we had no blankets," said Mike Sheehan. "It was cold weather, and we had to sleep uncovered on concrete floors. In those days I had no more than three hours' sleep."

"The mob and those who came after the mob wouldn't let us sleep. They would come outside our windows and hurl curses at us, and tell each of us it would be our turn next. They brought in Wesley Everest and laid him on the corridor floor; he was bleeding from his ears and mouth and nose, was curled in a heap and groaning. And men outside and inside kept up the din. I tried to sleep; I was nearly mad; my temples kept pounding like sledge-hammers. I don't know how a man can go through all that and live—but we did."

All through the night the prisoners could hear the voices of the mob under their cell windows. "Well, we fixed that guy Everest all right," someone would say. "Now we'll get Roberts." Then the lights would snap off, there would be a shuffling, curses, a groan and the clanking of a steel door. All the while they were being urged to "come clean" with a statement that would clear the lumber trust of the crime and throw the blame onto its victims. McInerney's neck was scraped raw by the rope of the mob but he repeatedly told them to "go to hell!" Morgan, the stoolpigeon, escaped the torture by immediate acquiescence. Someone has since paid his fare to parts unknown. His "statement" didn't damage the defense.

THE HUMAN FIEND

But with the young logger who had been taken out into the night things were different. Wesley Everest was thrown, half unconscious, into the bottom of an automobile. The hands of the men who had dragged him there were sticky and red. Their pant legs were sodden from rubbing against the crumpled figure at their feet. Through the dark streets sped the three machines. The smooth asphalt became a rough road as the suburbs were reached. Then came a stretch of open country, with the Chehalis river bridge only a short distance ahead. The cars lurched over the uneven road with increasing speed, their headlights playing on each other or on the darkened highway.

Wesley Everest stirred uneasily. Raising himself slowly on one elbow he swung weakly with his free arm, strking one of his tormentors full in the face. The other occupants immediately seized him and bound his hands and feet with rope. It must have been the glancing blow from the fist of the logger that gave one of the gentlemen his fiendish inspiration. Reaching into his pocket he produced a razor. For a moment he fumbled over the now limp figure in the bottom of the car. His companions looked on with stolid acquiescence. Suddenly there was a piercing

scream of pain. The figure gave a convulsive shudder of agony. After a moment Wesley Everest said in a weak voice: "For Christ's sake, men; shoot me—don't let me suffer like this."

On the way back to Centralia, after the parade rope had done its deadly work, the gentleman of the razor alighted from the car in front of a little building. He asked leave to wash his hands. They were as red as a butcher's. Great clots of blood were adhering to his sleeves. "That's about the nastiest job I ever had to do," was his casual remark as he washed himself in the cool clear water of the Washington hills. The name of this man is known to nearly everybody in Centralia. He is still at large.

WARREN O. GRIMM

Warren O. Grimm, killed at the beginning of the rush on the I. W. W. hall. At another raid on an I. W. W. hall in 1918 Grimm was said by a witness to have been in the mob, "waving two American flags and howling like a dervish." Grimm's last words were reported to have been, "It served me right; I had no business there."

The headlight of the foremost car was now playing on the slender steel framework of the Chehalis river bridge. This machine crossed over and stopped, the second one reached the middle of the bridge and stopped while the third came to a halt when it had barely touched the plankwork on the near side. The well-dressed occupants of the first and last cars alighted and proceeded at once to patrol both approaches to the bridge.

LYNCHING—AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

Wesley Everest was dragged out of the middle machine. A rope was attached to a girder with the other end tied in a noose around his neck. His almost lifeless body was hauled to the side of the bridge. The headlights of two of the machines threw a white light over the horrible scene. Just as the lynchers let go of their victim the fingers of the half dead logger clung convulsively to the planking of the bridge. A business man stamped on them with a curse until the grip was broken. There was a swishing sound; then a sudden crunching jerk and the rope tied

to the girder began to writhe and twist like a live thing. This lasted but a short time. The lynchers peered over the railing into the darkness. Then they slowly pulled up the dead body, attached a longer rope and repeated the performance. This did not seem to suit them either, so they again dragged the corpse through the railings and tied a still longer rope around the horribly broken neck of the dead logger. The business men were evidently enjoying their work, and besides, the more rope the more souvenirs for their friends, who would prize them highly.

This time the knot was tied by a young sailor. He knew how to tie a good knot and was proud of the fact. He boasted of the stunt afterwards to a man he thought as beastly as himself. In all probability he never dreamed he was talking for publication. But he was.

The rope had now been lengthened to about fifteen feet. The broken and gory body was kicked through the railing for the last time. The knot on the girder did not move any more. Then the lynchers returned to their luxurious cars and procured their rifles. A headlight flashed the dangling figure into ghastly relief. It was riddled with volley after volley. The man who fired the first shot boasted of the deed afterwards to a brother lodge member. He didn't know he was talking for publication either.

On the following morning the corpse was cut down by an unknown hand. It drifted away with the current. A few hours later Frank Christiansen, a tool of the lumber trust from the Attorney General's office, arrived in Centralia. "We've got to get that body," this worthy official declared, "or the wobs will find it and raise hell over its condition."

The corpse was located after a search. It was not buried, however, but was carted back to the jail, there to be used as a terrible object lesson for the benefit of the incarcerated union men. The unrecognizable form was placed in a cell between two of the loggers who had loved the lynched boy as a comrade and a friend. Something must be done to make the union men admit that they, and not the lumber interests, had conspired to commit murder. This was the final act of ruthlessness. It was fruitful in results. One "confession," one Judas and one shattered mind were the result of their last deed of fiendish terrorism.

No undertaker could be found to bury Everest's body, so after two days it was dropped into a hole in the ground by four union loggers who had been arrested on suspicion and were released from jail for this purpose. The "burial" is supposed to have taken place in the new cemetery; the body being carried thither in an auto truck. The union loggers who really dug the

grave declare, however, that the interment took place at a desolate spot "somewhere along the railroad track." Another body was seen, covered with ashes in a cart, being taken away for burial on the morning of the twelfth. There are persistent rumors that more than one man was lynched on the previous night. A guard of heavily armed soldiers had charge of the funeral. The grave has since been obliterated. Rumor has it that the body has since been removed to Camp Lewis. No one seems to know why or when.

"AS COMICAL AS A CORONER"

An informal inquest was held in the city jail. A man from Portland performed the autopsy; that is, he hung the body up by the heels and played a water hose on it. But the question of how Everest met death was never dealt with officially. The official inquest concerned itself only with the deaths of the four Legionaires. It was here that Dr. Bickford let slip the statement about the hall being raided before the shooting started. This was the first inkling of truth to reach the public. Coroner Livingstone, in a jocular mood, reported on Everest to a meeting of gentlemen at the Elks' Club. In explaining the death of the union logger, Dr. Livingstone stated that Wesley Everest had broken out of jail, gone to the Chehalis river bridge and jumped off with a rope around his neck. Finding the rope too short he climbed back and fastened on a longer one; jumped off again, broke his neck and then shot himself full of holes. Livingstone's audience, appreciative of his tact and levity, laughed long and heartily. Business men still chuckle over the joke in Centralia. "As funny as a funeral" is no longer the stock saying in this humorous little town; "as comical as a coroner" is now the approved form.

Acting on the theory that "a strong offensive is the best defense," the terrorists took immediate steps to conceal all traces of their crime and to shift the blame onto the shoulders of their victims. The capitalist press did yeoman service in this cause by deluging the nation with a veritable avalanche of lies.

For days the district around Centralia and the city itself were at the mercy of a mob. The homes of all workers suspected of being sympathetic to Labor were spied upon or surrounded and entered without warrant. Doors were battered down at times, and women and children abused and insulted. Many eyewitnesses of the tragedy were frightened into silence. Heavily

armed posses were sent out in all directions in search of "reds." All roads were patrolled by armed business men in automobiles. A strict mail and wire censorship was established. It was the open season for "wobblies" and intimidation was the order of the day. The White Terror was supreme.

So well organized was this Terror in Centralia that on the evening of Armistice day appeals to informers had been posted all over the city. The Citizens' Committee had already started its campaign to obtain evidence against persons suspected of being I. W. W.'s. Handbills and posters were plastered up everywhere calling on citizens to communicate with the chief of police any information they might have regarding the shooting. The placards read:

"Have you any information of the whereabouts of an I. W. W.? Any person having information no matter of how little importance concerning the whereabouts of a member of the I. W. W. or any information whatever concerning the outrage committed Armistice day will confer a favor on the city officials if they will call at once at the city hall and give whatever data they have to the chief of police. All information will be treated strictly confidential. Office open at 8:30 a. m. Come at once."

TRIAL JUDGE

In his black robe, like a bird of prey, he perched above the courtroom and ruled always adversely to the cause of labor. Appointed to try men accused of killing other men whom he had previously eulogized Judge John M. Wilson did not disappoint those who appointed him. In open court Vanderveer told this man: "There was a time when I thought your rulings were due to ignorance of the law. That will no longer explain them."

All facts favoring the loggers were suppressed. An Associated Press reporter was compelled to leave town hastily without bag or baggage. Inadvertently he had sent out Dr. Bickford's indiscreet remark about the starting of the trouble. Men and women did not dare to think, much less think aloud. Some of them in the district are still that way.

To Eugene Barnett's little home came a posse armed to the teeth. They asked for Barnett and were told by his young wife that he had gone up the hill with his rifle. Placing a bayonet to her breast they demanded entrance. The brave woman refused to admit them until they had shown

a warrant. Barnett surrendered when he made sure he was to be arrested and not mobbed.

O. C. Bland, Bert Bland, John Lamb and Loren Roberts were also apprehended in due time. Two loggers, John Doe Davis and Ole Hanson, who were said to have also fired on the mob, have not yet been arrested. A vigorous search is still being made for them in all parts of the country. It is believed by many that one of these men was lynched like Everest on the night of November 11th.

HYPOCRISY AND TERROR

The reign of terror was extended to cover the entire West coast. Over a thousand men and women were arrested in the state of Washington alone. Union halls were closed and kept that way. Labor papers were suppressed and many men have been given sentences of from one to fourteen years for having in their possession copies of periodicals which contained little else but the truth about the Centralia tragedy. The Seattle Union Record was temporarily closed down and its stock confiscated for daring to hint that there were two sides to the story. During all this time the capitalist press was given full rein to spread its infamous poison. The general public, denied the true version of the affair, was shuddering over its morning coffee at the thought of I. W. W. desperadoes shooting down unoffending paraders from ambush. But the lumber interests were chortling with glee and winking a suggestive eye at their high priced lawyers who were making ready for the prosecution. Jurymen were shortly to be drawn and things were "sitting pretty," as they say in poker.

Adding a characteristic touch to the rotten hypocrisy of the situation came a letter from Supreme Court Judge McIntosh to George Dysart, whose son was in command of a posse during the manhunt. This notable document read as follows:

Kenneth McIntosh, Judge of the Supreme Court,
State of Washington.

George Dysart, Esq., Olympia, November 13, 1919.
Centralia, Washington.

My dear Dysart:

I want to express to you my appreciation of the high character of citizenship displayed by the people of Centralia in their agonizing calamity. We are all shocked by the manifestation of barbarity on the part of the outlaws, and are depressed by the

loss of lives of brave men, but at the same time we are proud of the calm control and loyalty to American ideals demonstrated by the returned soldiers and citizens. I am proud to be an inhabitant of a state which contains a city with the record which has been made for Centralia by its law-abiding citizens.

Sincerely,

(Signed) KENNETH McINTOSH.

"PATRIOTIC" UNION SMASHING

Not to be outdone by this brazen example of judicial perversion, Attorney General Thompson, after a secret conference of prosecuting attorneys, issued a circular of advice to county prosecutors. In this document the suggestion was made that officers and members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Washington be arrested by the wholesale under the "criminal syndicalism" law and brought to trial simultaneously so that they might not be able to obtain legal defense. The astounding recommendation was also made that, owing to the fact that juries had been "reluctant to convict," prosecutors and the State Bar Association should co-operate in examining jury panels so that "none but courageous and patriotic Americans" be given places on the juries.

This effectual if somewhat arbitrary plan was put into operation at once. Since the tragedy at Centralia dozens of union workers have been convicted by "courageous and patriotic" juries and sentenced to serve from one to fourteen years in the state penitentiary. The verdict at Montesano is now widely known. Truly the lives of the four Legion boys which were sacrificed by the lumber interests in furtherance of their own murderous designs, were well expended. The investment was a profitable one and the results are no doubt highly gratifying.

But just the same the scheme of the Attorney General was an obvious effort to defeat the purposes of the courts and obtain unjust convictions by means of what is termed "jury "fixing." There may be honor among thieves but there is plainly none among the public servants they have working for them!

The only sane note sounded during these dark days, outside of the startling statement of Dr. Bickford, came from Montana. Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte Post of the American Legion and an overseas veteran, issued a public statement that was truly remarkable:

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men

that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters, were fully justified in their act.

"Mob rule in this country must be stopped, and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law can not stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have that effect.

"Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. The reports of the evidence at the coroner's jury show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took.

"The fact that there were some American Legion men among the paraders who everlastingly disgraced themselves by taking part in the raid, does not affect my judgment in the least. Any one who becomes a party to a mob bent upon unlawful violence, cannot expect the truly patriotic men of the American Legion to condone his act."

PREPARATIONS FOR THE TRIAL

Defense Attorney George Vanderveer hurried across the continent from Chicago to take up the legal battle for the lives of the eleven men who had been arrested and charged with the murder of Warren O. Grimm. Vanderveer was at one time prosecutor for King County, Washington. He and two others were the only attorneys who dared to come to the defense of the persecuted I. W. W. Class feeling was keen all along the west coast. The Lewis County Bar Association pledged its members not to defend any I. W. W., no matter how slight the charge. Following the Centralia tragedy the Attorney General at Olympia had ordered the arrest of all I. W. W. members found anywhere within the boundaries of the state. It was under these conditions that the trial started, Vanderveer having but two days in which to prepare the legal defense for his clients.

The lumber interests had already selected six of their most trustworthy tools as prosecutors. Herman Allen, the prosecuting attorney for Lewis County, where the mob lawlessness took place, was discarded or at least shoved into the background as a lightweight. The real coup de force was directed and handled

SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

C. D. Cunningham, attorney for F. B. Hubbard and various lumber interests, took charge of the prosecution immediately. He was the father of much of the "third degree" methods used on witnesses. Vanderveer offered to prove at the trial that Cunningham was at the jail when Wesley Everest was dragged out, brutally mutilated and then lynched.

by W. H. Abel and C. D. Cunningham—both lawyers for the lumber trust. Lewis county is reputed to have paid them $5,000 each for their services. Abel is Hubbard's man—serving the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company; Cunningham is attorney for the West Coast Lumbermen's Association. Hubbard is a lumber baron and has the reputation of being the most bitter anti-union man on the Pacific Coast. He was a leader in the 1917 drive to impose low wages and mediæval conditions upon the loggers in his district. At this time he was president of the Employers' Association of the State of Washington. Abel, who also has made himself hated as a lumber baron, was very active in opposing the union loggers during the strike of 1917. At this time he functioned as a special deputy sheriff. These two worthies and four others of similar stripe had the full support, moral and financial, of the lumber companies and the authorities in their efforts to break the necks of the eleven loggers. For two and one-half months they had been building up a case which they boasted would be "unbeatable." The White Terror ruled supreme in Washington. Back of these prosecutors were the business interests with unlimited funds. The subservient officials of the state were with them to a man. Then, too, there were the lawless elements among the American Legion.

THE JUDGE SOMERSAULTS

Centralia and adjoining towns were deluged with lumber trust propaganda. Newspaper articles and leaflets appeared every day vilifying the defendants, denouncing the defense attorney and attacking the motives of anyone who had a good word to say about the defense end of the case. One leaflet

went so far as to say that the juryman who did not vote 'guilty' was a 'traitor.' Open threats were made against the life of Vanderveer.

The defense attorney applied for a change of venue so that the case would not be tried in Lewis County, in which the tragedy occurred. Montesano, seat of Gray's Harbor County, was chosen; Montesano was not favorable to the I. W.W. by any means. A few years previously the business element had clubbed the union loggers from the city with pick handles. But Montesano, at this time, compared with other possible trial scenes, seemed preferable. However, in the weeks that preceded the trial, the lumber trust so infected the entire Gray's Harbor country that Montesano seemed to be as bad as the other cities from the standpoint of a fair and unprejudiced trial. Vanderveer again applied for a change of venue. This was granted by Judge George Abel. Judge Wilson of Thurston County had a short time previously delivered a patriotic eulogy of the slain members of the Legion. This was on December 7, in the Elks' hall where the conspiracy was hatched. Judge Wilson was known to be strongly biased in favor of the prosecution. Judge Abel was then disqualified to hear the case for the reason that his brother W. H. Abel had been selected as one of the prosecutors. This left Judge Ben Sheeks of Gray's Harbor County as the logical man to preside. At the last moment Judge Wilson was foisted on the case over the head of Judge Sheeks, and Montesano, because of a peculiar chain of circumstances, was selected as the scene of the coming trial. The lumber interests had reason to rejoice. Attorney Vanderveer immediately asked for another change of venue. Tacoma or Olympia were indicated as possible cities in which a fair trial might be held. This was on January 3, 1920.

LEWIS COUNTY'S LEGAL LIGHT THAT FAILED

Herman Allen, prosecuting attorney of Lewis County. He stood at the corner during the raid and received papers stolen from the hall. There is no record of his having protested against any illegal action. He turned over his office to the special prosecutors and acted as their tool throughout. During the entire trial he never appeared as an active participant.

Judge Wilson at first seemed inclined to do the right thing, —but the ways of judges are incomprehensible. After listening to the argument for a change of venue he stated, "I have come to the conclusion that the defendants must not—could not—be tried in Montesano." A fair and obviously truthful statement. Things looked brighter for the defense.

Five days later Judge Wilson completely reversed his former position. He turned a complete somersault and stated that the case must be tried in Montesano. On the same day threats were made in Montesano that the defendants, if acquitted, would never get out of the county alive. Upon hearing the decision Vanderveer told the court, "No verdict can come out of Grays Harbor County for which the public can have any respect."

MONTESANO CLUTCHED BY REACTION

Montesano is a small and hostile lumber trust town located in the misty Gray's Harbor region forty miles northwest of Centralia, where the tragedy occurred. As a result of the vicious anti-labor propaganda of the lumber trust the atmosphere was tense and the town full of open hatred for the defendants. "Respectability" was in complete control. I. W. W. members were arrested on sight and sympathy for the loggers had long since been cowed into silence. The streets were full of Legionaires and gunmen. Black looks were directed at strangers from all directions. There were no hotel accomodations for defense witnesses, nor was it considered safe for them to be invited to come to Montesano. Attorney Vanderveer was ejected from a hotel when he attempted to engage a suite of rooms for a legal headquarters. Reporters for labor newspapers were given to understand their presence would not be tolerated. So the defense moved to Aberdeen, sixteen miles away, and made the trip to Montesano daily by means of auto stages.

In the meantime the forces of reaction elsewhere in the State of Washington had not been idle. Backed by all the forces of law and order the lumber trust Janizaries proceeded to hamper defense work in every way. Defense offices were raided and their fixtures destroyed or seized. Defense investigators and persons raising funds for defense purposes were intimidated or arrested and deported. Prospective defense witnesses were handled in a like manner. Attorney Ralph Pierce who had been sent from Seattle by the I. W. W. to safeguard the interests of the defendants was run out of town. The printing plants of the Seattle Union Record and the Industrial Worker of Seattle

STATE OF WASHINGTON }
COUNTY OF GRAYS HARBOR } ss.

E. E. TORPEN, being first duly sworn on oath, deposes and says: That he was one of the jurors in the case of the State of Washington, as plaintiff, vs. Britt Smith, et al, as defendants, tried in the Superior Court of Washington, for Grays Harbor County, during the first three months of the year 1920, as an outgrowth of the Armistice tragedy at Centralia, Washington, November 11, 1919; that when the jury retired to the jury room to deliberate upon their verdict, it was suggested by one of the jurors, whose name I am now unable to recollect, that the jury take a trial ballot to ascertain the sentiment of each juror before any discussion was had; a ballot was then taken and it was unanimous in favor of acquitting the defendants in the case.

That the jury finally decided on the verdict as rendered because of the understanding the jurors had one with another that they would recommend extreme leniency to the court in rendering his sentence upon the defendants, and this was agreed to by all of the jurors, and the verdict would not have been agreed to but for that understanding.

I verily believe, also, that if these men had not been affiliated with the I. W. W. organization they would never have been convicted of the crime as charged.AND MODIFIED BY THE VERDICT.

E. E. Torpen

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 17th day of May, 1922.

Notary Public in and for the State of Washington, residing at Montesano.

were closed, the purpose evidently being to choke out all publicity that might reflect favorably upon the case of the loggers whose lives were at stake.

Many wage workers in Washington wished to contribute money to the defense fund, but all caught in the execution of this heinous crime were discharged. The lumber trust, on the other hand, by means of blackmail and intimidation, attempted to raise money for certain little expenses that could not stand a very close scrutiny. An incident at the Monarch coal mine near Centralia is an example in point.

The workers at this mine were given to understand they must either "kick in" for this purpose or lose their jobs. They contributed, but in order to protest the blackmailing process and to show which side they sympathized with they sent a bigger donation to the defense. When the fact became known every man in the mine was discharged. The prosecution even went so far as to enter the rooms of the defense attorney to rifle brief cases and desks there and to steal mail. A letter to Attorney Vanderveer from Rev. T. T. Edmunds was obtained in this manner and actually introduced as evidence in the trial.

BY ALL MEANS—UNIFORMS!

Even with the dice loaded against the defense the lumber trust head hunters were not satisfied. A touch of color was needed to give the hand of class persecution the proper aspect of patriotism and respectability. Special Prosecutor C. D. Cunningham telegraphed to Congressman Albert Johnson at Washington, D. C., as follows:

"Ex-service men desire to wear uniforms at I. W. W. trial at Montesano. Is there any federal law to prohibit?"

To which Congressman Johnson replied:

"The act of February 28, 1918, specifically permits the wearing of uniforms by honorably discharged soldiers, providing that a distinctive mark of indicating discharge be shown. War Department by regulations dated April 2, 1919, designated a red chevron as that mark. Therefore former soldiers have a clear legal right to wear uniform with red chevron at I. W. W. trial."

Nearly two weeks were consumed by the task of selecting a jury. One hundred talesmen were examined before the panel was completed. The prosecution, including the court, made every effort to see to it that men were excluded who showed any inclination to be fair. A man named Connors, for instance, was passed by the prosecution after admitting that one of the

prosecutors was handling a law suit for him in which $14,000 was involved. Another man admitted saying that the defendants were guilty and should be hanged. The court refused to remove him for cause. This man and others who swore they hated the I. W. W. were passed by Judge Wilson, to be removed only by peremptory challenge.

The courtroom, in the early stages of the trial, was at all times crowded with men in uniform. Some of these were bold enough to intrude beyond the railing into the space reserved for the principals in the trial. As a result of Vanderveer's protest these were finally ordered to take seats with the spectators. Here they procured seats as much in prominence as possible and sat with folded arms, frowning and glowering at prospective jurors as the examination progressed. It is reported that five hundred of these legionaires were in Montesano during the trial. In the beginning fifty a day were detailed to the courtroom. All legionaires were paid four dollars per day out of the "slush fund" of the lumber interests to "stick around." Attorney Vanderveer protested vigorously but without result. They remained in decreasing numbers until the last day of the trial. Many of those who left early admitted that their manhood had been shocked upon discovering from the evidence of the trial, what dirty work they had been trapped into doing.

POINTS AT ISSUE

The two outstanding points at issue in the case were these: 1—Which side was the aggressor? 2—Did Eugene Barnett fire the shot which killed Warren O. Grimm? The defense claimed, and had testimony from both sides to prove, that the ex-service men precipitated the trouble by starting to attack the union hall; the prosecution claimed and offered their own kind of testimony to prove that the industrialists fired in cold blood and according to a premeditated plan upon the unoffending paraders. The prosecution offered no reason nor intent for the volley. The defense claimed the loggers fired simply in self-defense when attacked by superior numbers; that they had been warned of such an attack and that, under the law they had full right to prepare for such defense—with guns if necessary—if they had reason to fear their lives and property were about to be destroyed by a lawless mob. The defense claimed that Eugene Barnett was unarmed and in the Roderick Hotel, next door to the I. W. W. hall, at the time the raid took place; the

prosecution, by means of an absurd chain of seemingly made-to-order evidence, sought to place Barnett in the Avalon Hotel, nearly three hundred feet away.

FACTS WITHHELD FROM JURY

Judge Wilson permitted the prosecution to introduce freely all evidence which tended to support the theory that the I. W. W. members had fired upon innocent passing soldiers; but he refused to permit the defense to introduce any evidence regarding the previous raid on the older hall or the conspiracy hatched in the Elks' Club to raid the new hall on Armistice Day. The defense was prohibited from presenting any of the following facts to the jury:

That 100 Centralia business men had met in the Elks' hall on the night of October 20, 1919, and laid plans to drive the I. W. W. out of town.

That the county prosecutor and the chief of police informed the meeting that the I. W. W. had committed no violation of law and could not lawfully be banished.

That F. B. Hubbard, lumber mill owner, then declared: "This is a damned outrage. If I were chief of police I would have the wobblies out of here within 24 hours."

That William Scales, local commander of the American Legion, who presided at the business men's meeting, said that while he did not favor raiding the I. W. W. hall, he was certain that no American jury would convict anyone who might raid it.

That there had been a previous attack upon an I. W. W. hall in Centralia on Memorial Day, 1918, this attack being made by the tail end of a Red Cross parade and being led by F. B. Hubbard, who appropriated a desk taken from that hall.

That on this occasion the raiders went through the I. W. W. quarters "like a swarm of rats," dragged industrial unionists outside, lifted them by the ears onto motor trucks, and transported them to the next county, warning them never to come back.

That Blind Tom Lassiter, a man who sold I. W. W. newspapers, suffered the loss of his news stand and all his possessions by burning at the hands of a mob; and that Lassiter subsequently was kidnaped by business men on the main street of Centralia in daylight, thrown into an automobile, and dumped into a ditch in the next county.

That the I. W. W. had been warned that their hall would be raided on Armistice Day, had asked for police protection, and were denied it.

That when this happened the local I. W. W. secretary issued 1000 handbills, appealing to the law-abiding citizens of Centralia for a square deal; and that these handbills were carried to practically every house in the town.

Judge Wilson took the peculiar position that the defense must first show an overt act on the part of Warren Grimm before he would permit the introduction of any evidence tending to show conspiracy by him and his fellow marchers. Nor would be admit any testimony concerning any utterance or action of Warren Grimm in connection with the carrying out of the plan to raid the I. W. W. hall, on the ground that some special physical movement of the man must be shown before the shooting actually started. It was not sufficient to show that Grimm was close to the doorway of the hall and that he fell wounded in the front rank of the attacking party.

ANOTHER SPECIAL PROSECUTOR

W. H. Abel, sounded the gamut of rottenness in his efforts to convict the accused men without the semblance of a fair trial. Abel is notorious throughout Washington as the hireling of the lumber interests. In 1917 he prosecuted "without fee" all laboring men on strike and is attorney for a lumber company operating a camp known as the Cosmopolis "penitentiary," so-called on account of the brutality with which it treats employes. Located in Montesano, Abel has made a fortune prosecuting labor cases for the special interests.

A LITTLE INTIMIDATION

Two defense witnesses testified that Grimm was in the very doorway of the union hall just before the shots were fired from the inside. These were Guy Bray, 16, and Jay Cooke, 41. Bray testified that he was related by marriage to Lieut. Frank Van Gilder, second in command in the parade. Shortly before the procession started, Bray said, he saw Van Gilder walking with a large man in uniform. Bray asked Van Gilder who the man was, and Van Gilder said it was Warren Grimm. The witness described the parade in its essential points. As the ex-service men halted, he declared, he saw two men break from the rear ranks and rush toward the hall. They kicked in the door, he said, and then the shooting began. "Van Gilder and the large

man he had said was Grimm were then five or ten feet north of the hall door," Bray told the jury. "I saw the large man suddenly put both hands to his stomach, and double up."

Jay Cooke testified similarly with regard to Grimm's presence in the doorway of the hall. As they left the courtroom after testifying, both Cooke and Bray were arrested on charges of perjury, and efforts were made to break down Bray's testimony by means of the third degree. But obviously these arrests were made for their psychological effect, inasmuch as the two witnesses were never tried for perjury, the case against them being dropped after the I. W. W. trial had ended.

THE STATE'S CONTRIBUTION

Frank P. Christensen, who was the "fixer" for the prosecution. As Assistant Attorney General he used his office to intimidate witnesses and in the effort to cover up actions of the mob. He is reported to have been responsible for the recovery and burial of Everest's body, saying: "We've got to bring in that body and bury it. If the wobs ever find out what was done and get it they'll raise hell and make capital of it."

Frank Van Gilder, lifelong friend of Warren O. Grimm, testified that he stood beside Grimm while the latter was shot. "He hands over his abdomen and cried, 'Oh, God, I'm shot!'" "Something seemed to jar him," Van Gilder continued. "He turned very pale. I said, 'Are you hit?' and he said, 'Yes.' I told him to go to the hospital and he started across the street and when he had gone a few paces he bent over, his hands on his stomach, but went across."

According to Van Gilder's testimony this incident is supposed to have taken place a considerable distance from the hall. It was very necessary for the prosection that no one know definitely where Grimm went after being wounded. Van Gilder fell into the trap set for him by Attorney Vanderveer. He realized it too late. When asked where Grimm had gone, Van Gilder stammered, that he didn't know; he turned away and left him.

Lieutenant Van Gilder's testimony for the prosecution sought to place Grimm about half a block away from the union hall. Van Gilder explained Grimm's act of dropping out of the line of march by saying that Grimm had fallen back to remind the

military sections to salute the old soldiers in the reviewing stand, and later rejoined him at the head of the ex-service men. He swore that Grimm was shot while facing southeast, and while his back was toward the hall. Attorney Vanderveer argued that Van Gilder's testimony was open to question on this point: That Van Gilder, a soldier, unhurt, did not even offer to help his mortally stricken comrade to safety. Any normal man under such circumstances would have aided his friend. In fact, in war time, soldiers are decorated for bravery for just such deeds. If Van Gilder is to be accepted as normal, Vanderveer continued, then one must conclude that Grimm wasn't at Van Gilder's side when the former was shot, but that he was where Bray and Cooke testified they saw him—in the doorway of the I. W. W. hall.

"EXCITEMENT—WHEN WE TURN BACK"

Van Gilder had said that Grimm had dropped back to remind the marchers to salute the old soldiers **in the reviewing stand.** Joseph Smith, of Chehalis, an overseas veteran and a participant in the march, gave vital testimony for the defense bearing on this point. While the parade was being formed, he said, the commander of the Chehalis division instructed his men to be ready, when they reached the reviewing stand, to give the "eyes right" salute—a quick turning of the head to the right.

They never came to any reviewing stand, Smith said, and evidently there wasn't any. Along the line of march, while going north, another marcher named Shields or Scales, turned to Smith and said, "You'll see lots of excitement after we turn to come back." Later a man who had been pointed out to Smith as Lieutenant Grimm came along the line, Smith declared, and one of the marchers called out, "How about that reviewing stand?" . . . "Will there be anything doing when we start back?" some other marcher asked Grimm. . . . "Sure there will," Grimm replied according to Smith.

THE STOOL PIGEON

Tom Morgan, who turned state's evidence. There is an historical precedent for Morgan. Judas acted similarly, but Judas later had the manhood to go out and hang himself. Morgan left for "parts unknown."

LT. FRANK VAN GILDER

Lifelong friend of Warren O. Grimm, who was killed near doorway of union hall. "I stood less than two feet from Grimm when he was shot," Van Gilder testified. "He doubled up, put his hands to his stomach and said to me, 'My God, I'm shot.' "What did you do then?" "I turned and left him."

"While coming back," Smith stated, "Herman Gibbons, another marcher, said to me: 'We are going to give the Wobbly hall eyes right as we go by.' At the Wobbly hall this command was given. Then I saw the men break ranks, leap out and run toward the hall. I saw them kick in the door. Then the shots came."

The defense produced almost a hundred witnesses. These came from all walks of life. There were professional men, soldiers, workers, business men and even school children. Some came from the ranks of the marchers themselves. There is no reason to doubt the motives back of the statements made by these witnesses. It took courage to appear in court and speak in favor of men hated, as the defendants were by the predatory and respectable elements in the community. The mere fact that a hundred reputable citizens think enough of truth and fair dealing to tell the truth under such circumstances should convince even the most skeptical that there are two sides to the question.

DR. BICKFORD "SPILLS THE BEANS"

Not all the favorable evidence came from the side of the defense. Some of it was wrung from the reluctant lips of the prosecution witnesses—any amount, in fact, as the records will show. Dr. Frank Bickford, for instance, repeated his startling testimony given before the coroner's jury. Dr. Bickford, it will be remembered, was one of the marchers. He was immediately in front of the union hall at the time the trouble started. Dr. Bickford stated before the coroner's jury as follows: "I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Someone next to me put his foot against the door and forced it open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening about us."

Many others, ex-service men and paraders like Dr. Bickford,

testified that the union hall had been attacked before the shooting started. "There was a rush for the door, a crash of glass, then the shots from the interior of the hall." This is the invariable story. So evident was the truthfulness of this story that the prosecution, towards the end of the trial, simply gave up trying to rebut it, limiting their case to the fact that men had been killed on Armistice Day and relying upon the passion and prejudice of the moment to obtain their conviction.

The loggers were accused of conspiring to murder Warren O. Grimm. That is why the matter of Grimm's whereabouts is of such prime importance to both sides. If he were shot in cold blood while in the ranks of the paraders, as the prosecution claims, then the case of the defense is made hopeless and the men were guilty and justly convicted. If, on the other hand, Grimm was shot down while attempting to make illegal entry with an infuriated mob into a peaceful union hall, then Grimm alone is to blame for what happened.

WITNESSES SAW GRIMM IN DOORWAY OF HALL

Ten witnesses at least were unanimous in stating Grimm's location at the time he met his death. Grimm was a massively built man, over six feet in height. He was an officer, in officer's uniform, and the only one of the paraders to be shot in the abdomen. All of these witnesses have traced this conspicuous figure from the front of the union hall at the moment of the shooting, to the rear of a nearby soft drink stand. Two witnesses saw Grimm examine and display his wound at this place. All describe him as a big man running in a stooping posture, holding his hands over his abdomen. The following testimony is typical on this point:

Mrs. A. Sherman, when questioned by Attorney Vanderveer stated that she was in front of the Roderick hotel when the parade was passing the I.W.W. hall. She saw the soldiers in the parade make a break for the hall. About five men smashed in the door, she said, but she could not remember just how many came after. The crash of glass and the shooting were heard by her at about the same time. She also described a man who had evidently been shot in front of the hall as a large man wearing a soldier's overcoat. He was holding his arms across his stomach and went towards Second Street.

Walter Morell, a logger and Legion man, said he was marching in the parade and his platoon stopped in front of the union hall. He was talking to a marcher named Eubanks,

who said something about raiding the hall. He heard someone in the rear say, "Let's go," which was followed by a crash of glass. He saw Grimm, doubled up and holding his stomach with his arms, nearly in front of the hall and some distance from where the prosecution said he was shot.

BRIDGE FROM WHICH EVEREST WAS HANGED

From this bridge, over the Chehalis River, Wesley Everest was left dangling by a mob of business men. Automobile parties visited this spot at different times during the night and played their headlights on the corpse in order better to enjoy the spectacle.

Vernon O'Reilly, high school boy, related clearly all that happened within his range of vision. He was just south of Second Street when the parade was opposite the I. W. W. hall. He said he saw the men break ranks and rush the hall. At first, he said, the men in the ranks seemed to be holding conference and soon after that they started for the hall. He heard the crash of glass and immediately afterwards, the shooting which he thought came from inside the hall. He located on the map which was in the courtroom about where he saw a large man who was holding his arms across his stomach. The location on the map was in front of the Roderick hotel. Later he saw the same man being loaded on an automobile at the corner of Second Street and Tower Avenue.

Guy Bray's testimony, which was touched upon before, was exceedingly damaging to the case of the prosecution. Bray stated that he was just north of the union hall at the time of the shooting. He saw the parade go by with Grimm and Van Gilder in the lead. He saw the lines halt in front of the hall on the return. "The soldiers bunched together," testified the boy, "two of them rushed toward the hall and smashed in the door. Two shots were fired, then more shots followed. There were quite a few soldiers there at that time. I saw Grimm and Van Gilder close together near the door of the hall and then in front of the Roderick. I saw Grimm grip his stomach with both hands and fall down."

Referring to the arrest of Bray and Jay Cooke for perjury, the Seattle Union Record commented editorially as follows:

"If this sort of tactics can be pursued by a prosecution in our state, what is law, what is trial by jury, what are witnesses? Prosecutor Abel has made a jest of these things. He deserves the contempt of all decent Americans."

The prosecution elaborated upon what it termed the "premeditated conspiracy" on the part of the loggers to fire into the parade. This is based in part upon the statement of the stoolpigeon Morgan and the "confession" of Loren Roberts and from admissions by the defense that shots were fired from Seminary hill and the Arnold and Avalon hotels after the hall had been attacked. As Warren Grimm was actually killed, the prosecution at first based its case upon the contention that the loggers had conspired beforehand to do this very thing. Afterwards they were glad to qualify this by stating that the loggers had done a legal act in an illegal manner. But until the very last when the props were knocked from under their made-to-order case the prosecution attempted to prove that the 38-55 bullet which killed Grimm was fired from the Avalon hotel. Some one of the defendants had to be placed in this hotel to fire the fatal shot. Eugene Barnett was selected from the other defendants for this purpose—one guess being as good as another.

THE PROSECUTION "IDENTIFIES"

Eugene Barnett was accused of firing from a window of the Avalon hotel, some 300 feet from the union hall. Elsie Hornbeck, bookkeeper in a garage across the street from the hotel told the jury that she saw a thin faced man in the hotel window on Armistice Day shortly before the shooting. This is the way Elsie deported herself on the witness stand:

"Could you identify him (Barnett) if you saw him now?" asked Special Prosecutor Abel.

"I might," the girl answered.

"Look at these defendants and then tell me."

Elsie scanned the defendants briefly, and after considerable hesitation, said: "It was the first one."

The 'first one' was Eugene Barnett, who the prosecution contended was at the window of the Avalon hotel, firing.

The tragedy had occurred three months previously and the witness had not been acquainted with Barnett. Vanderveer asked her if she had seen Barnett since the time she claimed to have seen him in the window. The witness said she had not. She admitted that she saw the man in the Avalon for only a fleeting instant.

CARTING AWAY WESLEY EVEREST'S BODY FOR BURIAL

After the mutilated body had been cut down it lay in the river for two days. Then it was taken back to the city jail where it remained for two days more—as an object lesson—in plain view of the comrades of the murdered boy. Everest was taken from this building to be lynched. During the first week after the tragedy this jail was the scene of torture and horror that equalled the worst days of the Spanish inquisition.

"How did you know he was in this line of men?" demanded Vanderveer. "How were you able to pick him out so quickly? You never looked at the other end of the line at all. How did you know that he was there at all?"

Vanderveer fired all this at her at once. The girl was nervous, hesitant in her replies, as indeed she was throughout the whole cross examination by the counsel for the defense.

Elsie Hornbeck looked hopelessly at Special Prosecutor Abel.

"He looks more like the man I saw in the window than any of the rest," she said in answer to Vanderveer's question.

"Knowing that it is a matter of a man's life or his death," said Vanderveer, "still you say under oath that Eugene Barnett is the man you saw in the Avalon window?"

Elsie Hornbeck lowered her eyes. She was breathing heavily and was a pitiful figure. Her eyes lifted and turned toward Abel.

"Look at me!" thundered Vanderveer. "Answer my question. Will you swear that Barnett is the man?"

"Yes."

Then Vanderveer by skillful questioning brought out the fact that she had been visited several times by persons in behalf of the prosecution; once it was an American Legion man.

"Were you ever shown a photograph of Barnett?" Vanderveer demanded.

"Yes." Presently she admitted she had seen two photographs.

"And when I asked you if you had ever seen Barnett since three months ago you answered no," said Vanderveer. "Look at

Barnett," he commanded. She obeyed. "Is he thin faced?"

"Well, his face isn't fat," she said.

Barnett's face is actually full; no one with good eyesight would ever describe him as thin faced. Elsie Hornbeck said that the first photograph of Barnett was brought to her by the American Legion man; the second, apparently a duplicate of the first, was shown her by Frank Christiansen from the state attorney general's office. Christiansen was one of the special prosecutors.

The girl left the stand in an almost fainting condition.

ANOTHER "IDENTIFICATION"

The thing that "identified" Barnett was not his physiognomy but his seat in the courtroom. Barnett was not thin faced, as Elsie Hornbeck had testified. His face is full and oval in shape as all photographs of him reveal, both on November 11th and during the trial. This is plain even in the picture taken of him after he had been in the hands of the mob for three days.

It is evident that the prosecution "schooled" this witness. But how was it done? The courtroom was connected with the corridor where the witnesses were held by means of a door with glass panels. Witnesses were seen to be observing the defendants on their straight backed bench frequently during the early days of the trial. Perhaps this fact throws some light on the subject.

Charles Briffett was a Port Angeles man. He claimed to have been in Centralia on Armistice Day. He said he had seen Barnett leave the alley at the rear of the Avalon hotel cramming cartridges into his rifle—a 38-55 calibre. Briffett was also very prompt in making the identification of Eugene Barnett, stating promptly that Barnett was the third defendant from the end of the row. Barnett was the third from the end. The marvel of it was how witnesses could identify him without hardly looking in his direction. Briffett did not know Barnett by sight. It had been months since he had seen the man with the rifle, and then only for a brief instant and during a moment of intense excitement. But Briffett was positive. Subsequently he was appointed by Governor Hart to the soft job of being superintendent of the Boys' Industrial School at Chehalis.

ELKS CLUB, CENTRALIA

It was here that the Centralia conspiracy was hatched and the "secret committee" appointed to arrange for the raid.

THE PROSECUTION FAILS TO IDENTIFY!

Two strikes on the defense! Attorney Vanderveer was "grooved," but he kept on smiling.

Leila Tripp was the third of these extraordinary witnesses. She mounted the witness chair with considerable assurance. The prosecutors were smiling broadly. Vanderveer's face went grim for a moment. Then he smiled again. Leila Tripp was telling the prosecutors about the man she had seen on Armistice Day. The usual "identification" was about to be asked for. It was 10:25—just a few minutes before the recess time. Vanderveer had been careful to stand between the witness and the defendants all the while Leila was on the stand. Now he asked the judge for a recess. It was granted. Grouping the defendants about him with their backs to Leila and the prosecutors, Vanderveer went into consultation. The faces of the group could not be seen by anyone excepting members of their own circle. Court reconvened and the defendants resumed their seats. Leila's face still beamed with self assurance but the faces of the prosecutors registered dismay. The defendants had changed places with one another!

Prosecutor Abel did not ask Leila Tripp to pick out the man she had seen. Instead he resorted to another trick.

"Eugene Barnett, stand up," he commanded sharply.

"Oh, no!" snapped Vanderveer, "I object to any more of this kind of stuff."

Judge Wilson sustained the objection. Leila didn't make her identification.

Then Vanderveer started a cross examination that was grilling. The girl admitted that she was excited when she saw the man in the alley and that she really didn't get a good look at him. She wasn't sure enough in her memory, she said, to be able to pick out the man from among the defendants. She also admitted that Prosecutor Frank Christiansen had discussed the case with her before she went on the witness stand.

As day after day of such evidence was submitted, almost everyone around the courtroom became weary—some disgusted. The prosecutors seemed chagrined, the defendants jubilant, the judge slightly bored. The framework of the lumber trust's case seemed tottering. Then a really heroic move was made. Everyone was surprised one morning to find a troop of U. S. regulars encamped on the courthouse lawn. There had been no trouble in town and none was anticipated. But the soldiers were there. And oh, what a touch of stern and sinister color they added to the surroundings. And just at the time the prosecution had made itself ridiculous in the eyes of all.

Judge Wilson was as surprised as everybody else when he saw the white tents on the green lawn. Vanderveer asked his Honor if his Honor had sent for the soldiers. His Honor denied it and said there was no excuse for their being there. The commanding officer, Captain Carling, 35th Inf. U. S. A., was asked. "Orders from Governor Hart," was all he would say. Finally Prosecutor Allen admitted that he had sent for the soldiers. Just how the prosecutor got the authority to send for troops over the head of the trial judge and all the rest was never made plain. Nor did Allen ever give reasons, plausible or otherwise, for having taken this step. Judge Wilson, prodded by Attorney Vanderveer, weakly protested against the offensive move but finally gave in. In about two days he reversed himself again, saying the troops might remain and that they were needed. What the troops were needed for Judge Wilson didn't say. But everyone knew that the soldiers were needed for only one purpose; to create atmosphere that would induce the state of mind on the part of the jury to convict regardless of the evidence.

Coincidental with the arrival of the troops an alarming rumor—without foundation of any sort—was whispered about the courtroom by the agents of the lumber trust: "Thousands of I. W. W.'s are gathering in the hills about Montesano. A jail delivery is feared. The courthouse must be protected." Newspapermen laughed when they heard the rumor. But the jury also heard it. One of the jurors had gone to the window for a moment. He saw the soldiers and turned pale. "My God!" he cried to another at his side, "they are here to keep us from getting shot."

THE MYSTERY OF BARNETT'S "RIFLE"

James T. McAllister and his wife, proprietors of the Roderick hotel, swore that Eugene Barnett was in the office of their hotel when the raid took place. They also swore that he was unarmed. The prosecution claimed that Barnett had participated in the shooting and afterward had secreted a 38-55 rifle near a sign-board and then went home. Prosecutor Cunningham and the man who owns the billboard rights for the city of Centralia are the joint creators of this fable. The billboard man was the prosecution witness. He claimed he had found a rifle near a bill board. It was just the kind of a gun the prosecution needed for its case. The prosecution lawyers attempted to prove that Barnett had thrown it there together with some shells in order to rid himself of incriminating evidence. The witness was describing quite dramatically how he had discovered the rifle and had just come to the place where he was telling how he walked along the street looking for someone in authority to turn it over. At this point Cunningham turned away from the witness and with Vanderveer was examining the gun, thus leaving the witness without a pilot to guide him over the dangerous sea of prevarication. The witness kept talking and told how he was going down the street in Centralia when he met Cunningham. This gentleman stopped him and said, "Why I have been looking all over for that gun, it is number so-and-so; where did you find it?" The witness was surprised that Cunningham should know the number of the gun, looked . . . and sure enough, the number was just as Cunningham had stated!

Vanderveer took advantage of this lead at once, driving home in cross examination the point that Cunningham had planted the rifle a short time previously and was waiting for someone to come along and find it. The position of the bill board bears this out as it is situated only half a block from a school house where hundreds of chil-

CITY PARK, CENTRALIA

At this place the parade assembled that started out to raid the union hall and lynch its secretary.

dren romp and play daily. The billboard is not secluded in any way and would be the last place in the world where a man would ditch a gun who wanted it to stay ditched. The gun is supposed to have been found two weeks after Barnett had placed it there. New bills had been posted in the meantime, but the prosecution did not see fit to bring on as witnesses the two billposters who stuck up the bills.

A great many witnesses testified as to the doings of Eugene Barnett on Armistice Day. In fact a perfect alibi was proved in court from the time he rode into town on his horse until he rode home again. The trial records prove that Barnett's alibi remained unshaken.

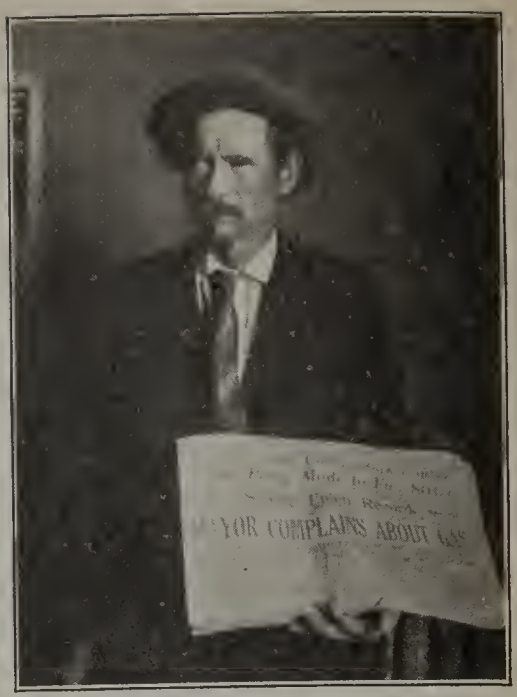
BARNETT'S UNSHAKEN ALIBI

Eugene Barnett's own statement as to his whereabouts on Armistice Day is significant in connection with his testimony given under oath by persons who saw him that day. The prosecution has yet to show that Eugene Barnett's story is anything but true. This is what Barnett actually did on the 11th of November: Barnett had taken up a little homestead on a hillside in Idaho. He had lived there for some time and had almost proved up on his claim. He left Idaho for Washington in order to make a little money with which to continue operations. A short time before Armistice Day he had received a letter from the Land Office in Idaho telling him it would be necessary for him to return to the homestead and live there another year. On Armistice Day, at eleven o'clock in the morning Barnett started for Centralia. He had written in reply to the letter from the Land Office and wished to make the necessary affidavit before a notary. Elmer Smith was the man he wished to see. He felt sure of finding him in. Mrs. Barnett had been asked to come along for the holiday but she felt disinclined. And so Bar-

RAY BECKER
From photograph taken after the night of horrors.

nett threw the saddle on his horse and started for Centralia. He took with him a pound candy box filled with geranium slips which Mrs. Barnett wished to send to her mother in Cottonwood, Idaho. He rode up to the City park between twelve and one o'clock.

He tied his horse and walked over to the postoffice but found it closed and so he proceeded at once to the law office of Elmer Smith. The attorney was at lunch but a notice said he would return shortly. He decided to go to the union hall to read a paper while waiting for Smith to return. Barnett was anxious to transact his business and start on the return. He had told his wife he would be home early.



BLIND TOM LASSITER

Tom Lassiter is the blind news dealer who was kidnaped and deported out of town in June, 1919, by a gang of business men. His stand was raided and the contents burned in the street. He had been selling The Seattle Union Record, The Industrial Worker and Solidarity. County Attorney Allen said he couldn't help to apprehend the criminals and would only charge them with third degree assault if they were found. The fine would be one dollar and costs! Lassiter was later thrown into jail in Chehalis charged with "criminal syndicalism."

Inside the hall were five or six men all but one of whom (the secretary) were unknown to him. There was some talk of the raid on the old union hall that took place in 1918 and some talk of the possibility of a new raid. None of the speakers however expressed the belief that the raid would actually take place in broad daylight. Barnett shared this belief. He read his paper for a while and then started back to meet Attorney Smith at the law office. He had just left the door of the union hall when he saw Elmer Smith in front of the Roderick Hotel. Barnett spoke to him about fixing up the papers for the Land Office. Smith said he would be back at his office in about half an hour. Barnett agreed to meet him there at the specified time.

Just at this moment Barnett saw his old friend Mr. McAllister, proprietor of the Roderick hotel. Barnett knew McAllister well, having once worked for him. They went indoors. Mrs. McAllister came in and started to prepare dinner. The hotel proprietor, Barnett, and another man sat there chatting until the parade started to pass. They discussed the raid on the old hall and the possibility of a new raid. Here, as in the union hall next door, the opinion prevailed that a mob would

not be bold enough to raid a peaceable hall in the daytime.

As the parade passed the window Barnett stood up to watch the marching men. The line went north one block on the east side of the street, then about faced and returned, marching south on the west side of the street. The section of the parade composed of business men was now in front of the union hall. These gentlemen seemed to be calling the attention of the men in uniform to the men in the hall, some of them pointing; some putting their thumbs to their noses and making faces. The raid itself can best be described in Barnett's own words:

HOW THE RAID LOOKED

"There was an undercurrent of excitement among them that an onlooker could not fail to notice. By this time I had a feeling that something was going to happen. When the soldiers came back the east half of the parade stopped in front of the hall. A man on a brown horse gave the order: 'Bunch up, men!' Then he rode on towards the rear of the line. I could hear him still giving orders but could not understand them. I noticed one man in what I took to be the front line of the soldiers who had stopped. This fellow had turned around and stood facing the hall in a crouching position. His attitude reminded me of a ball player on second base waiting for a hit in order to start for the home plate. Every time the man on horseback gave an order he would make a false start. Then I heard a yell and they all appeared to be rushing for the hall door in a body. I pulled off my coat and started for the door determined to take my beating with the rest of the boys. But before I got to the door I heard windows being smashed and the door slamming against something. Then the shooting started from the interior of the hall. I walked back to the sewing machine where I had thrown my coat and

DEFENSE ATTORNEY, GEORGE VANDERVEER

The "Fighting Lawyer" arrives from the east to take up the defense of the intended victims of the Armistice Day mob.

stood there. The stranger walked out the front door and I thought I had better be getting out too. I had my I. W. W. card in the pocket of my coat, so I put on my mackinaw and told Mr. McAllister to put coat, card and all back of his counter. I walked down to Second Street, crossed it, and walked west till I came to the alley. A crowd of people had assembled here. They seemed to be leading men down the alley from the direction of the hall. I walked to the southeast corner of Second and Tower and stood there watching the mob carry out benches, etc., from the hall. These they piled on a fire in the street. Two men brought out a box of literature from the hall. A man met them on the street and took box, papers and all. I started up town to get my horse.

SHERIFF JOHN BARRY
Lewis County.

ON THE WAY HOME

"On the way I met a men named Hand. I had heard he didn't like wobblies so I wouldn't talk much with him. A little further on I met a coal miner, Charles Roy. He asked me what was going on and I said, 'Oh, the soldiers raided the hall and some of them got shot.' Some distance further I saw a mob around a man near a telegraph pole. I thought they were going to tie him to the pole and beat him.

"I went back to Tower Avenue and continued on south to Main Street. Here I met a man I knew, Alex Sigurdson, a miner. When I got to Main Street I thought about my land papers and remembered that they were in my coat pocket together with my union card. I stopped awhile at Gabel's store and got my package of geranium slips weighed and stamped. I took it to the postoffice. Then I went around the corner to where my horse was. I got on the horse and started for home. When I reached Third and Tower I noticed that the mob had gone, so I thought I would go in and get my coat. I was afraid the mob might return to burn down the building and I would lose my land papers.

"I found Mr. McAllister in the back room patching up a door

that had been smashed by the mob. He said: 'It was no use to say anything and get killed.' I got my coat, put the union card in my sock and went out. On the way back to my horse I heard a boy about twelve years old telling a bunch of kids how he had climbed a telegraph pole with the end of a rope to hang a wobbly. He said a woman had stopped him. I met an acquaintance named Arrowsmith. As I talked with him I led my horse to the middle of the street and put on my chaps. An automobile passed. A fellow on the running board shouted, 'We've got two more of the ———s.' In the car were John Lamb and his son, Dewey.

BY THIS TIME IT WAS DARK

"I walked my horse most of the way home. About three miles out a young fellow named Johnson caught up with me. He was on horseback. I told him about the trouble. Next I met a farmer named Jones. He was standing in front of his house. I told him about the trouble. He remarked that he had a nephew in the Legion. I learned since that it was this nephew who showed his fist to a coal miner after he had hit Wesley Everest in the face while three men were holding him with a rope around his neck. Jones afterwards got on the witness stand and swore point blank to lies.

"When I got home I turned my horse loose, thinking I would get someone to take me back to town in a car. I felt I should go back to try to help the boys in jail or to keep them from all being lynched. I asked my wife to get my rifle. I went to a neighbor to see if he would take me, but he was not at home. My wife begged me not to go. By this time it was dark."

MANY WITNESSES SAW BARNETT

Many witnesses testified as to the whereabouts of Eugene Barnett on Armistice Day. The truthfulness of his alibi was established beyond question. Because of Barnett's rather unusual appearance his actions were observed from the time he left his little home in Kopiah until his return. Barnett rode to town in chaps and cowboy hat and mackinaw which he had brought with him from his ranch in Idaho. These probably served him in lieu of a Sunday suit. Because of his custom of riding to town in his western outfit he was a familiar figure in the neighborhood. Then, too, there were many around Centralia who knew him personally.

C. E. Roy, for instance, a young fellow with whom Barnett had worked, testified as follows:

"I know 'Gene Barnett. I remember Armistice Day. I have known Barnett a little over three months. I met him at the Monarch mines. I saw him on November 11th just before he crossed the viaduct going into town. I was at the house. It is half a block from the main road, just half a block from the viaduct. He did not have any gun, packages, grips, suitcases or anything of that character in which a gun could be carried that I noticed. I saw him going out of town round about three or four o'clock. I was in front of the Pastime Pool Room right in the main part of town. He was going up the street on horseback, riding north."

This boy's mother, Alma Roy, also testified in behalf of the defense:

"I know 'Gene Barnett. I never was personally acquainted with him but knew him when I saw him. On the day of the Armistice Day parade I was sitting at my dining room window. He was going down the street at the next corner. He had come from towards Kopiah and rode over the viaduct, riding a horse. I believe the street is Marion Street. I watched him going over the viaduct. My son and I had a discussion about it. My son told me a little while before that that he was going to borrow some of Barnett's cowboy togs. He had on cowboy chaps, and what I call a cowboy hat. He didn't have any rifle that I saw. I didn't see any rifle—nothing at all."

John Mayhar, a schoolboy, also saw Barnett:

"I remember Armistice Day. I know 'Gene Barnett. I have known him since he lived up behind our place in the white house. He used to live up behind our place, about half a block away. I saw him on that day because I got out of school early. He was crossing the viaduct on his horse. He was coming from Centralia. He had a big felt hat on and chaps. He did not have any gun. I didn't see any packages. I watched him until he got to a couple of houses and didn't see him any more. The viaduct is on Marion Street. Then he started east on Marion Street. I did not see him until he passed the store. I watched him until he got up to the corner. He did not ride very fast. I have seen him ride on other days. He was riding kind of slow."

Edwin Ayers testified as follows:

"I remember Armistice Day. I saw Barnett that day. My uncle and I went hunting. It commenced to rain about two o'clock. When it rained we were up the Eastern track about

two miles, so we came back. Saw Eugene Barnett by Puvis' store about half past three or a quarter after. He was riding up toward Kopiah. He was on horseback in black chaps. I think he had on a brown hat. He didn't have any gun. He did not have anything in which a gun could be carried. His horse was walking."

"HE DID NOT DO ANY SHOOTING"

J. T. McAllister, proprietor of the Roderick Hotel, had the following to say about the incident of the hotel office:

"I know 'Gene Barnett. He used to stop with me when I was in Chehalis. He boarded with me about two months. That was in 1912. I remember Armistice Day. I was in the office in the lobby of the hotel. My wife was there and Mr. Barnett sat there in a chair. There was another gentleman, a stranger that I didn't know. He was sitting there watching the parade. Mr. Barnett was in there at the time the parade passed. I suppose about an hour and a half. He remained there until they started

THE FUNERAL OF THE MOB LEADER

Main Street turned out en masse to honor its favorite son Warren O. Grimm, who fell while trying to give the Wobblies what was coming to them.

THE BURIAL OF THE MOB'S VICTIM

No undertaker would handle Everest's body. The autopsy was performed by a man from Portland, who hung the body up by the heels and played a hose on it. The men lowering the plank casket into the grave are union loggers who had been caught in the police drag-net and taken from jail for this purpose.

to tear the posts out from under the porch. He got out and he said: 'I had better get out of here or I can't get out.' Barnett didn't have any gun that I saw. He did not do any shooting. He sat there; he never moved."

McAllister had been browbeaten and intimidated by the prosecution until he was a nervous wreck before going on the witness stand. In re-direct examination by Attorney Vanderveer he stated about certain statements he had made before the inquisition:

"I told them I didn't want to be dragged into it, because I kept out of everything. I didn't tell them because I did not want to be mixed up in it. My wife was down in the jail. I was not in jail; they didn't put me there; they just took me down and let me go home. My place was all broken up. I didn't see anything going on outside the hall. I was not there long enough to see all of it when it started."

MRS. McALLISTER SPEAKS

Mrs. Mary McAllister, wife of the proprietor, and the real executive of the tiny hotel showed more nerve on the witness stand. She testified in part as follows:

"My name is Mary McAllister. I am nearly forty-nine. I

live at No. 805 North Tower, Centralia. That is the Roderick Hotel. My husband and I are the owners. Have owned and lived there nearly four years. Rented the hall known as the I. W. W. hall to Britt Smith. Gave him a written lease. The boys conducted themselves quietly and nicely. Was in the house all day of the parade. In the hotel office while the parade was passing were my husband and I and 'Gene Barnett, and another man. Have known him nearly eight years. He used to chum with one of my boarders. He was boarding with me part of the time. 'Gene went away before the porch was pulled down. He didn't have any gun. He didn't do any shooting. He was sitting behind the heating stove facing the other young man—sitting there and talking. Just before the porch was pulled down he came and stood behind me and said: 'I will have to be getting out of here for if this thing comes down I won't be able to get out at all.' Some Legion boys came in, maybe half a dozen. I said to the soldier boys: 'We all were here before the parade came up.' The soldier boys marched up to the corner and then came back, up to the corner of Third. The band kept on and the citizens kept on and the boy scouts and there was no one left except part of the soldiers. Part of them went on. A man on horseback blowed a whistle and then they all stopped and he told them to step out and close up ranks. They were all stretched out along a block or so. They stopped and talked among themselves and some laughed and some talked. Some of the men walked on our sidewalk and walked backwards and forwards, and I was looking for them to go on. And then somebody said something and the boys started to rush the hall. There were two men started to rush the I. W. W. hall. As near as I could tell there was only two of them got to the hall. I don't know exactly what they did but

MIKE SHEEHAN

Born in Ireland. 64 years old. Has been a union man for over fifty years, having joined his grandfather's union when he was only eight. Has been through many strikes and has been repeatedly black-hated, beaten and even exiled. He was a stoker in the Navy during the Spanish War. Mike Sheehan was arrested in the union hall, went through the horrible experience in the city jail and was found "not guilty" by the jury. Like Elmer Smith, he was re-arrested on another similar charge and thrown back to jail.

I heard a noise like a kick or a hit or something, and some glass shattered and then in a little while the shots rang out. The shots were from the hall. There were several men started for the I. W. W. hall but two men got there. I know two men got there because I heard a terrible crash. I seen them jump back."

COURT HOUSE AT MONTESANO—AND A LITTLE "ATMOSPHERE"

The trial was held on the third floor of the building as you look at the picture. The soldiers were sent for over the head of the judge by one of the lumber trust attorneys for the prosecution. Their only purpose was to create the proper "atmosphere" for an unjust conviction.

"NO SIR, NOT UNTIL THEY HIT THERE!"

The prosecution tried to trap Mrs. McAllister into admitting that the shooting started before the rush on the hall. This was a few days after her arrest on November 15th, during the time of the inquisition. The argument was about a statement Mrs. McAllister is alleged to have made to Prosecutor Cunningham to the effect that "the shooting started just as soon as they started to run for it." Prosecutor Abel was pressing the point, but Mrs. McAllister replied: "I didn't say it that way, that the shooting started just as soon as they started to run for it. There were so many in there crowding and they had me scared to death and I don't know what I put down. They may have understood it that way. The shooting did not start as soon as the persons started. No, sir, not until they hit there; then the shooting started."

Mrs. McAllister was an important witness. She knew where Barnett was on November 11th and was the kind of woman who could be relied upon to tell the truth. The prosecution didn't want Barnett in the Roderick hotel; they wanted him in the Avalon firing the 38-55 rifle which killed Warren O. Grimm. Mrs. McAllister was taken prisoner by some of the far-seeing members of the mob that wrecked the I. W. W. hall. She was spirited away to the county jail in Chehalis and held there incommunicado for 22 days. No charge was ever brought against

her. She was simply kept isolated in a rat-infested jail and "questioned" repeatedly. But her spirit was not broken. She still had the pluck and grit to get up on the witness stand and tear to tatters the prosecution's absurd charge against Eugene Barnett.

Barnett was seen less than fifteen minutes after he left the Roderick hotel by a man named Hand who runs a second hand store. Hand is a member of the Dunkard Church. He said:

"I have known 'Gene Barnett about a year; saw him that afternoon when I went down to the bakery for my lunch, a little after noon—I guess about ten or fifteen minutes after the shooting. We walked together about a block and a half, and then I went into the bakery. I know the location of the viaduct which leads over from the main part of Centralia. I do not know as I ever saw a billboard about a quarter of a mile north of the east end of the viaduct. I do not think Barnett could have walked up there and walked to the point where I saw him after the shooting. I saw part of the parade. Was out in front of my store on the sidewalk. I saw the men break and rush back down Tower Avenue. As near as I can recollect it was ten or fifteen minutes after that Barnett came along. I went back into the store and built a fire to put on my coffee. I was crying about the trouble."

MEN WHO SAW BARNETT

Alex Sigurdson, mentioned in Barnett's testimony, testified on the witness stand as follows:

"I saw the parade passing down Tower Avenue and I stood there until the parade came back, and just as the parade passed there was an automobile coming up with two soldiers on and they hollered that there was four soldiers shot at the I. W. W. hall. The crowd got a little excited then. They started to go north and I crossed the street from where I stood. While walking north I met 'Gene Barnett. It couldn't be more than five minutes after the shooting. Where I met Barnett that day I stood across the street from the Oliver Hardware Store, just two buildings below the state bank."

Charles Fisher, a coal miner, saw Barnett on the way home. This is what Fisher had to say:

"I saw Barnett on the 11th of last November. He was speaking to J. D. Jones as I came by, about three and one-half miles out of town on the road to Kopiah. Jones is a farmer up there. I knew him by sight. I was in an automobile driving from the

mine into town. I believe he (Barnett) was standing alongside his horse. I didn't notice that he had a gun, not carrying anything that I noticed. I didn't notice anything unusual about his horse. It was between four and five o'clock that I saw him talking to Jones."

"HE DIDN'T HAVE A GUN"

Aaron Johnson testified about Barnett's homeward trip:

"I know Eugene Barnett. I worked with him in the mine. I belong to the union. I saw him on Armistice Day between four and five o'clock, about three miles from town riding along on his horse going east toward Kopiah. I was going to get our mail. I rode alongside of Barnett for about a quarter of a mile. He didn't have a gun. He didn't have anything in his hands."

Graham Robinson testified about passing Barnett and noticing the condition of his horse:

"I didn't notice anything unusual about Barnett's appearance. He was going very slow where we were going because the road was bad. His horse was not overheated that I noticed. It was about five o'clock in the evening."

Even the testimony of Jones, the farmer who had a nephew in the Legion, was far from being damaging:

NEWSPAPER MEN AND WOMAN

Covering famous labor trial at Montesano for the press of the world.

"My name is Jones. I live four and one-half miles from Centralia. That is on the Kopiah road. I know Gene Barnett when I see him. Saw him on November 11th about four o'clock. He was riding horseback going towards Kopiah. Talked with him ten minutes, I guess. I never seen any rifle. He didn't have any package in which a rifle might have been concealed. Saw him approaching some distance before he stopped to talk to me. When he came up he was riding quite fast, and after he came around the turn he slowed up, and when he got by me his horse was walking. I never paid any attention to the condition of his horse."

"DID ELSIE HORNBECK LIE?"

The testimony of Cecil Arrowsmith was doubly valuable. This young man not only knew Barnett and saw him on Armistice Day, but he also saw the man whom Elsie Hornback, the garage bookkeeper, claimed was Barnett in the window of the Avalon hotel. This, in part, is what Arrowsmith said on the witness stand:

"I was in front of the North End garage; right in front of the main door on the sidewalk, pretty near up alongside of the building, and close to the building itself. I was in the garage about fifteen or twenty minutes and came out, stood at the front. At the time of the shooting I was right in front of the garage. I remained there for a short time. I saw Elsie Hornbeck come out of the garage. Previous to that time I had noticed a man in the Avalon hotel window. He was looking all around. I have good eyesight. I know Gene Barnett. I have known him five or six months. It was not Gene Barnett that I saw. From there I walked down past the Wobbly hall. I watched the fire there. They had a fire in front of the hall. They were burning up some benches and stuff. They were tearing the windows out, busting the front of it, burning it up, what they could get down. The porch came down. They let that down over the windows. From there I went down until I came to the Queen. There I met Barnett. He was getting on his horse. We spoke. He went down to his horse at the woodshed behind the Queen. He put his chaps on and got on his horse and went off home."

ORIGINAL ELEVEN CENTRALIA DEFENDANTS

This picture was taken during trial. Reading from left to right (top row): Loren Roberts, James McInerney, Britt Smith, O. C. Bland, Bert Faulkner, Ray Becker. Bottom row: Mike Sheehan, John Lamb, Eugene Barnett, Bert Bland, Elmer Smith. Faulkner was dropped from the case. Sheehan and Smith were found not guilty.

BARNETT'S WIFE TESTIFIES

Mrs. Eugene Barnett testified as to her husband's whereabouts. Her testimony, because of its obvious truthfulness, was extraordinarily impressive:

"I am the wife of the defendant Eugene Barnett. I live at Kopiah. I formerly lived in Cottonwood, Idaho. I recall November 11th, last. I don't know the exact time Gene left to go to town. It was perhaps nine or ten o'clock. He went down on horseback. He wanted to hitch up the rig—the buggy—and take me with him. He said he wanted me to go to town with him. I didn't have the baby's clothes ready. I sent some slips from geraniums to my mother, some that I had raised and cut myself. I put them in a candy box. He carried it in his pocket. He had on his soft hat and brown coat, a mackinaw over it, and his chaps. Gene had some land papers to see about that day in Centralia. I have had them attended to since then. When he returned I got them out of his coat pocket—his brown coat. Plaintiff's exhibit 'I' is Gene's rifle. He did not take that with

him on that day. It was in the bedroom. He hunts every idle day when he don't work. He had three hunting dogs. He did not take any weapon with him when he went to town that day, because that is the only weapon we have. I saw him return that evening right after I lit the lamp, possibly six or somewhere around there. I did not know anything about the trouble that had occurred. 'Gene said they raided the hall and four of them was shot. He said he was in the Roderick hotel. He told me he wanted to go back to town to see they didn't hang those men they had in jail. He wanted to take his rifle with him. I wouldn't let him. He said he came out to get his gun to go back and protect those fellows. There was no use to go back. He wanted to go right back to town. He was not afraid to go. He came ten miles to get his gun and go back. I persuaded him not to go to town. I think he needed persuasion. The next morning he wanted to go to town again and I again persuaded him not to go. I did not know that the authorities wanted him; he did not. He took to the woods just because they were getting everybody that had a red card. At the time some people came to arrest him Gene was feeding his dogs in the back yard. He saw them coming. He and I had talked about what he should do when he saw these people coming. He left, took his rifle, went back of the house on the hill. I saw him until he crossed the creek. He was in the brush after that. Don't know what point he went to on the hill. The timber is just close."

SMOKE AND FLAME?

The prosecution was not content to try to prove that a rifle was fired by Eugene Barnett from the window of the Avalon; they also sought to prove that flame and smoke burst from the barrel of the rifle when it was fired. This was the realistic touch, born of a perfervid imagination which was manufactured to convince the unwary. Unfortunately for its case the prosecution overdid it. Tests were made on different occasions and with different rifles, but never did the gun belch flame and smoke. Altogether six witnesses, some of them experts, all with good eyesight, testified after these tests. Robert Hudson, Basil Carmichael, Walter Blanchard, Joseph Smith, Frank Nehring, Sheriff Bartell and J. F. Emigh were the men who made the experiments. The latter's testimony gives an idea of the result:

"My name is J. F. Emigh. I was in the United States army during the war. I am a member of the American Legion. I was present at a test made this noon. State's Exhibit 'N' was used.

The shells were taken by the clerk and given to me, taken from a box which belonged to the exhibits here. When the test was made I was standing about sixty-five feet from the gun. I had a background building painted dark red, the darkest background I could find for the man who fired the gun. The other people were standing on the opposite side about the same distance from the gun. The other people were Mr. Smith and the sheriff of this county, Mr. Bartell. I could see no flame at all shoot out."

The evidence submitted above was substantiated by another actual test made on the scene at the hotel Avalon. Mr. F. H. Fisher visited this spot with a cameraman. The photographs were in evidence as was Mr. Fisher's testimony:

"My eyesight is very good. Been in railway service about nine years. There is in that service a very strict examination of eyes. There were two men inside the North End garage. One of these had a man take a designated position in the south window of Hotel Avalon, the second story. You could see the fellow that had hold of the rifle. I knew the boy. It was Tommy Hughes. Had known him and seen him pretty nearly every day for about two months. I stood in the North End garage—about six feet from the door. I could not recognize him in that window from where I stood. I could not tell whether the gun barrel was r o u n d or octagonal. I also assumed a position somewhere near Ax Billy's corner. We could just see the gun and the face of the man who had hold of it. But I couldn't tell that I knew exactly who it was. It was a nice bright day."

CAPTAIN CARLING
35th Infantry, U. S. A. at Montesano.

G. E. Thurber, who was also present when the tests were made, testified similarly. This straight-from-the-shoulder testimony hurt the evidence of Leila Tripp, Elsie Hornbeck and the other prosecution witnesses tremendously. The absurdity of the charge against Eugene Barnett was patent to everyone in the courtroom—even to the capitalist newspaper reporters.

JAMES McINERNEY

Logger. Born in County Clare, Ireland. Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1916. Was wounded on the steamer "Verona" when the lumber trust tried to exterminate the union lumberworkers with bullets at Everett, Washington. McInerney was one of those trapped in the Centralia hall. While in the jail his neck was worn raw with a hangman's rope in an effort to make him "confess" that the loggers and not the mob had started the trouble. McInerney told them to "go to hell." He is Irish and an I. W. W. and proud of being both.

A CONVENIENT SIGNBOARD

The signboard where Barnett is supposed to have hidden the rifle suffered even worse. The man who was sawing wood near the signboard on Armistice Day gave the coup de grace to this fine little piece of imaginative fiction. He said:

"My name is C. W. Green. I am sixty-two. I know where the signboard is. It is on our place. On the afternoon of Armistice Day I was sawing wood, back next to the railroad near this sign, forty feet from it. I was there about four hours, leaving at 4:30. The character of the ground—there is very little brush—short brush. There was no brush at the place the rifle was found. There was no woods or growing brush, none four feet high or anything between me and the signboard to obstruct my view of the signboard. While I was at work there I didn't see anybody go near the signboard to hide a rifle. I saw quite a few men walk up the railroad track that afternoon. While I was sawing wood I don't think anyone slipped that gun under the signboard. They could not have done it without me seeing them."

"THEY CARRIED ROPES"

The prosecution had a dreadfully hard time trying to cover up the fact that ropes were carried in the parade. The evidence was all against them. Prosecutor Abel finally conceded that rope was carried and offered the feeble plea that it was to be used for the purpose of "leading a calf." This is about as profound a remark as Abel made during the trial. Everyone in Centralia now knows the truth. This is what a few of the witnesses had to say about the ropes being carried in the parade:

Mrs. T. W. Siddle testified as follows: "I was on Tower

JAMES McINERNEY
(After he had undergone the "third degree.")

McInerney had a rope around his neck nearly all night before this picture was taken. One end of the rope had been pulled taut over a beam by the tormentors. McInerney had told them to "go to hell." "It's no use trying to get anything out of a man like that," was the final decision of the inquisitors.

avenue. The parade passed me twice. I saw T. H. McCleary and Reverend Thompson carrying ropes. It was in the business men's section."

Mrs. Nelson Hiatt said: "I was standing right in front of Mr. Crossit's dry goods store. Saw people in the parade carrying ropes. I saw T. H. McCleary."

Serena N. Armengrout also saw a rope carried: "I have lived in Centralia on and off for the last fourteen years. I saw the parade. T. H. McCleary was carrying a rope."

Mrs. Maggie Stockdale and several others saw the ropes. Mrs. Nettie Pierce declared that others besides Postmaster McCleary and the Reverend Thompson carried "wobbly neckties":

"I was on the corner of Main and Tower. I saw persons carrying ropes, two men. They were in the rear of the parade. The men who carried the ropes were in uniform. They had them coiled in their hands. I suppose they were about a half-inch rope. I wouldn't swear to one. The other was Mr. McCleary. There was possibly twelve feet or more of rope."

Wesley Everest, it will be recalled, was murdered with ropes that answer to the above description. McCleary testified that he picked up "an old piece of rope" and used it in a playful tug-of-war with other paraders.

AT THE DOOR OF THE HALL

The door of the I. W. W. hall was for a long time the storm center of the legal battle at Montesano. The question: "Who was the aggressor?" could only be settled at this point. The prosecution sought to keep the legionaires as far away from this door as possible. They endeavored by all means fair and foul to keep Grimm and McElfresh away from that door. But it was

a hard job. This is what some of the eyewitnesses stated on the subject:

Mrs. May Sherman stated on the witness stand, "I heard they were going to raid the I. W. W. hall. That is why I was there."

This is what Mrs. Sherman saw:

"I was right by the office of the Roderick hotel. I seen them make a break for the hall. I would judge about five of them. They smashed in the door. I saw the door smashed in and the glass fly. I heard shooting. I saw somebody that had been shot. I saw a tall heavy-set fellow weighing 200 to 220 pounds. He threw his hands across his stomach. He passed me going down the corner. At the time he passed me he already had his hands doubled over his stomach."

Tom Meaden, a tailor, stated as follows: "Then we heard louder talking—several voices: 'Let's go! Come on, let's get them.' Then some of the parade started towards the side of the street that the hall was on. They went at a sort of a pace. About fifteen or twenty started in that direction, followed by a movement by the rest of the parade. They went toward the I. W. W. hall. I saw them run into the doorway. I heard a noise that sounded like a crash of glass and the breaking of the casing. I saw men who had been wounded."

O. C. BLAND

Logger. American. Resident of Centralia for several years. Has worked in woods and mills practically all his life. Has a wife and seven children. Bland was in the Arnold hotel at the time of the raid. He was armed but had cut his hand on broken glass before he had a chance to shoot. Since his arrest and conviction his family has undergone severe hardships. Friends came to their rescue when the Lewis county supervisors refused to give them the aid to which they were legally entitled.

Walter Morrow was one of the ex-service men and members of the Legion who testified for the defense. After describing the attack on the hall he stated as follows: "When I heard the crash and the shots I turned around and looked towards the hall. I saw several men up there in uniform, and one was by the door. I seen one fellow down by the edge or under the window. Looked to me like he was stooping over there, crouching down there. I saw one soldier with a gun. He was in the

rear of the Elks' parade. He was one of the Chehalis soldiers."

Vernon O'Reilly, a high school lad, testified as follows: "I saw several of the men in the platoons sort of draw together and talk to one another confidentially. I saw several men go towards the street. They approached as nearly as I could locate the I. W. W. hall. I saw about three to begin with. There were several followed them after that—about half a dozen. Some of the men seemed in a hurry, others walked to the sidewalk. I heard the sound of breaking glass and shots immediately followed that. I noticed the breaking glass first. I saw a man apparently wounded in the vicinity of the I. W. W. hall. He appeared to be a large man. I didn't notice about his height, for he was rather doubled up and I could not tell. He had his hands over his stomach and appeared to be reeling forward. He was a heavy-set, broad shouldered man. He was not fat but he was big all over."

"I SAW ONE MAN WOUNDED"

Jay Cooke's testimony is significant on this point also: "They ran up there and they kicked and I heard the glass fall and the wood crack. I heard shooting. I saw one man wounded coming down right next to the curb, thirty-five or forty feet from where I stood. He was coming down this way with both hands over his abdomen."

The effect of John Patterson's testimony on the prosecution was fairly smashing. This is in part what Patterson said:

"The people that I saw rush the hall came out of the parade. I couldn't tell what part of it because I had three children with me. The first thing I knew the glass was flying from the window. I heard the crash of the door. The men were rushing the hall—right in the door—at the time of the crash. There had not been any shots before the door crashed. I knew two was wounded. I saw one man with blood on his arm. He was dressed in a soldier's uniform. When I saw him he was on the sidewalk. The fellow who had the blood was straight in front of the doorway. I should judge about the middle of the sidewalk. I saw them carry one out of the door. He was there in front of the hall. He went down the street south. He was quite a large fellow. He appeared to be wounded in the side. He said, 'Oh God, Oh God!' One of the boys said: 'Are you hit?' and he said, 'Yes, I am shot.' He said: 'You'd better beat it.' I saw two wounded men in front of the hall. One was wounded and one was supposed to be dead. They said he was dead and his

JOHN LAMB

Logger. American. Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917. Lamb was in the Arnold Hotel with O. C. Bland during the raid on the hall. Neither of them did any shooting. John Lamb has lived for years in Centralia. He is married and has five children who are left dependent since the conviction.

name was McElfresh. He was carried out of the doorway."

WHERE WAS McELFRESH?

Further evidence about the whereabouts of McElfresh at the moment of the raid was given by a young man by the name of Forrest Campbell, who viewed the attack from a point directly opposite the I. W. W. hall. Campbell said in part:

"The segment of the parade remained halted there a very short time. Then they broke ranks and ran towards the I. W. W. hall. There was a kind of group seemed to break ranks. There was about two or three close to the door and the rest were after them. They rushed towards the I. W. W. hall running. They ran into the door. I heard the crash of glass. I heard the shots from the hall. There wasn't much of an interval between the crash and the shots. The crash was first. I saw McElfresh near the door. I didn't know at that time who it was. I know now, of course. He was near the I. W. W. door. I think he was one of the first to smash into it, if I remember. I don't know any of the other men who smashed in the door."

ABEL FAILS TO SHAKE WITNESS

Prosecutor Abel tried frantically to break down the damaging testimony of this boy, but without avail. The young man stuck to his point stubbornly. "McElfresh was lying on the ground," Campbell told Abel, "just the way I said it. All I remember is that a man dropped there. I didn't see him drop. I knew he was there. It was general talk that McElfresh was shot at the door. I say the man dropped there. Well, he was lying there. What caused the crash was when they hit the door. . . " Altogether Prosecutor Abel had an uncomfortable time with this witness.

BRITT SMITH

American. Logger. 38 years old. Had followed the woods for twenty years. Smith made his home in the hall that was raided and was secretary of the union. When the mob broke into the jail and seized Wesley Everest to torture and lynch him they cried, "We've got Britt Smith!" Smith was the man they wanted and it was to break his neck that ropes were carried in the "parade." Not until Everest's body was brought back to the city jail was it discovered that the mob had lynched the wrong man.

"OUT DAMNED SPOT!"

Luma Moss, a twelve-year-old girl, added to the discomfiture of the prosecution by testifying about a pool of blood, right near the doorway of the union hall and over half a block from where the lumber trust lawyers wanted Grimm or McElfresh to fall. This is the statement of Luma Moss: "I noticed something on the sidewalk in the vicinity of the I. W. W. hall. I thought it was blood. It was a few feet from the entrance, south—a few feet away from the building. It was perhaps a foot and a half square on the pavement there."

T. W. Siddle, a railway brakeman, saw the blood also. This is what Siddle says about it: "It was about five minutes after we learned of the trouble down there. I saw blood on the sidewalk. There was some blood by the hall right where I stood. Saw a kind of splotch or patch of blood somewhere around ten or twelve inches in diameter."

W. C. Hawkins also testified about blood spots on the sidewalk: "There were splotches of blood around there in different places in front of the I. W. W. hall. The trail of blood started close to the door. It ended about a rod or so from the corner. This line was just a kind of regular drizzle."

After the I. W. W. hall had been properly wrecked, all stains were removed, obviously in order to cover up trace of the crime committed by the mobsters. But it was too late. All they could do was to try to explain it away.

The defendants themselves were on the witness stand for hours. They were grilled and questioned and cross examined unmercifully. The prosecution used its power and prestige lavishly to discredit the unfortunate men and to create further pre-

judice against them. Legal traps without number were laid for them, and all the courtroom tricks of cheap lawyers were used to get the loggers to incriminate themselves. In the face of the hideous charge placed against them and the network of lies and insinuations in which they were entangled by means of manufactured "evidence," it is surprising that they bore up as well as they did. Their testimony would fill a good sized book. Here we can only touch upon it briefly. The testimony of Eugene Barnett, who was charged with having killed Warren O. Grimm, is given elsewhere. James McInerney testified in part as follows:

McINERNEY TESTIFIES

"When the parade went by I was away in the back part of the hall. I didn't watch the first part of the parade. I stood up on a bench when the band was passing and stepped down again to see the parade when it was coming back. I came back and talked with Britt Smith then. He was in the back of the hall about twelve feet from the desk. I told him I didn't think they were going to bother us, because they were coming back. I was talking there to him. I had my back turned for a few seconds and I heard a command from outside, and they made for the hall, and smashed the glass and broke the doors in. Then the shooting started. I turned around and saw the soldiers moving on towards the hall and all the doors were smashing in. I went through the back door to the ice box. I took it off (the gun). I left it in the ice box. I did not shoot it. The shells are in the gun and in the belt as they were when I received it. I had no other shells. When I was taken out of the ice box there was a soldier there who said that I was the man that shot somebody and he wanted to burn me at the stake. He took me out of the jail,

GEORGE VANDERVEER

This man single handed opposed six high-priced lumber trust prosecutors in the famous trial at Montesano. Vanderveer is a man of wide experience and deep social vision. He was at one time prosecuting attorney for King County, Washington. The lumber trust has made countless threats to "get him." "A lawyer with a heart is as dangerous as a workingman with brains."

COURT ROOM IN WHICH THE FARCICAL "TRIAL" TOOK PLACE

This garish room in the court house at Montesano was the scene of the attempted "judicial murder" that followed the lynching. The judge always entered his chambers through the door under the word "Transgression"; the jury always left through the door over which "Instruction" appears. In this room the lumber trust attorneys attempted to build a gallows of perjured testimony on which to break the necks of innocent men.

wanted me to make a statement. Had a rope and took me outside of the jail, and the mob had me, and finally came to a conclusion and took me back in again. I didn't know any of the men in the parade. Had no feeling against them for any reason. I never at any time entered into any conspiracy to injure any of those men or any members of the Legion."

O. C. BLAND TESTIFIES

O. C. (Commodore) Bland told his story in part as follows: "I heard the threatened raid mentioned in conversations about the hall quite a few times. It was general conversation. It was at home that I heard the particulars—my neighbor at home. Henry is the only name I know him by. He lives right adjoining my place on the corner. He told me about it the fourth Sunday before. I had heard it spoken of in general discussion, but this was a real definite word I was depending on. It was the first time I had ever met the man, and it was in the way he told it and the honesty he displayed in telling it I depended on.

"I left the hall on the afternoon of the 11th about forty minutes before the parade came along. I went straight to the Arnold. Lamb went with me. I went up there and emptied the rifle cartridges out on the bureau, set the gun down in the corner and sat down on the bed. The gun was loaded. We were conversing about casual matters until the parade came along. Saw it go

down out of sight and come back pretty soon. All at once this bunch of soldiers got even with the hall. They stopped there and commenced marking time. We had decided there would be no raid on the hall until we saw the soldiers stop there. They had been there possibly three minutes. I heard a loud voice but could not distinguish what was said. The window was closed. I went to the window. I seen two men break and rush for the door and the third followed almost immediately. The lead man hit the door with a rush with his foot, a soldier at the same time. Both doors flew open and the glass fell from the doors. He hadn't any more than hit the door until I had my rifle in my hand, shoved the muzzle of it through the window light. I was down on one knee. I had my hand up near the muzzle of the rifle and run my hand, rifle barrel and all through the window; broke the light with my hand instead of the rifle barrel. I did not shoot.

"When I left the hotel I went straight home. I changed the towel on my hand and tried to get Lamb to pull this flesh back on my hand and he started to faint.

"My haste in getting away was, I couldn't do nothing. Why should I stay and be beat up? I could not do anything because my hand was numb to my side. It was to keep from being beat up and me helpless. I had reason to believe they were after me at my house or wherever I would be. I was threatened in this meeting that was talked of—I in person was threatened. I did not figure that I would be safer down town in a room than in my own home; I figured that my children would be safer—my wife and children. I had no ill will against any of them, and there was no reason I should want to hurt them."

JOHN LAMB TESTIFIES

The following excerpts will give an idea of John Lamb's testimony:

"We went over to get a room, both registered our right names. I would judge it was about one o'clock when we went into the room. Bland took some shells out of his pocket. I hadn't seen his gun until that time. I did not have a gun of any kind. When the parade came along I was sitting in a position where I could see it. I was sitting on the bed near the window. I just watched the parade go by. I watched it until the tail end of the parade got out of sight. I went out in the back room then. Commodore said: 'They are going to raid the hall,' and at that I heard a crash across the street; sounded like two or three had

jammed the door. Then I heard the breaking of glass and the report of shots.

"I don't know how Commodore got the glass out. I know he broke out a glass of the front window and when he turned he said: 'I have hurt my hand.' I saw his hand. It was badly cut. No shots were fired in the room. After he cut his hand he went out the back way. I think he went straight back to the railroad, passing the south side of the shed. I saw that other man with a rifle. He was right close to us when he came out to the railroad. I didn't know him. Don't know now who he was. When I went to that room I was just the same as Commodore. I had been threatened before and was trying to look out for myself—to keep out of the way when the trouble would start up. I didn't know just where it would start up and where it wouldn't. I was there in order to be out of the way. I had no intention of using the rifle or revolver. I was in that room to keep clear from mobs."

BERT BLAND TAKES THE STAND

Bert Bland was one of the men who fired from Seminary hill. Loren Roberts and the missing John Doe Davis were also on the hill. This is a part of what Bert Bland said on the witness stand:

"I was in the hall Tuesday. I heard discussion there about a threatened raid on the hall that day. Most everybody present was discussing the raid. I heard it on the streets, I heard it in the hall and I heard some of it out in the logging camp.

"We only figured on defending our hall. Was wondering whether to stay in the hall or get on the outside of the hall, and we decided that on the outside would be safest. I myself figured that the soldiers would be armed. We first decided to go to the Queen rooming house. We went to the Queen in Wesley Everest's room. He was not with us. We looked out of the window and sized up the situation. It would be very easy to surround us there. Was in Everest's room possibly five minutes. When we left we were going up on the hill. I believe it is known as Seminary hill. After about forty-five minutes saw the parade coming on. It came north and went as far north as Third street, and it turned to go back. I heard a command and I did not understand it, but it consisted of about four or five words. I saw the soldiers break ranks into a group. Three or four of them rushed the hall, with about twenty of the soldiers twenty feet behind them. They were in a hurry. We heard the glass fall from the windows and the door glass broke in. Just as soon as the shots started

County of Multnomah) ss

I, P.V.Johnson, being first duly sworn, do depose and say:

That I was one of thejurors in the case of the state of Washington as plaintiff, versus Britt Smith, et al, as defendants, tried in the superior court of Washington, for Grays Harbor county, during the first three months of the year 19.0 as an outgrowth of the Armistice Day tragedy at Centralia, Wash., November 11, 1919.

That I have been a resident of said Grays Harbor county, Wash., for twelve years immediately preceding my jury duty in this case and that this residence had been continuous on my part.

That I have read the affidavit signed by E.S.Torpin, one of the jurors in the trial, which affidavit was subscribed and sworn before O.M.Nelson, a notary public in and for the state of Washington, residing at Montesano, Washington, upon the 17th day of May, 1922. That the facts as stated in said affidavit aretrue to my own personal knowledge and belief.

That if the jury had been permitted to consider what I have since learned was a premeditated attack upon the hall, the jury would never have returned a verdict of guilty. It is my firm belief that the men are not guilty of murder in any degree.

That Warren Grimm was killed while advancing upon and engaged in an attack upon the I.W.W.hall in Centralia, Wash.

That one of the most determining elements in securing conviction of the seven defendants was the bringing in of a large number of soldiers a few days before the conclusion of the trial; that these men were camped close to the court house and the jury was paraded in sight of them; that these soldiers were brought in to protect the jury and as the jury was led to believe; that we were informed that a thousand or more I.W.W. were in hiding in the woods near the town. That this tended to create a feeling in the minds of the jurors that the I.W.W. organization was composed of outlaws and that therefore the organization was as much on trial as the individuals.

That I have read the affidavits of Torpen as above stated and know the contents of the affidavits of B.E. Swaitzer and W.B.Inmon, former jurors and agree with the statements therein made.

That I am making this affidavit because I want to see justice done and it is my firm belief that justice is not obtained through lawless attacks upon peaceful citizens.

P.V. Johnson

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 19th day of May, 1922.

Notary Public for Oregon.
My commission expires 11/2/24

MERYL A. GREEN
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR
PORTLAND, OREGON

PAGE

from the inside of the hall we all of us started shooting. We were shooting at the people that were rushing the door. I was shooting at people that rushed the door and when that stopped all of us stopped.

"On the 11th a person who has been called John Doe Davis around here said he had a 38 special revolver, and he said in looking it over he accidentally shot a hole through the mirror in Room 10 of the Avalon hotel, which is the room I had myself; had paid for. I immediately went up with him to the hotel. He and I were in the room possibly twenty minutes. He asked me if I had any objections to his staying in my room. That occurred, I believe, in the hall. When I was in the room with him he had a 38-55. I can identify it. I was arrested seven days later."

THE SECRETARY SPEAKS

This is what Britt Smith, the secretary of the Centralia branch of the I. W. W. had to say: "I heard lots of talk of further violence. It got to be common talk. They were going to come and raid us—clean us out on the 11th. When the parade passed I was about twelve feet from the back part of the hall—about twenty-eight feet from the front part of the hall. Morgan, Mike Sheehan, Bert Faulkner, Wesley Everest, Ray Becker, McInerney and myself were in the hall at the time. The first thing I saw was soldiers coming from out on the street. I saw Wesley Everest about two minutes before the shooting started. He was standing pretty near the center of the hall. I knew he had a gun but didn't see it. It's a big automatic . I was looking towards the door just about a second before the shooting started in the hall. There was shooting there. It was from where Everest was standing—three or four standing close together. I couldn't swear for sure if there was anything broken in the hall. I was back getting my gun and my mind was occupied with that. I went out the back upstairs on the porch. I dropped the gun behind the toilet. I was afterwards questioned about the gun. I didn't tell them nothing. I told Chief of Police Hughes the next day where the gun was. He told me he got it. The gun never was shot. Not to my knowledge was there any discussion of any plan to start any trouble or to murder anybody. I have always advocated staying away from violence. I just want the jury to know that we were going to defend our hall if they raided it."

The trial had been in progress from January 25th to March 13th, 1920. When the prosecution had concluded the presentation of its evidence, Judge Wilson ordered Bert Faulkner

released, finding that no case had been made against him. March 12th was just like the preceding days of the trial. The attendance was considerably larger and the interest perhaps keener than at any other time. Automobiles started to line up around the court house in the early morning hours. All day they waited there in the drenching rain, their numbers being hourly augmented. Long before court convened the garish little courtroom on the third floor was filled to capacity. Standing room was at a premium. Reporters were compelled to climb over chairs and tables to make their exit to the press room and telegraph.

A LITTLE DRAMA OF REAL LIFE

The audience was distinctively respectable: business men, legionaires, with here and there a soldier in uniform. Occasionally could be seen a logger in stag shirt and overalls who had braved the danger of "arrest on suspicion" to see how the Majesty of the Law was dealing with his kind in a court of justice.

Many women were present, neat and smug in appearance; busy with bits of sewing or crocheting; laughing and chatting as though the affair were a church social instead of a grim lawsuit in which life and death, justice and judicial outrage hung in the balance. The relatives and friends of the defendants, dressed in their pitiful Sunday best, were huddled into a corner of the crowded room. The men on trial sat stiffly in a straight row, glancing about the room now and then, or looking soberly through the dripping window panes to the familiar gray hills, fringed with a lace work of pointed trees.

The widow of Warren Grimm was present with her baby daughter. The pretty youngster had to be restrained from playing with the tots across the way whose fathers were accused of having killed her papa. Eugene Barnett's sweet little baby boy was sitting beside his mother. He was fondling a red-headed celluloid doll and casting childish looks of unspeakable affection at his boyish father on the prisoner's bench.

After the usual colorless "Hear ye! hear ye! hear ye!" of the court clerk, the judge, in his usual black robes but with unusual uneasiness, started to read his now infamous instructions to the jury. As his nasal voice droned out the words, "And, gentlemen of the jury, if from a fair consideration of the testimony of the case you arrive at a conclusion of the guilt of these defendants, you are instructed to specify your charges . . murder in the first degree the penalty of which is hanging . . ."

Just at this moment Barnett's baby boy, his eyes big with a

strange fear, looked from the vulture-like judge and stern faced prosecutors to his mother beside him and sobbed out in heart-breaking baby notes:

"Daddy! daddy! Mama, what those men do to my daddy?"

For a moment there was a hushed silence. Even the church women dropped their sewing. Everyone looked over the heads of the crowd in the direction of the "Rebel Madonna" and her child. For a second the majesty of the law was vanquished by a baby's voice. A great warm wave of life welled up against the cold dead walls of the courtroom. The majesty of the law came back to its own again. But a sob remained in the throats of more than one.

THE LUMBER TRUST WINS THE JURY

On Saturday evening, March 13th, the jury brought in its final verdict of guilty. In the face of the very evident ability of the lumber interests to satisfy its vengeance at will, any other verdict would have been suicidal—for the jury.

The prosecution was out for blood and nothing less than blood. Day by day they had built the structure of the gallows there in the courtroom. They built a scaffolding on which to hang ten loggers—built it of lies and threats and perjury. Dozens of witnesses from the Chamber of Commerce and the American Legion took the stand to braid a hangman's rope of untruthful testimony. Some of these were members of the mob; on their white hands the blood of Wesley Everest was hardly dry. And they were not satisfied with sending their victims to prison for terms of from 25 to 40 years, they wanted the pleasure of seeing their necks broken. But they failed. Two verdicts were returned; his honor refused to accept the first; no intelligent man can accept the second.

Here is the way the two verdicts compare with each other: Elmer Smith and Mike Sheehan were declared not guilty and Loren Roberts insane, in both the first and the second verdicts. Britt Smith, O. C. Bland, James McInerney, Bert Bland and Ray Becker were found guilty of murder in the second degree in both instances, but Eugene Barnett and John Lamb were declared guilty of manslaughter, or murder "in the third degree" in the jury's first findings, and guilty of second degree murder in the second.

The significant point is that the state made its strongest argument against the four men whom the jury practically exonerated of the charge of conspiring to murder. More significant is

State of Washington)
County of Lewis) SS

W.E.Inmon and E.E.Sweitzer of Grays Harbor County,Washington,each for himself upon his oath says; That he was one of the Jurors in the Case of the State of Washington vs Britt Smith et al,tried in Grays Harbo County,at Montesano,Washington during the first three months of the year 1920,as an outgrowth of the Armistic day tragedy at Centralia,Washington,Nov.11th,1919; That during the consideration of said case by the jury, one Harry Sellers,one of said Jurors,stated in the Jury Room in substance," Every one of them is guilty and ought to be hung no matter what the evidence shows; That the evidence showed,as affiants verily believe, that all the defendants were innocent and not guilty and that not one of said defendants Loren Roberts,Bert Bland,O.C.Bland,Eugene Barnett, John Lamb,James McInerny,Ray Becker and Britt Smith,killed,injured, wounded or harmed anyone;That these affiants,and each of them,believed that in the event of a hung jury,a new jury would have been called and in the face of the hysteria that then existed,innocent men might have been hung;That rather than have this happen these affiants believed that it was better to have a second degree verdict against seven defendants and acquit two,thus leaving the two free to work for the release of the others and leaving an opportunity to spread the truth; That in the event of another trial and these affiants were to sit as jurors in this case,and were permitted to receive in evidence what they now know, their verdict for each and all said defendants would be" Not Guilty" and no power or influence could induce them to return a verdict of Guilty in any degree.

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 15th day of May,1922.

Notary Puhlic in and for the State of Washington residing at Centralia,Washington.

the fact that the whole verdict completely upsets the charge of conspiracy to murder under which the men were tried. The difference between first and second degree murder is that the former, first degree, implies premeditation, while the other, second degree, means murder that is not premeditated. Now, how in the world can men be found guilty of conspiring to murder without previous premeditation? The verdict, brutal and stupid as it is, shows the weakness and falsity of the state's charge more eloquently than anything the defense has ever said about it.

BUT LABOR SAYS, "NOT GUILTY!"

But another jury had been watching the trial. Its verdict came as a surprise to those who read the newspaper version of the case. No sooner had the twelve bewildered and frightened men in the jury box paid tribute to the power of the Lumber Trust with a ludicrous and tragic verdict than the six workingmen of the Labor Jury returned their verdict also. Those six men represented as many labor organizations in the Pacific Northwest with a combined membership of many thousands of wage earners.

The last echoes of the prolonged legal battle had hardly died away when these six men sojourned to Tacoma to ballot, deliberate and to reach their decision about the disputed facts of the case. At the very moment when the trust-controlled newspapers, frantic with disappointment, were again raising the blood-cry of their pack, the frank and positive statement of these six workers came like a thunderclap out of a clear sky,—"Not Guilty!"

The Labor Jury had studied the development of the case with earnest attention from the beginning. Day by day it had watched with increasing astonishment the efforts of the defense to present, and of the prosecution and the judge to exclude, from the consideration of the trial jury, the things everybody knew to be true about the Centralia tragedy. The Labor Jury comprised men of long experience in the labor movement. They could see through a maze of red tape and legal mummery to the simple truth that was being hidden or obscured. The Lumber Trust did not fool these men and it could not intimidate them.

It cannot be said that the Labor Jury was biased in favor of the defendants or of the I. W. W. If anything, they were predisposed to believe the defendants guilty and their union an outlaw organization. It must be remembered that all the Labor Jury knew of the case was what it had read in the capitalist newspapers prior to its arrival at the scene of the trial. These men were not radicals but representative workingmen—members of

conservative unions—who had been instructed by their organizations to observe impartially the progress of the trial and to report to their unions what they observed. Read their report:

LABOR'S VERDICT

"Labor Temple, Tacoma, March 15, 1920.

"The Labor Jury met in the rooms of the Labor Temple and organized, electing P. K. Mohr as foreman.

"1. Were the defendants guilty or not guilty? Verdict, 'Not guilty.'

"2. Shall we give our report to the press? Verdict, 'Yes.'

"3. Was there a conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. on the part of the business interests of Centralia? Verdict, 'Yes.'

"There was evidence offered by the defense to show that the business interests held a meeting at the Elks' Club on October 20, 1919, at which ways and means to deal with the I. W. W. situation were discussed. F. B. Hubbard, Chief of Police Hughes and William Scales, commander of the American Legion at Centralia, were present. Prosecuting Attorney Allen was quoted as having said, 'There is no law that would let you run the I. W. W. out of town.' Chief of Police Hughes said, 'You cannot run the I. W. W. out of town; they have violated no law.' F. B. Hubbard said, 'It's a damn shame; if I was chief I would have them out of town in 24 hours.' William Scales, presiding at the meeting, said that although he was not in favor of a raid, there was no American jury that would convict them if they did, or words to that effect. He then announced that he would appoint a secret committee to deal with the I. W. W. situation.

"4. **Was the I. W. W. hall unlawfully raided? Verdict, 'Yes.' The evidence introduced convinces us that an attack was made before a shot was fired.**

"5. Had the defendants a right to defend their hall? Verdict, 'Yes.' On a former occasion the I. W. W. hall was raided, furniture destroyed and stolen, ropes placed around their necks and they were otherwise abused and driven out of town by citizens, armed with pick handles.

"6. **Was Warren O. Grimm a party to the conspiracy of raiding the I. W. W. hall? Verdict, 'Yes.' The evidence introduced convinces us that Warren O. Grimm participated in the raid of the I. W. W. hall.**

"7. To our minds the most convincing evidence that Grimm was in front of and raiding the I. W. W. hall with others, is the evidence of State Witness Van Gilder, who testified that he stood

at the side of Grimm at the intersection of Second street and Tower avenue, where, according to his testimony, Grimm was shot. This testimony was refuted by five witnesses who testified that they saw Grimm coming wounded from the direction of the I. W. W. hall. It is not credible that Van Gilder, a personal and intimate friend of Grimm, would leave him when he was mortally wounded, to walk half a block alone and unaided.

"8. **Did the defendants get a fair and impartial trial? Verdict, 'No.' The most damaging evidence of a conspiracy by the business men of Centralia, of a raid on the I. W. W. hall, was ruled out by the court and not permitted to go to the jury. This was one of the principal issues that the defense sought to establish.**

"Also the calling of the federal troops by Prosecuting Attorney Allen was for no other reason than to create atmosphere. On interviewing the judge, sheriff and prosecuting attorney, the judge and sheriff informed us that in their opinion the troops were not needed and that they were brought there without their consent or knowledge. In the interview Mr. Allen promised to furnish the substance of the evidence which in his opinion necessitated the presence of the troops the next morning, but on the following day he declined the information. He, however, did say that he did not fear the I. W. W., but was afraid of violence by the American Legion. This confession came after he was shown by us the fallacy of the I. W. W. coming armed to interfere with the verdict. Also the presence of the American Legion in large numbers in court."

This report was signed by the whole Labor Jury:

Theodore Meyer, Everett Central Labor Council; John O. Craft, Seattle Metal Trades Council; E. W. Thrall, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia; W. J. Beard, Tacoma Central Labor Council; Otto Newman, Portland Central Labor Council; P. K. Mohr, Seattle Central Labor Council.

The prosecution, in order to cover up the crime of the real culprits, sought to press the absurd charge in court that the loggers had fired into the ranks of peaceful paraders. The evidence was all against them. Thanks to the capitalist papers however, the legend existed. It was a valuable asset to the prosecution—bought and paid for with lumber trust gold. And this legend was used to the limit to produce the passion and prejudice that would assure the unjust conviction. Only two deductions were possible: either the loggers fired in self-defense or they fired with the intention of committing wanton murder. It happened that the loggers were members of the I. W. W. This fact, in connection with the gravity of the charge and

State of Washington)
)
County of Grays Harbor) SS

Carl O. Hultén being first duely sworn upon his oath deposes and says, that I was one of the jurors in the case of the State of Washington as plaintiff, versus Britt Smith et al as defendents, tried in the superior court of the State of Washington for Grays Harbor County during the first three months of the year 1920, as an outgrowth of the Armistice Day tragedy at Centralia, Washington, November 11th 19 19.

That I know the contents of the affidavits of E.E. Switzer, W.E. Lumen, E.E. Terpen and P.V. Johnson also jurors in the above stated cases as these statments appeared in the public public press during the month of May, 1922. That their said affidavits coincidd with my view of said trial. That I verily believe the defendents in said action did not have a fair and impartial trial and there is not now in my mind an abiding conviction of their guilt of the murder of Warren O. Grimm.

That the said trial was conducted under extreme excitment and pressure which made it impossible to conduct a trial in a normal manner and leave the jury free and unhampered in their deliberations.

Carl O Hultén

Subscribed and swirn to before me this First day of June A.D. 1922

J.M. Phillips

Notary Public in and for the State of Washington, residing at Aberdeen, Wash.

the atmosphere of hysteria that surrounded the courtroom, made a fair trial impossible. If the "evidence" of the prosecution would not convince, the admitted shooting and the admitted membership in the I. W. W. of the men who did the shooting would be sure to convince. Then there was the terror to be considered, the obvious and determined bias of the judge and the machinations of the prosecution lawyers who "framed" the trial.

JUDGE BARS VITAL EVIDENCE

The defense admitted that there was shooting on Armistice Day in Centralia, that legionaires were killed and that the union loggers were armed. But the defense claimed—what everyone knew to be a fact—that the loggers had armed themselves as a measure of self-protection against a certain number of men who were bent upon murder and destruction. All things considered, in view of the attacks upon both union halls, there should have been a verdict of "justifiable homicide in self-defense." But the trouble is, all things were not considered—in fact, were not permitted to be considered in court. The judge, subservient to the will of the lumber trust, ruled out, as inadmissible, all evidence that the union hall had been raided in 1918 and that the intention of the leaders of the Armistice Day parade was to raid it again. The judge sought religiously to keep from the jury all evidence of the conspiracy to raid the hall and of the complicity of Warren O. Grimm and others in this conspiracy.

The reason the prosecution wanted the case confined to facts of the shooting, instead of the conspiracy of the associated industries' officials that precipitated the shooting, is easy to be seen. But how did they manage to drill their witnesses so that the story would sound plausible? What kind of "machine" did they use to "frame" their case and "make" witnesses in order to put their version of the shooting across? How could they best manage to keep the defense from reaching the jury with the real facts, or as many of the real facts as possible? The real story of this machiavellian plot to defeat the ends of justice has leaked out since the trial. A special investigator for the defense has given his findings to the world. It reads like a page from fiction—but it is the gospel truth.

American Legion men had gathered together in considerable numbers in Montesano to attend the trial. The prosecution saw to this detail which, like the camping of regular troops on the courthouse lawn, was intended to create the proper "atmosphere." Tacoma, Centralia, Chehalis, Bellingham, Port Angeles,

Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Mt. Vernon, Anacortes and Bremerton—each of these towns and cities supplied its quota of delegates, all of them O. K.'d by the prosecution before they came. These men were sent to Montesano with the understanding that they were to submit to the orders of their commander, a Mr. Schant, a former army captain who was in charge of the Montesano American Legion. These men were paid four dollars a day by the lumber interests. In addition to this stipend they were given sleeping accommodations in the fire department section of the City Hall and in a garage nearby. This latter place was a veritable fortress, well supplied with high power rifles and ammunition of all kinds. A certain Lieut. Crawford of Mount Vernon was in charge of this little lumber trust army. The legionaires did guard duty twenty-four hours each day in their fortress.

AN ARMED CAMP

It must be remembered that the legionaires were private citizens, living in an armed camp of their own in the midst of a community that had ample protection from the customary law-enforcing machinery. Who armed them and gave them permission to camp in the heart of the city? Why had they been gathered together and for what purpose? Can it be that the lumber interests were waiting, as was openly intimated, for an opportunity to wreak vengeance upon the defendants in case the jury did not do its "duty?"

Lieut. Balcon was in charge of the secret service work for the prosecution. Under him were several legionaires dressed like loggers and workingmen. It was the duty of these lumber trust spies to gain the confidence of defense witnesses, learn in advance of the testimony they intended to give and, wherever possible, influence it to suit the programme of the prosecution. As soon as a defense witness had been interrogated by these sleuths, the findings were transmitted to Chief Balcon who was privileged to enter that part of the courtroom occupied by the attorneys. Balcon would then pass his information over to Prosecuting Attorney Christiansen, who would in turn give it to Prosecutors Cunningham or Abel.

Christiansen was the most active of all the detectives for the prosecution. His position as Assistant State's Attorney afforded him absolute freedom of action. He had access to everything that went on at the courthouse and the American Legion fortress and headquarters. By examination of the subpoenas issued for defense witnesses, it was simple for him to keep the prosecution informed about all witnesses likely to be called.

Lieut. Frank Van Gilder was one of the chief members of this Intelligence Department. Whenever possible this officious person visited prospective defense witnesses before their arrival at Montesano and learned, or tried to learn, their testimony. Van Gilder's method of approach was suave but forceful. He always boasted that he "knew his stuff." And it was the smooth stuff that Van Gilder was supposed to put over. When this method failed to make the right kind of an impression on the witness other agents would follow him up with a different line. Threats and intimidation were indulged in and the witnesses would be informed in unmistakable language as to what their future in the community would be like and what would happen to them in case the testimony they were about to give was found to be objectionable by the prosecution.

LEGIONAIRES DISGUISED AS LOGGERS

Upon the arrival of the defense witnesses at Montesano, Lieut. Balcon's forces began work at once and made persistent efforts to interview those who had escaped Van Gilder's attentions. These men, in various attires intended to make them look as much like workers as possible, tried by confidential means to learn prospective testimony. Some defense witnesses were openly threatened in the courtroom immediately following their testimony. The arrest of two defense witnesses for perjury was part of the plan to intimidate other witnesses waiting their turn to go on the stand for the loggers.

As the defendant's attorney, George Vanderveer, neared the conclusion of his case the espionage machinery of the prosecution was already operating at high speed to manufacture the rebuttal witnesses to impeach all of the important testimony of the defense. Assistant State's Attorney Christiansen was the man selected to put the polish on these "made" witnesses. The testimony itself was "framed" by Lieut. Van Gilder or his associates, before the witness was brought to Montesano. The finishing touch was put on by Attorney Christiansen. Then each witness was taken before the special prosecutors for approval.

Two years passed by. The Centralia loggers were locked up securely behind the walls of the State prison at Walla Walla. The war hysteria had died down to a great degree. A new I. W. W. hall had been opened in Centralia. Some of the old wounds were beginning to heal over. Ordinarily the tragedy and conviction would have been a closed incident—a black page

WIVES AND CHILDREN OF CENTRALIA PRISONERS
At Prison Gate, Walla Walla, Washington.

of history turned down forever. But no one was satisfied with the outcome of the trial. The lumber trust was out for blood; it had been disappointed. The defense wanted an acquittal and was disappointed also. Even the Legion was dissatisfied with the inconclusive verdict.

Rumors began to spread up and down the Pacific Coast that the trial jurors were saying they were sorry for what they had done. And so it happened that almost two years after the verdict affidavits were made by six of the jurors which gave a new angle to the case. Facsimile reproductions of sworn statements of five of these jurors are printed elsewhere in this book.

JURORS REVEAL TERROR INFLUENCE

Juror E. E. Torpen, in addition to making the affidavit, talked freely about the case. Torpen's most striking remark perhaps is the one in which he tells about the first trial ballot taken by the jury when they retired from the courtroom with the evidence fresh in their minds. This trial ballot resulted in a unanimous verdict of NOT GUILTY. Both Torpen's affidavit and the subsequent statements of other jurors lead one to believe that the jury felt confident that its recommendation for leniency would be binding on the judge. Torpen's affidavit shows clearly that it was prejudice against

the I. W. W. rather than actual evidence that induced the verdict of guilty. Juror Torpen, in an interview with a press representative, made the following statement:

"There are a lot of things I have learned about the trial both in the jury room and after I got out of it that I am not going to tell now. There were peculiar goings-on. If I am ever on the witness stand again I will tell them exactly as I remember them."

Torpen says he is convinced that the trial was unfair—that it was an injustice prompted by hysteria; that the evidence of guilt was inadequate; that important witnesses were prevented from testifying; that some of the jurors were determined to convict from the beginning regardless of the evidence; that other jurors were intimidated by the public opinion that prevailed at the time of the trial, and that one juror was "afraid of his life." He declared also that the jury had been instructed that 11 out of 12 could convict without the concurrence of the 12th juror. "In a way," stated Torpen, "I felt that I ought to have voted for an acquittal. On the other hand, I was afraid that a hung jury would mean a new trial with a worse jury, and the innocent men would be put to death. So I voted for a second degree verdict against seven and acquittal for two. It seemed better that way, with two of the men free to work for the release of the others."

"I remember," continued Torpen, "when we went to the window and got first sight of the soldiers. 'My God!' one of the jurors remarked to me, 'they are here to keep us from being shot.' I couldn't see why we should worry. But some of them did. A man had to be plain ornery to do any thinking. Some, I'll always figure, had their thinking all done and out of the way when they took their seats on the jury."

"I did not believe that any of the men convicted were guilty. The men that did the shooting never came to trial."

TWO MORE JURORS TELL THE TRUTH

The minds of Jurors Inmon and Sweitzer were far from being at ease also. Often they met and talked together about the trial and the injustice they had helped to work upon seven men whom they now felt were innocent. Walter Bland, brother of two of the convicted men, hearing of their attitude, had visited Inmon and asked him to help right the wrong that he had done.

One day Jurors Inmon and Sweitzer were dining together

and talking on the subject uppermost in their minds. They decided to swear out a joint affidavit. This affidavit states that "not one of the said defendants killed, wounded or harmed anyone." The remark about the statement made by Juror Sellers is still undisputed although Sellers has recourse to the libel laws if he thinks the two men lied about him. Sellers is alleged to have said, "Every one of them is guilty and ought to be hung no matter what the evidence shows."

Juror P. V. Johnson also made out an affidavit stating that he agrees with the statements made in the affidavits of Torpen, Inmon and Sweitzer. Johnson is perturbed because he was not permitted to learn of the facts about the premeditated raid on the union hall by the business interests. He is of the opinion that the presence of troops on the courthouse grounds coupled with the statement that "a thousand or more I. W. W.'s were hiding in the woods around Montesano created a feeling in the minds of the jurors that the I. W. W. organization was composed of outlaws and that therefore the organization was as much on trial as the individuals."

Juror Carl O. Hulten yielded to the promptings of his conscience and offered a sworn statement also. Hulten says that "the defendants . . . did not have a fair and impartial trial." He states that there is not now in his mind "an abiding conviction of their guilt of the murder of Warren O. Grimm."

U. G. Robinson, foreman of the jury, took oath as follows: "During the trial. . . a squad of soldiers was brought into Montesano and camped diagonally across the street from . . . our jury quarters. Nearly always while we were out for exercise . . . we could see these soldiers either marching around the streets or at their camp. A number of the jurors believed that these soldiers had been brought in to protect the jury against some threatened assault by the I. W. W., and there were three or four jurors, as I now remember . . . who so feared such an assault that they wanted guns for their protection. It is my recollection also that these same jurors were the ones who voted to find the defendants guilty of murder in the first degree."

FOUR OTHER JURORS MAKE ADMISSIONS

Four other jurors were approached by friends of the defendants. All expressed themselves as surprised at the severity of the sentences, having expected sentences of from 2 to 5 years, at the utmost 10 years, would be imposed. All declared emphatically that they would not care to be tried under cir-

cumstances similar to those at the trial. One uttered the belief that if the men were to be tried now they would be acquitted.

One of the jurors declared that, neither at the trial nor at the rendering of the verdict, was there an abiding conviction in his mind of the guilt of the defendants, and that as time goes on he is still less sure of the justice of the verdict. This man, like some of the other jurors, is in a position where the lumber trust can bring pressure to bear upon him. If such a thing as a grand jury investigation were possible, he would join the majority of the jurors in adopting a course similar to that of the men who have made sworn affidavits.

The union men convicted at Montesano are still buried alive at Walla Walla. Their sentences are from 25 to 40 years. Unless the country is aroused to a realization of the great injustice that has been done, these men will probably stay in prison until they die. It is up to you who read these lines, if still in doubt, to investigate further the facts of this case. And it is up to you, once convinced, to do all in your power to see that justice is done. What are you going to do?

Mourn Not the Dead

Mourn not the dead that in the cool earth lie—
Dust unto dust—
The calm, sweet earth that mothers all who die
As all men must;

Mourn not your captive comrades who must dwell—
Too strong to strive—
Each in his steel-bound coffin of a cell,
Buried alive;

But rather mourn the apathetic throng—
The cowed and meek—
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong
And dare not speak!

R. C.

Wesley Everest

Torn and defiant as a wind-lashed reed,
Wounded, he faced you as he stood at bay;
You dared not lynch him in the light of day,
But on your dungeon stones you let him bleed;
Night came . . . and you black vigilants of Greed, . . .
Like human wolves, seized hard upon your prey,
Tortured and killed . . . and, silent, slunk away
Without one qualm of horror at the deed.

Once . . . long ago . . . do you remember how
You hailed Him king for soldiers to deride—
You placed a scroll above His bleeding brow
And spat upon Him, scourged Him, crucified . . .?
A rebel unto Caesar—then as now—
Alone, thorn-crowned, a spear wound in His side!

R. C.

What You Can Do to Help

Only the combined action of the working people of the State of Washington can set the Centralia victims free. They can make their indignation felt in many ways. Such strong pressure must be brought to bear upon Governor Louis Hart that he will no longer dare to ignore the facts in this case.

You can help this fight by acting upon the following suggestions:

1. Send money, so that we can put our side of the case before every man and woman in Washington State.

2. Write to the General Defense Committee signifying your willingness to co-operate.

3. Bring the Centralia case to the attention of all organizations of which you are a member, whether labor, civic, or religious.

4. Get those organizations to demand of Governor Hart that he unconditionally commute the sentences of the Centralia prisoners.

5. Have committees appointed to raise funds so that literature about this case can be circulated far and wide.

6. Organize committees to carry our literature into mills, mines, factories, homes and everywhere in Washington State. Arrange routes so that the facts will be placed in every home there.

7. Send us mailing lists of people who ought to be informed about this case.

8. Advise the General Defense Committee of every move you make along these lines.

Do these things quickly. The eight innocent men involved have been imprisoned since 1919.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Ill.

THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY by Ralph Chaplin

The Centralia Conspiracy

BY RALPH CHAPLIN

INTRODUCTION
by Eugene Nelson

PRICE $2.00

A Tongue of Flame

The martyr cannot be dishonored. Every lash inflicted is a tongue of flame; every prison a more illustrious abode; every burned book or house enlightens the world; every suppressed or expunged word reverberates through the earth from side to side. The minds of men are at last aroused; reason looks out and justifies her own, and malice finds all her work is ruin. It is the whipper who is whipped and the tyrant who is undone.—Emerson.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

The Centralia Conspiracy

WORK PLACE PUBLISHERS

Armadillo Press

Union Shop

I. U. 450

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I
W W
UNIVERSAL
LABEL

Austin, Texas

WORK PLACE PUBLISHERS

Work Place Publishers is an attempt by members of the Austin Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World to provide historical literature on class struggle. All proceeds from this publication will go to the Austin Branch, to be used by its members in what ever way they feel to most productive in fanning the flames of working class discontent. It is our belief that one day the working class will cast off the yoke of capitalist oppression and exploitation and assume its historical role as Master of Industry. It is with this in mind that we are proud to present this edition of the Centralia Conspiracy.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

INTRODUCTION

The killing of Wesley Everest in Centralia, Washington on November 11, 1919 is perhaps the most grisly murder in the annals of the American labor movement. The conviction on second degree murder charges of seven of his fellow IWW members for defending their union hall from attack is one of the most outrageous legal frame-ups ever perpetrated. Along with the trials of Joe Hill, Billings and Mooney, and Sacco and Vanzetti, it was one of the big cases of its era, comparable to the Panther trials and the Chicago conspiracy trial of today. Of all these, it is the trial in which the class struggle was most directly evident.

All of this is of recurring significance today when the IWW is once more organizing in the area where it took place; when the first IWW member since the 1920's, Ricardo Gonsalves of San Diego, is currently being tried on a charge of criminal syndicalism; and when the deceptive techniques of widespread Federal grand jury inquisitions are once more making a mockery of the judicial system. Also it is significant as perhaps the best illustration of the typical stance of the IWW member regarding violence: that is, to reject violence as a revolutionary weapon, but to defend oneself when attacked. Finally, it is significant because the same fundamental causes of discord exist in Centralia — and all over America — today as they did in 1919; a small number of people own a grossly disproportionate share of the land and wealth of society, and maintain this unjust situation by means of politicians, courts, soldiers, police and other gunmen.

A number of parallels can be drawn between the Centralia incident and present day events. As with the farm worker struggle and other contemporary issues, church people were sharply divided. One of the Wobbly defendants, Ray Becker, was a former ministry student and the son and brother of ministers, and churches played an important role in the rpisoners' eventual release. But, just as in Delano, most local skypilots were fiercely opposed to the union, and one retired minister in the parade of men that attacked the IWW hall carried a noose, or "Wobbly necktie." Becker learned to do leather and bead work — like many present day "hippies" — while in prison, and after his release in 1939 opened up a leather

goods store in Vancouver, Washington. Many Wobblies of the time were the closest thing to, and the forerunner of, the "hippies" of today, "jungling up" for weeks or months in improvised campsites rather than work at criminally low wages. Some critics said the initials I.W.W. stood for "I Won't Work." Another parallel involves the labor jury of six union officials who sat in on the trial and rendered a verdict of "not guilty" – like the war crimes trial juries and people's courts of today.

In Centralia the 1919 event is discussed heatedly to this day by surviving participants and spectators. This is not surprising, for the need for the IWW exists today as then: the woods are still being raped for the benefit of a privileged few of the lumber trust, workers are only partially or badly organized; the "gyppo" or piecework system still flourishes to the detriment of the workers; and the capitalist press of Centralia still spews forth its fascist venom as it did only a few months ago in an editorial about the 1919 affair similar in tone to those which incited dupes of the lumber trust to murder, mutilation and vandalism 52 years ago. And the day I was in Centralia in July of this year (1971) a permit had just been denied for a rock festival in nearby Montesano, where the Centralia defendants were sentenced to 25-40 years in prison for protecting themselves from the premeditated attack of an enraged mob.

The IWW had been defending itself for years from such unprovoked attacks as the Everett Massacre of 1916 in which five wobblies were gunned down in cold blood by police and in the words of Harvey O'Connor "the IWW maintained conditions only by an incessant guerrilla struggle" (1) – a struggle of self-defense. Wobblies had been successful in organizing lumber workers in the forests of Louisiana and East Texas too, where black and white members worked together as equals, and where also they were victims of attacks by gun thugs. Beatings and lynchings of wobblies were commonplace in 1917 and '18 as lumber barons reaping tremendously increased profits from war contracts branded as unpatriotic workers who wanted to share even slightly in these gains.

A year before the 1919 affair the IWW hall at Centralia was sacked by anti-union fanatics and Wobblies found in it beaten up and driven out of the country. The partially Wobbly-led Seattle general strike of early 1919 helped keep the war hysteria going, and in the summer of that year a blind Wobbly news vendor of Centralia, Tom Lassiter, was kidnapped, beaten and also dumped over the county line. (There have been a number of blind IWW members, including Helen Keller, who wrote several brilliant essays on the Wobblies (2); perhaps the inner vision and logic of a person with fewer distractions in the world of the senses is conducive to a greater appreciation of IWW principles for the organization of society.)

Several days before Armistice Day, 1919, the lumber interests

and their dupes in Centralia let it be known they planned to attack the local IWW hall again. Given the background of beatings, killings and raiding of halls, it is easy to understand why the Centralia Wobblies had had enough, and reasoned that if they were not forever to be on the run they must at some point defend themselves. They had learned to turn the other cheek, but only once – even the Bible did not say to turn it twice. So it was that on November 11, 1919 Wesley Everest, still in his Army uniform, announced to his fellow Wobblies, "I fought for democracy in France and I'm going to fight for it here." What followed is described in lucid and matchless prose by the IWW's Ralph Chaplin in this booklet. Just as in the IWW strike of 1909 at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, once the harassed workers had shown they would defend themselves, they were not attacked again, and the next IWW hall in Centralia was left alone. But at what a tragic cost in human life this observance of ordinary civil liberties was purchased!

Although Chaplin's account indicates the Centralia affair was one of the few battles in labor history in which fewer lives were lost by union men than by their attackers, later revelations cast doubt on this. Former Wobbly Joe Murphy of Occidental, California told me recently that he was one of a group of around 100 Wobblies who traveled from Seattle to Centralia on the night of the shootout, only to be thrown in jail with the local Wobblies by some of the hundreds of vigilantes and Legionnaires who by then patrolled the streets. Murphy said that, in addition to Wesley Everest, at least four or five other Wobblies were removed from the jail that night and never seen again – and assumed to have been lynched. Murphy was later one of 30 Wobblies who were jailed for a month in Montesano merely because they tried to attend the trial of the Centralia defendants.

Lawrence Skoog of the Oregon Historical Society, who is currently writing a new book on the Centralia affair, said an investigator of the incident told him of the corpse of a Wobbly that was burned by local officials that same night in a sawmill incinerator. The same investigator said several witnesses told her that Legionnaire McElfresh, one of the hall attackers, was killed by mistake at the door of the hall by a blow on the head with a club administered by another hysterical Legionnaire, and that Legionnaire Casagranda also was probably killed mistakenly by fellow Legionnaires.

The first edition of Chaplin's book, reproduced here, was written in the heat of the events described, and while its author was released on bond pending appeal of his 20-year sentence in the big Chicago IWW espionage trial of 1918. Accordingly, he was highly sensitized to legal ramrodding and frame-ups, and it shows in the power, perception and lucidity of his writing. Chaplin lays the ground work for the events described with a penetrating class analysis of the history of the lumber industry in the northwest. While the present edition, published originally in 1920 (?), does not contain the de-

tailed description of the trail added in the 1924 edition, it does have the immense advantage of containing the opening and closing arguments of defense attorney George Vanderveer, which the 1924 edition does not. These two statements by the famous "attorney for the damned," who single-handed faced six lumber trust attorneys, rival in places the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address for beauty and nobility of language, and are far superior for their devastating analysis of the economic system. Vanderveer tells the jury unabashedly that "The IWWs say there must be a fundamental change and that fundamental change must be in the reorganization of industry, for public service, so that the purpose shall be that we will work to live and not merely live to work. Work for service rather than work for profit . . . This is a big case, counsel says, the biggest case that has ever been tried in this country, but the biggest thing about these big things is from beginning to end it has been a struggle on the one side for ideasl and on the other side to suppress those ideas! . . . "

An interesting sidelight is that the names of Bill Haywood and James Rowan are included in the present edition but deleted from that of 1924. Haywood had disillusioned many Wobblies by jumping bail and escaping to the Soviet Union in 1921, while Chaplin and others shortly afterward returned to prison, to remain until 1923. James Rowan, leader of the Northwest lumber workers, who himself wrote a brilliant history of their struggle in his 1919 booklet, "The I.W.W. in the Lumber Industry," (3) was the principal architect of a split of the 9124 IWW convention which resulted in a drastic drop in membership.

What of the fate of the 11 men accused — and seven convicted — of murder as a result of the 1919 attack by Legionnaires? One defendant, Loren Roberts, was driven insane by the mob terror. After the sentencing of seven others to 25-40 years in Walla Walla penitentiary, their case became what Chaplin called the biggest of all the IWW cases, and a national cause celebre. But in spite of the fact that seven of the jurors later signed affidavits declaring their belief in the prisoners' innocence, and prominent individuals and organizations all over America came to their defense, appeals for their release proved futile. One of those originally accused, Elmer Smith, the Centralia lawyer who advised the Wobblies they had the right to defend their hall, was disbarred from legal practice in Washington State and harassed unmercifully. Devoting the remainder of his life to the release of the Centralia prisoners, he died in 1932 at the age of 46, on the very day he was allowed once more to practice law in his home state. James McInerney died in prison in 1930. Loren Roberts was released the same year after a sanity hearing.

In the meantime the anti-radical hysteria had died down and continued appeals and rallies for the remaining five had made some progress. One of the biggest factors in the Wobblies' eventual re-

lease was the sympathetic interest of a Legionnaire, Captain Edward Coll, who investigated the case thoroughly and judged his fellow Legionnaire guilty for the affair. Partly as a result of Coll's efforts, a joing committee of Catholics, Jews and Protestants in 1930 issued a lengthy report mainly favorable to the IWW prisoners.

In 1931, ten years after their imprisonment, O.C. Bland and Eugene Barnett were paroled. Barnett later became CIO organizer. In 1933 John Lamb, Bert Bland and Britt Smith were also paroled. Lamb died in Centralia in 1948 when his house was destroyed by fire under mysterious circumstances. Britt Smith, the IWW secretary when the hall was raided in 1919, remained an organizer and a radical until his death several years later.

Ray Becker, the one remaining Wobbly prisoner, told the parole board: "to hell with a parole. I want a full and complete pardon or nothing at all. I never was guilty of this crime . . ." But rather than being granted a full pardon, his sentence was commuted to time served and he was expelled from prison in 1939. He died in 1950.

Herb Edwards, a 77-year-old Seattle Wobbly who is still active in the IWW, told me of an incident regarding Mike Sheehan, one of the three defendants found innocent in the 1920 trial. Sheehan had asked to be cremated on his death and that his ashes be dumped in the Chehalis River at the point where Wesley Everest was hanged. When Sheehan died in the early 1930's Edwards and two other Wobblies took his ashes to Centralia and asked a passing lumberjack the way to the bridge. The latter, trembling with fear, finally led the three Wobblies to the bridge and they disposed of the ashes. After they had emptied the box containing Sheehan's remains they learned that their guide had been so terrified because he had assumed the box contained a bomb meant to destroy Wesley Everest's gallows. (Edwards, who related this anecdote, was run out of Eureka, California in 1922 with Centralia attorney Elmer Smith by another mob of Legionnaires, and later spent 40 months in San Quentin prison after a criminal syndicalism conviction.)

This July I visited Centralia, a town of about 10,000 population which lies in rolling hill country in central western Washington. I went to the city park, where a statue of a World War I soldier commemorates the four Legionnaires slain in 1919. At the adjacent library the first two librarians I talked to had never heard of Wesley Everest, but an older librarian had, and gave me three booklets about the affair. Everest was buried in an unmarked grave, and rumor has it his body was later moved to nearby Fort Lewis.

Next I went to a tavern nearby where a friendly young working man told me proudly he was a union man, said the 1919 battle had "put this town on the map," and expressed sympathy for the Wobblies. He told me, however, that although the big mills in the

area were organized, the gyppo piecework system the Wobblies fought so valiantly was still in full swing and that during strikes scabbing was rampant.

At another bar I found some old-timers who had been present on that bloody day in 1919. Some criticized the Wobblies and others defended them heatedly, although I met no one who said he was a member. One friendly 75-year-old, Don Willard, said that on the fateful day he had been standing on the street wearing a black necktie with red spots when his ex-boss, a grocer, grabbed him by the neck, ripped off his tie, and threatened to throw him in jail with the Wobblies if he ever wore anything with red on it again. "People were stark-raving mad that day," Willard recalled. Another old-timer said that during the march that preceded the attack someone had handed his Legionnaire brother a bayonet but didn't tell him what it was for. He told me his brother was just behind Legion commander Grimm in the parade and had heard him give the command to charge the IWW hall.

At Tacoma I met 84-year-old Wobbly Fred Beauchamp, who was secretary of the Wenatchee IWW hall in 1919. Beauchamp said that three days after the raid he went to Centralia and conducted an extensive investigation of the affair, concluding that only Wesley Everest had fired at the attackers from the hall (although other Wobblies later admitted firing after the attack). Also at Tacoma I met IWW member Mary Redding, a distant relative of Ralph Chaplin, who with her husband Bob is working on a biography of the IWW artist and writer. The Reddings had learned through confidential sources that one of the Centralia assailants was at that moment lying gravely ill in his nearby home, tormented by guilt over his role in the unprovoked attack half a century before.

Ralph Chaplin was reimprisoned in Leavonworth not long after he had written the pages that follow. The 1924 split in the IWW was aggravated partly because Chaplin and some other Wobblies accepted commutation of their sentences in June of 1923 by President Harding, while others, like Ray Becker or the Centralia case, insisted on being exonerated. Much acrimony was hurled at Chaplin and the others who were released earlier. Nevertheless, Chaplin returned to the IWW and spent several more years as Wobbly editor and publicist. In 1936, depressed by the dwindling fortunes of the IWW, he moved to San Francisco to edit the Maritime Federation newspaper, and later edited another labor paper in Tacoma, Washington. His book, "Wobbly," published in 1948, is a beautifully written account of his experiences in the IWW. He became increasingly conservative as he grew older, a tendency that must have been enhanced when radicals of a different bent cruelly drowned out his speeches by singing his own "Solidarity Forever" while he had still been a Wobbly. He died in Tacoma in 1961 at the age of 74.

According to Harvey O'Connor in "Revolution in Seattle," "The last memorial services held for Wesley Everest were conducted in 1939 at the bridge where he was hanged." Hundreds of radicals and union people attended. Meanwhile, no one knows for sure where the Wobbly martyr's grave lies – or isn't saying – and the only memorial to that day in 1919 is the statue to the four Legionnaires. But the world does change, and perhaps that Legionnaire who defended the IWW men, Captain Coll, will prove to be correct in his 1929 prediction that it would be superceded one day by a monument to the real hero of Centralia – Wesley Everest of the IWW.

It is my earnest hope that you who read these words will join the resurgent IWW and help to bring about the cooperative commonwealth for which Everest sacrificed his life and his fellow Wobblies were unjustly buried alive.

– Eugene Nelson, IWW
August, 1971

THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

MURDER OR SELF-DEFENSE?

THIS BOOKLET is not an apology for murder. It is an honest effort to unravel the tangled mesh of circumstances that led up to the Armistice Day tragedy in Centralia, Washington. The writer is one of those who believe that the taking of human life is justifiable only in self-defense. Even then the act is a horrible reversion to the brute—to the low plane of savagery. Civilization, to be worthy of the name, must afford other methods of settling human differences than those of blood letting.

The nation was shocked on November 11, 1919, to read of the killing of four American Legion men by members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Centralia. The capitalist newspapers announced to the world that these unoffending paraders were killed in cold blood—that they were murdered from ambush without provocation of any kind. If the author were convinced that there was even a slight possibility of this being true, he would not raise his voice to defend the perpetrators of such a cowardly crime.

But there are two sides to every question and perhaps the newspapers presented only one of these. Dr. Frank Bickford, an ex-service man who participated in the affair, testified at the coroner's inquest that the Legion men were attempting to raid the union hall when they were killed. Sworn testimony of various eyewitnesses has revealed the fact that some of the "unoffending paraders" carried coils of rope and that others were armed with such weapons as would work the demolition of the hall and bodily injury to its occupants. These things throw an entirely different light on the subject. If this is true it means that the union loggers fired only in self-defense and not with the intention of committing wanton and malicious murder as has been stated. Now, as at least two of the union men who did the shooting were ex-soldiers, it appears that the tragedy must have resulted from something more than a mere quarrel between loggers and soldiers. There must be something back of it all that the public generally doesn't know about.

There is only one body of men in the Northwest who would hate a union hall enough to have it raided—the lumber "interests." And now we get at the kernel of the matter, which is the fact that the affair was the outgrowth of a struggle between the lumber trust and its employees—between Organized Capital and Organized Labor.

A LABOR CASE

And so, after all, the famous trial at Montesano was not a murder trial but a labor trial in the strict sense of the word. Under the law, it must be remembered, a man is not committing murder in defending his life and property from the felonious assault of a mob bent on killing and destruction. There is no doubt whatever but what the lumber trust had plotted to "make an example" of the loggers and to destroy their hall on this occasion. And this was not the first time that such atrocities had been attempted and actually committed. Isn't it peculiar that, out of many similar raids, you only heard of the one where the men defended themselves? Self-preservation is the first law of nature, but the preservation of its holy profits is the first law of the lumber trust. The organized lumber workers were considered a menace to the super-prosperity of a few profiteers—hence the attempted raid and the subsequent killing.

What is more significant is the fact that the raid had been carefully planned weeks in advance. There is a great deal of evidence to prove this point.

There is no question that the whole affair was the outcome of a struggle—a class struggle, if you please—between the union loggers and the lumber interests; the former seeking to organize the workers in the woods and the latter fighting this movement with all the means at its disposal.

In this light the Centralia affair does not appear as an isolated incident but rather an incident in an eventful industrial conflict, little known and less understood, between the lumber barons and loggers of the Pacific Northwest. This viewpoint will place Centralia in its proper perspective and enable one to trace the tragedy back to the circumstances and conditions that gave it birth.

But was there a conspiracy on the part of the lumber interests to commit murder and violence in an effort to drive organized labor from its domain?

Weeks of patient investigating in and around the scene of the occurrence has convinced the present writer that such a conspiracy existed. A considerable amount of startling evidence has been unearthed that has hitherto been suppressed. If you care to consider Labor's version of this unfortunate incident you are urged to read the following truthful account of this almost unbelievable piece of mediaeval intrigue and brutality.

The facts will speak for themselves. Credit them or not, but read!

THE FORESTS OF THE NORTHWEST

The Pacific Northwest is world famed for its timber. The first white explorers to set foot upon its fertile soil were awed by the magnitude and grandeur of its boundless stretches of virgin forests. Nature has never endowed any section of our fair world with such an immensity of kingly trees. Towering

into the sky to unthinkable heights, they stand as living monuments to the fecundity of natural life. Imagine, if you can, the vast wide region of the West coast, hills, slopes and valleys, covered with millions of fir, spruce and cedar trees, raising their verdant crests a hundred, two hundred or two hundred and fifty feet into the air.

When Columbus first landed on the unchartered continent these trees were already ancient. There they stood, straight and majestic with green and foam-flecked streams purling here and there at their feet, crowning the rugged landscape with superlative beauty, overtopped only by the snow-capped mountains—waiting for the hand of man to put them to the multitudinous uses of modern civilization. Imagine, if you can, the first explorer, gazing awe-stricken down those "calm cathedral isles," wondering at the lavish bounty of our Mother Earth in supplying her children with such inexhaustible resources.

But little could the first explorer know that the criminal clutch of Greed was soon to seize these mighty forests, guard them from the human race with bayonets, hangman's ropes and legal statutes; and use them, robber-baron like, to exact unimaginable tribute from the men and women of the world who need them. Little did the first explorer dream that the day would come when individuals would claim private ownership of that which prolific nature had travailed through centuries to bestow upon mankind.

But that day has come and with it the struggle between master and man that was to result in Centralia—or possibly many Centralias.

LUMBER—A BASIC INDUSTRY

It seems the most logical thing in the world to believe that the natural resources of the Earth, upon which the race depends for food, clothing and shelter, should be owned collectively by the race instead of being the private property of a few social parasites. It seems that reason would preclude the possibility of any other arrangement, and that it would be considered as absurd for individuals to lay claim to forests, mines, railroads and factories as it would be for individuals to lay claim to the ownership of the sunlight that warms us or to the air we breathe. But the poor human race, in its bungling efforts to learn how to live in our beautiful world, appears destined to find out by bitter experience that the private ownership of the means of life is both criminal and disastrous.

Lumber is one of the basic industries—one of the industries mankind never could have done without. The whole structure of what we call civilization is built upon wooden timbers, ax-hewn or machine finished as the case may be. Without the product of the forests humanity would never have learned the use of fire, the primitive bow and arrow or the bulging galleys of ancient commerce. Without the firm and fibrous flesh of the mighty

GIANT CEDAR TREES

With these huge and ancient trees of the West coast the logger daily matches his strength and skill. Due to the profit-greedy methods of the lumber trust enough trees of lesser size have been wasted to supply smaller nations with lumber for years to come.

monarchs of the forest men might never have had barges for fishing or weapons for the chase; they would not have had carts for their oxen or kilns for the fashioning of pottery; they would not have had dwellings, temples or cities; they would not have had furniture nor fittings nor roofs above their heads. Wood is one of the most primitive and indispensable of human necessities. Without its use we would still be groping in the gloom and misery of early savagery, suffering from the cold of outer space and defenseless in the midst of a harsh and hostile environment.

FROM PIONEER TO PARASITE

So it happened that the first pioneers in the northern forests were forced to bare their arms and match their strength with the wooded wilderness. At first the subjugation of the forests was a social effort. The lives and future prosperity of the settlers must be made secure from the raids of the Indians and the inclemency of the elements. Manfully did these men labor until their work was done. But this period did not last long, for the tide of emigration was sweeping westward over the sun-baked prairies to the promised land in the golden West.

Towns sprang up like magic, new trees were felled, sawmills erected and huge logs in ever increasing numbers were driven down the foaming torrents each year at spring time. The country was new, the market for lumber constantly growing and expanding. But the monopolist was unknown and the lynch-mobs of the

lumber trust still sleeping in the womb of the Future.

So passed the not unhappy period when opportunity was open to everyone, when freedom was dear to the hearts of all. It was at this time that the spirit of real Americanism was born, when the clean, sturdy name "America" spelled freedom, justice and independence. Patriotism in these days was not a mask for profiteers and murderers were not permitted to hide their bloody hands in the folds of their nation's flag.

But modern capitalism was creeping like a black curse upon the land. Stealing, coercing, cajoling, defrauding, it spread from its plague-center in Wall St., leaving misery, class antagonism and resentment in its trail. The old free America of our fathers was undergoing a profound change. Equality of opportunity was doomed. A new social alignment was being created. Monopoly was loosed upon the land. Fabulous fortunes were being made as wealth was becoming centered into fewer and fewer hands. Modern capitalism was intrenching itself for the final and inevitable struggle for world domination. In due time the social parasites of the East, foreseeing that the forests of Maine, Michigan and Wisconsin could not last forever, began to look to the woods of the Northwest with covetous eyes.

SPRUCE TREES OF THE NORTHWEST

Spruce was a necessity of the war and the lumber trust profiteered unmercifully on the government. U. S. prisons are full of loggers who struck for the 8 hour day in 1917. They were charged with "obstructing the war."

STEALING THE PEOPLE'S FOREST LAND

The history of the acquisition of the forests of Washington, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and California is a long, sordid story of thinly veiled robbery and intrigue. The methods of the lumber barons in invading and seizing its "holdings" did not differ greatly, however, from those of the steel and oil kings, the railroad magnates or any of the other industrial potentates who acquired great wealth by pilfering America and peonizing its people. The whole sorry proceeding was disgraceful, high-handed and treacherous, and only made possible by reason of the blindness of the generous American people, drugged with the vanishing hope of "success" and too confident of the continued possession of its blood-bought liberties. And so the lumber barons were unhindered in their infamous work of debauchery, bribery, murder and brazen fraud.

As a result the monopoly of the Northwestern woods became an established fact. The lumber trust came into "its own." The new social alignment was complete, with the idle, absentee landlord at one end and the migratory and possessionless lumber jack at the other. The parasites had appropriated to themselves the standing timber of the Northwest; but the brawny logger whose labor had made possible the development of the industry was given, as his share of the spoils, a crumby "bindle" and a rebellious heart. The masters had gained undisputed control of the timber of the country, three quarters of which is located in the Northwest; but the workers who felled the trees, drove the logs, dressed, finished and loaded the lumber were left in the state of helpless dependency from which they could only extricate themselves by means of organization. And it is this effort to form a union and establish union headquarters that led to the tragedy at Centralia.

The lumber barons had not only achieved a monopoly of the woods but a perfect feudal domination of the woods as well. Within their domain banks, ships, railways and mills bore their private insignia—and politicians, Employers' Associations, preachers, newspapers, fraternal orders and judges and gun-men were always at their beck and call. The power they wield is tremendous and their profits would ransom a kingdom. Naturally they did not intend to permit either power or profits to be menaced by a mass of weather-beaten slaves in stag shirts and overalls. And so the struggle waxed fiercer just as the lumberjack learned to contend successfully for living conditions and adequate remuneration. It was the old, old conflict of human rights against property rights. Let us see how they compared in strength.

THE TRIUMPH OF MONOPOLY

The following extract from a document entitled "The Lumber Industry," by the Honorable Herbert Knox Smith and published by the U. S. Department of Commerce (Bureau of Corporations) will give some idea of the holdings and influence of the lumber trust:

"Ten monopoly groups, aggregating only one thousand, eight hundred and two holders, monopolized one thousand, two hundred and eight billion eight hundred million (1,208,800,000,000) board feet of standing timber—each a foot square and an inch thick. These figures are so stupendous that they are meaningless without a hackneyed device to bring their meaning home. These one thousand, eight hundred and two timber business monopolists held enough standing timber, an indispensible natural resource, to yield the planks necessary (over and above manufacturing wastage) to make a floating bridge more than two feet thick and more than five miles wide from New York to Liverpool. It would supply one inch planks for a roof over France, Germany and Italy. It would build a fence eleven miles high along our entire coast line. All monopolized by one thousand, eight hundred and two holders, or interests more or less interlocked. One of those interests—a grant of only three holders—monopolized at one time two hundred and thirty-seven billion, five hundred million (237,500,000,000) feet which would make a column one foot square and three million miles high. Although controlled by only three holders, that interest comprised over eight per cent of all the standing timber in the United States at that time."

The above illuminating figures, quoted from "The I. W. W. in the Lumber Industry,"

"TOPPING" A TREE

After one of these huge trees is "topped" it is called a "spar tree" very necessary in a certain kind of logging operations. As soon as the chopped-off portion falls, the trunk vibrates rapidly from side to side sometimes shaking the logger to certain death below.

by James Rowan, will give some idea of the magnitude and power of the lumber trust.

Opposing this colossal aggregation of wealth and cussedness were the thousands of hard-driven and exploited lumberworkers in the woods and sawmills. These had neither wealth nor influence—nothing but their hard, bare hands and a growing sense of solidarity. And the masters of the forests were more afraid of this solidarity than anything else in the world—and they fought it more bitterly, as events will show. Centralia is only one of the incidents of this struggle between owner and worker. But let us see what this hated and indispensible logger—the productive and human basis of the lumber industry, the man who made all these things possible, is like.

THE HUMAN ELEMENT—"THE TIMBER BEAST"

Lumber workers are, by nature of their employment, divided into two categories—the saw-mill hand and the logger. The former, like his brothers in the Eastern factories, is an indoor type while the latter is essentially a man of the open air. Both types are necessary to the production of finished lumber, and to both union organization is an imperative necessity.

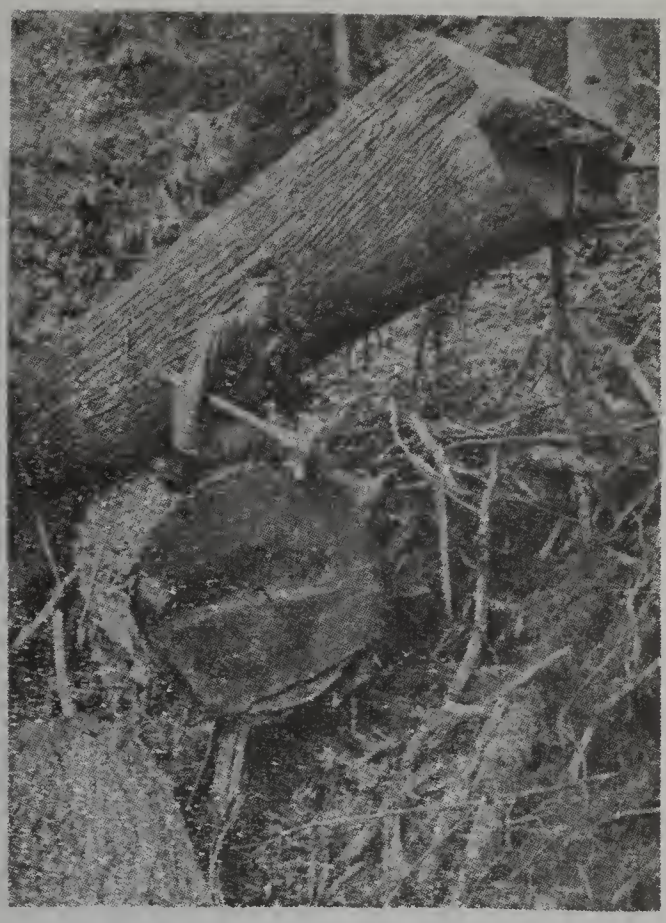
Sawmill work is machine work—rapid, tedious and often dangerous. There is the uninteresting repetition of the same act of motions day in and day out. The sights, sounds and smells of the mill are never varied. The fact that the mill is permanently located tends to keep mill workers grouped about the place of their employment. Many of them, especially in the shingle mills, have lost fingers or hands in feeding the lumber to the screaming saws. It has been estimated that fully a half of these men are married and remain settled in the mill communities. The other half, however, are not nearly so migratory as the lumberjack. Sawmill workers are not the "rough-necks" of the industry. They are of the more conservative "home guard" element and characterized by the psychology of all factory workers.

The logger, on the other hand, (and it is with him our narrative is chiefly concerned), is accustomed to hard and hazardous work in the open woods. His occupation makes him of necessity migratory. The camp, following the uncut timber from place to place, makes it impossible for him to acquire a family and settle down. Scarcely one out of ten has ever dared assume the responsibility of matrimony. The necessity of shipping from a central point in going from one job to another usually forces a migratory existence upon the lumberjack in spite of his best intentions to live otherwise.

WHAT IS A CASUAL LABORER?

The problem of the logger is that of the casual laborer in general. Broadly speaking, there are three distinct classes of casual laborers: First, the "harvest stiff" of the middle West who follows the ripening crops from Kansas to the Dakotas,

finding winter employment in the North, Middle Western woods, in construction camps or on the ice fields. Then there is the harvest worker of "the Coast" who garners the fruit, hops and grain, and does the canning of California, Washington and Oregon, finding out-of-season employment wherever possible. Finally there is the Northwestern logger, whose work, unlike that of the Middle Western "jack," is not seasonal, but who is compelled nevertheless to remain migratory. As a rule, however, his habitat is confined, according to preference or force of circumstances, to either the "long log" country of Western Washington and Oregon as well as California, or to the "short log" country of Eastern Washington and Oregon, Northern Idaho and Western Montana. Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin are in what is called the "short log" region.



A LOGGER OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

This is a type of the men who work in the "long log" region of the West coast. His is a man's sized job, and his efforts to organize and better the working conditions in the lumber industry have been manly efforts—and bitterly opposed.

As a rule the logger of the Northwest follows the woods to the exclusion of all other employment. He is militantly a lumberjack and is inclined to be a trifle "patriotic" and disputatious as to the relative importance of his own particular branch of the industry. "Long loggers," for instance, view with a suspicion of disdain the work of "short loggers" and vice versa.

"LUMBER-JACK" THE GIANT KILLER

But the lumberjack is a casual worker and he is the finished product of modern capitalism. He is the perfect proletarian type —possessionless, homeless, rebellious. He is the reverse side of the gilded medal of present day society. On the one side is the third generation idle rich—arrogant and parasitical, and on the other, the actual producer, economically helpless and denied access to the means of production unless he "beg his lordly fellow worm to give him leave to toil," as Robert Burns has it.

The logger of the Northwest has his faults. He is not any more perfect than the rest of us. The years of degradation and

struggle he has endured in the woods have not failed to leave their mark upon him. But, as the wage workers go, he is not the common but the uncommon type both as regards physical strength and cleanliness and mental alertness. He is generous to a fault and has all the qualities Lincoln and Whitman loved in men.

In the first place, whether as faller, rigging man or on the "drive," his work is muscular and out of doors. He must at all times conquer the forest and battle with the elements. There is a tang and adventure to his labor in the impressive solitude of the woods that gives him a steady eye, a strong arm and a clear brain. Being constantly close to the great green heart of Nature, he acquires the dignity and independence of the savage rather than the passive and unresisting submission of the factory worker. The fact that he is free from family ties also tends to make him ready for an industrial frolic or fight at any time. In daily matching his prowess and skill with the products of the earth he feels in a way, that the woods "belong" to him and develops a contempt for the unseen and unknown employers who kindly permit him to enrich them with his labor. He is constantly reminded of the glaring absurdity of the private ownership of natural resources. Instinctively he becomes a rebel against the injustice and contradictions of capitalist society.

Dwarfed to ant-like insignificance by the verdant immensity around him, the logger toils daily with ax, saw and cable. One after another forest giants of dizzy height crash to the earth with a sound like thunder. In a short time they are loaded on flat cars and hurried across the stump-dotted clearing to the river, whence they are dispatched to the noisy, ever-waiting saws at the mill. And always the logger knows in his heart that this is not done that people may have lumber for their needs, but rather that some overfed parasite may first add to his holy dividends. Production for profit always strikes the logger with the full force of objective observation. And is it any wonder, with the process of exploitation thus naked always before his eyes, that he should have been among the very first workers to challenge the flimsy title of the lumber barons to the private ownership of the woods?

THE FACTORY WORKER AND THE LUMBER-JACK

Without wishing to disparage the ultimate worth of either, it might be well to contrast for a moment the factory worker of the East with the lumber-jack of the Pacific Northwest. To the factory hand the master's claim to the exclusive title of the means of production is not so evidently absurd. Around him are huge, smoking buildings filled with roaring machinery—all man-made. As a rule he simply takes for granted that his employers—whoever they are—own these just as he himself owns, for instance, his pipe or his furniture. Only when he learns, from thoughtful observation or study, that such things are the appropriated products of the labor of himself and his kind, does the truth dawn upon him that labor produces all and is entitled to its own.

LOGGING OPERATIONS

Look around you at the present moment and you will see wood used for many different purposes. Have you ever stopped to think where the raw material comes from or what the workers are like who produce it? Here is a scene from a lumber camp showing the loggers at their daily tasks. The lumber trust is willing that these men should work—but not organize.

It must be admitted that factory life tends to dispirit and cow the workers who spend their lives in the gloomy confines of the modern mill or shop. Obedient to the shrill whistle they pour out of their clustered grey dwellings in the early morning. Out of the labor ghettos they swarm and into their dismal slave-pens. Then the long monotonous, daily "grind," and home again to repeat the identical proceeding on the following day. Almost always tired, trained to harsh discipline or content with low comfort; they are all too liable to feel that capitalism is invincibly colossal and that the possibility of a better day is hopelessly remote. Most of them are unacquainted with their neighbors. They live in small family or boarding house units and, having no common meeting place, realize only with difficulty the mighty potency of their vast numbers. To them organization appears desirable at times but unattainable. The dickering conservatism of craft unionism appeals to their cautious natures. They act only en masse, under awful compulsion and then their release of repressed slave emotion is sudden and terrible.

Not so with the weather-tanned husky of the Northwestern woods. His job life is a group life. He walks to his daily task with his fellow workers. He is seldom employed for long away

from them. At a common table he eats with them, and they all sleep in common bunk houses. The trees themselves teach him to scorn his master's adventitious claim to exclusive ownership. The circumstances of his daily occupation show him the need of class solidarity. His strong body clamours constantly for the sweetness and comforts of life that are denied him, his alert brain urges him to organize and his independent spirit gives him the courage and tenacity to achieve his aims. The union hall is often his only home and the One Big Union his best-beloved. He is fond of reading and discussion. He resents industrial slavery as an insult. He resented filth, overwork and poverty, he resented being made to carry his own bundle of blankets from job to job; he gritted his teeth together and fought until he had ground these obnoxious things under his iron-caulked heel. The lumber trust hated him just in proportion as he gained and used his industrial power; but neither curses, promises nor blows could make him budge. He knew what he wanted and he knew how to get what he wanted. And his bosses didn't like it very well.

The lumber-jack is secretive and not given to expressed emotion—excepting in his union songs. The bosses don't like his songs either. But the logger isn't worried a bit. Working away in the woods every day, or in his bunk at night, he dreams his dream of the world as he thinks it should be—that "wild wobbly dream" that every passing day brings closer to realization—and he wants all who work around him to share his vision and his determination to win so that all will be ready and worthy to live in the New Day that is dawning.

In a word the Northwestern lumber-jack was too human and too stubborn ever to repudiate his red-blooded manhood at the behest of his masters and become a serf. His union meant to him all that he possessed or hoped to gain. Is it any wonder that he endured the tortures of hell during the period of the war rather than yield his Red Card—or that he is still determined and still undefeated? Is it any wonder the lumber barons hated him and sought to break his spirit with brute force and legal cunning—or that they conspired to murder it at Centralia with mob violence—and failed?

WHY THE LOGGERS ORGANIZED

The condition of the logger previous to the period of organization beggars description. Modern industrial autocracy seemed with him to develop its most inhuman characteristics. The evil plant of wage slavery appeared to bear its most noxious blossoms in the woods.

The hours of labor were unendurably long, ten hours being the general rule—with the exception of the Grays Harbor district, where the eleven or even twelve hour day prevailed. In addition to this men were compelled to walk considerable distances to and from their work and meals through the wet brush.

Not infrequently the noon lunch was made almost impossible because of the order to be back on the job when work commenced. A ten hour stretch of arduous labor, in a climate where incessant rain is the rule for at least six months of the year, was enough to try the strength and patience of even the strongest. The wages too were pitiably inadequate.

The camps themselves, always more or less temporary affairs, were inferior to the cow-shed accommodations of a cattle ranch. The bunk houses were over-crowded, ill-smelling and unsanitary. In these ramshackle affairs the loggers were packed like sardines. The bunks were arranged tier over tier and nearly always without mattresses. They were uniformly vermin-infested and sometimes of the "muzzle-loading" variety. No blankets were furnished, each logger being compelled to supply his own. There were no facilities for bathing or the washing and drying of sweaty clothing. Lighting and ventilation were, of course, always poor.

In addition to these discomforts the unorganized logger was charged a monthly hospital fee for imaginary medical service. Also it was nearly always necessary to pay for the opportunity of enjoying these privileges by purchasing employment from a "job shark" or securing the good graces of a "man catcher." The former often had "business agreements" with the camp foreman and, in many cases, a man could not get a job unless he had a ticket from a labor agent in some shipping point.

It may be said that the conditions just described were more prevalent in some parts of the lumber country than in others. Nevertheless, these prevailed pretty generally in all sections of the industry before the workers attempted to better them by organizing. At all events such were the conditions the lumber barons sought with all their power to preserve and the loggers to change.

ORGANIZATION AND THE OPENING STRUGGLE

A few years before the birth of the Industrial Workers of the World the lumber workers had started to organize. By 1905, when the above mentioned union was launched, lumberworkers were already united in considerable numbers in the old Western, afterwards the American Labor Union. This organization took steps to affiliate with the Industrial Workers of the World and was thus among the very first to seek a larger share of life in the ranks of that militant and maligned organization. Strike followed strike with varying success and the conditions of the loggers began preceptibly to improve.

Scattered here and there in the cities of the Northwest were many locals of the Industrial Workers of the World. Not until 1912, however, were these consolidated into a real industrial unit. For the first time a sufficient number of loggers and saw mill men were organized to be grouped into an integral part of the One Big Union. This was done with reasonable success. In the following year the American Federation of Labor attempted a

EUGENE BARNETT

(After the man-hunt)

Coal miner. Born in North Carolina. Member of U. M. W. A. and I. W. W. Went to work underground at the age of eight. Self educated, a student and philosopher. Upon reaching home Barnett, fearful of the mob, took to the woods with his rifle. He surrendered to the posse only after he had convinced himself that their purpose was not to lynch him.

similar task but without lasting results, the loggers preferring the industrial to the craft form of organization. Besides this, they were predisposed to sympathize with the ideal of solidarity and Industrial Democracy for which their own union had stood from the beginning.

The "timber beast" was starting to reap the benefits of his organized power. Also he was about to feel the force and hatred of the "interests" arrayed against him. He was soon to learn that the path of labor unionism is strewn with more rocks than roses. He was making an earnest effort to emerge from the squalor and misery of peonage and was soon to see that his overlords were satisfied to keep him right where he had always been.

Strange to say, almost the first really important clash occurred in the very heart of the lumber trust's domain, in the little city of Aberdeen, Grays Harbor County—only a short distance from Centralia, of mob fame!

This was in 1912. A strike had started in the saw mills over demands of a $2.50 daily wage. Some of the saw mill workers were members of the Industrial Workers of the World. They were supported by the union loggers of Western Washington. The struggle was bitterly contested and lasted for several weeks. The lumber trust bared its fangs and struck viciously at the workers in a manner that has since characterized its tactics in all labor disputes.

The jails of Aberdeen and adjoining towns were filled with strikers. Picket lines were broken up and the pickets arrested. When the wives of the strikers with babies in their arms, took the places of their imprisoned husbands, the fire hose was turned on them with great force, in many instances knocking them to the ground. Loggers and sawmill men alike were unmercifully beaten. Many were slugged by mobs with pick handles, taken to the outskirts of the city in automobiles and told that their return would be the occasion of a lynching. At one time an armed mob of business men dragged nearly four hundred strikers from

their homes or boarding houses, herded them into waiting boxcars, sealed up the doors and were about to deport them en masse. The sheriff, getting wind of this unheard-of proceeding, stopped it at the last moment. Many men were badly scarred by beatings they received. One logger was crippled for life by the brutal treatment accorded him.

But the strikers won their demands and conditions were materially improved. The Industrial Workers of the World continued to grow in numbers and prestige. This event may be considered the beginning of the labor movement on Grays Harbor that the lumber trust sought finally to crush with mob violence on a certain memorable day in Centralia seven years later.

BERT FAULKNER

American. Logger. 21 years of age. Member of the Industrial Workers of the World since 1917. Was in the hall when raid occurred. Faulkner personally knew Grimm, McElfresh and a number of others who marched in the parade. He is an ex-soldier himself. The prosecution used a great deal of pressure to make this boy turn state's evidence. He refused stating that he would tell nothing but the truth. At the last moment he was discharged from the case after being held in jail four months.

Following the Aberdeen strike one or two minor clashes occurred. The lumber workers were usually successful. During this period they were quietly but effectually spreading One Big Union propaganda throughout the camps and mills in the district. Also they were organizing their fellow workers in increasing numbers into their union. The lumber trust, smarting under its last defeat, was alarmed and alert.

A MASSACRE AND A NEW LAW

But no really important event occurred until 1916. At this time the union loggers, organized in the Industrial Workers of the World, had started a drive for membership around Puget Sound. Loggers and mill hands were eager for the message of Industrial Unionism. Meetings were well attended and the sentiment in favor of the organization was steadily growing. The A. F. of L. shingle weavers and longshoremen were on strike and had asked the I. W. W. to help them secure free speech in Everett. The ever-watchful lumber interests decided the time to strike had again arrived. The events of "Bloody Sunday" are too well known to need repeating here. Suffice to say that after a summer replete with illegal beatings and jailings five men were killed in cold blood and forty wounded in a final desperate effort to drive the union out of the city of Everett, Washington. These

unarmed loggers were slaughtered and wounded by the gunfire of a gang of business men and plug-uglies of the lumber interests. True to form, the lumber trust had every union man in sight arrested and seventy-four charged with the murder of a gunman who had been killed by the cross-fire of his own comrades. None of the desperadoes who had done the actual murdering was ever prosecuted or even reprimanded. The charge against the members of the Industrial Workers of the World was pressed. The case was tried in court and the Industrialists declared "not guilty." George Vanderveer was attorney for the defense.

The lumber interests were infuriated at their defeat, and from this time on the struggle raged in deadly earnest. Almost everything from mob law to open assassination had been tried without avail. The execrated One Big Union idea was gaining members and power every day. The situation was truly alarming. Their heretofore trustworthy "wage plugs" were showing unmistakable symptoms of intelligence. Workingmen were waking up. They were, in appalling numbers, demanding the right to live like men. Something must be done—something new and drastic—to split asunder this on-coming phalanx of industrial power.

But the gun-man-and-mob method was discarded, temporarily at least, in favor of the machinations of lumber trust tools in the law making bodies. Big Business can make laws as easily as it can break them—and with as little impunity. So the notorious Washington "Criminal Syndicalism" law was devised. This law, however, struck a snag. The honest-minded governor of the state, recognizing its transparent character and far-reaching effects, promptly vetoed the measure. After the death of Governor Lister the criminal syndicalism law was passed, however, by the next State Legislature. Since that time it has been used against the American Federation of Labor, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Socialist Party and even common citizens not affiliated with any of these organizations. The criminal syndicalism law registers the high water mark of reaction. It infringes more on the liberties of the people than any of the labor-crushing laws that blackened Russia during the dynasty of the Romanoffs. It would disgrace the anti-Celestial legislation of Hell.

THE 8 HOUR DAY AND "TREASON"

Nineteen hundred and seventeen was an eventful year. It was then the greatest strike in the history of the lumber industry occurred—the strike for the eight hour day. For years the logger and mill hand had fought against the unrestrained greed of the lumber interests. Step by step, in the face of fiercest opposition, they had fought for the right to live like men; and step by step they had been gaining. Each failure or success had shown them the weakness or strength of their union. They had been consolidating their forces as well as learning how to use them. The lumber trust had been making huge profits the while, but the lumber workers were still working ten hours or more and

the logger was still packing his dirty blankets from job to job. Dissatisfaction with conditions was wider and more prevalent than ever before. Then came the war.

As soon as this country had taken its stand with the allied imperialists the price of lumber, needed for war purposes, was boosted to sky-high figures. From $16.00 to $116.00 per thousand feet is quite a jump; but recent disclosures show that the Government paid as high as $1200.00 per thousand for spruce that private concerns were purchasing for less than one tenth of that sum. Gay parties with plenty of wild women and hard drink are alleged to have been instrumental in enabling the "patriotic" lumber trust to put these little deals across. Due to the duplicity of this same bunch of predatory gentlemen the airplane and ship building program of the United States turned out to be a scandal instead of a success. Out of 21,000 feet of spruce delivered to a Massachusetts factory, inspectors could only pass 400 feet as fit for use. Keep these facts and figures in mind when you read about what happened to the "disloyal" lumber workers during the war—and afterwards.

MRS. ELMER SMITH AND BABY GIRL

Mrs. Elmer Smith is the cultured daughter of a Washington judge. Since Elmer Smith got into trouble many efforts have been made to induce his wife to leave him. Mrs. Smith prefers, however, to stick with her rebel lawyer whom she loves and admires.

Discontent had been smouldering in the woods for a long time. It was soon fanned to a flame by the brazen profiteering of the lumber trust. The loggers had been biding their time —rather sullenly it is true—for the day when the wrongs they had endured so patiently and so long might be rectified. Their quarrel with the lumber interests was an old one. The time was becoming propitious.

In the early summer of 1917 the strike started. Sweeping through the short log country it spread like wild-fire over nearly all the Northwestern lumber districts. The tie-up was practically complete. The industry was paralyzed. The lumber trust, its mouth drooling in anticipation of the many millions it was about to make in profits, shattered high heaven with its cries of rage. Immediately its loyal henchmen in the Wilson administration rushed to the rescue. Profiteering might be condoned, moralized

over or winked at, but militant labor unionism was a menace to the government and the prosecution of the war. It must be crushed. For was it not treacherous and treasonable for loggers to strike for living conditions when Uncle Sam needed the wood and the lumber interests the money? So Woodrow Wilson and his coterie of political troglodytes from the slave-owning districts of the old South, started out to teach militant labor a lesson. Corporation lawyers were assembled. Indictments were made to order. The bloodhounds of the Department of "Justice" were unleashed. Grand Juries of "patriotic" business men were impaneled and did their expected work not wisely but too well. All the gun-men and stool-pigeons of Big Business got busy. And the opera bouffe of "saving our form of government" was staged.

INDUSTRIAL HERETICS AND THE WHITE TERROR

For a time it seemed as though the strikers would surely be defeated. The onslaught was terrific, but the loggers held out bravely. Workers were beaten and jailed by the hundreds. Men were herded like cattle in blistering "bull-pens," to be freed after months of misery, looking more like skeletons than human beings. Ellensburg and Yakima will never be forgotten in Washington. One logger was even burned to death while locked in a small iron-barred shack that had been dignified with the title of "jail." In the Northwest even the military were used and the bayonet of the soldier could be seen glistening beside the cold steel of the hired thug. Union halls were raided in all parts of the land. Thousands of workers were deported. Dozens were tarred and feathered and mobbed. Some were even taken out in the dead of night and hanged to railway bridges. Hundreds were convicted of imaginary offenses and sent to prison for terms of from one to twenty years. Scores were held in filthy jails for as long as twenty-six months awaiting trial. The Espionage Law, which never convicted a spy, and the Criminal Syndicalism Laws, which never convicted a criminal, were used savagely and with full force against the workers in their struggle for better conditions. By means of newspaper-made war hysteria the profiteers of Big Business entrenched themselves in public opinion. By posing as "100% Americans" (how stale and trite the phrase has become from their long misuse of it!) these social parasites sought to convince the nation that they, and not the truly American unionists whose backs they were trying to break, were working for the best interests of the American people. Our form of government, forsooth, must be saved. Our institutions must be rescued from the clutch of the "reds." Thus was the war-frenzy of their dupes lashed to madness and the guarantees of the constitution suspended as far as the working class was concerned.

So all the good, wise and noisy men of the nation were induced by diverse means to cry out against the strikers and their union. The worst passions of respectable people were appealed to. The hoarse blood-cry of the mob was raised. It was echoed

and re-echoed from press and pulpit. The very air quivered from its reverberations. Lynching parties became "respectable." Indictments were flourished. Hand-cuffs flashed. The clinking feet of workers going to prison rivaled the sound of the soldiers marching to war. And while all this was happening, a certain paunchy little English Jew with moth-eaten hair and blotchy jowls—the accredited head of a great labor union—glared through his thick spectacles and nodded his perverse approval. But the lumber trust licked its fat lips and leered at its swollen dividends. All was well and the world was being made "safe for democracy!"

BRITT SMITH

American. Logger. 38 years old. Had followed the woods for twenty years. Smith made his home in the hall that was raided and was secretary of the Union. When the mob broke into the jail and seized Wesley Everest to torture and lynch him they cried, "We've got Britt Smith!" Smith was the man they wanted and it was to break his neck that ropes were carried in the "parade." Not until Everest's body was brought back to the city jail was it discovered that the mob had lynched the wrong man.

AUTOCRACY VS. UNIONISM

This unprecedented struggle was really a test of strength between industrial autocracy and militant unionism. The former was determined to restore the palmy days of peonage for all time to come, the latter to fight to the last ditch in spite of hell and high water. The lumber trust sought to break the strike of the loggers and destroy their organization. In the ensuing fracas the lumber barons came out only second best—and they were bad losers. After the war-fever had died down—one year after the signing of the Armistice—they were still trying in Centralia to attain their ignoble ends by means of mob violence.

But at this time the ranks of the strikers were unbroken. The heads of the loggers were "bloody but unbowed." Even at last, when compelled to yield to privation and brute force and return to work, they turned defeat to victory by "carrying the strike onto the job." As a body they refused to work more than eight hours. Secretary of War Baker and President Wilson had both vainly urged the lumber interests to grant the eight hour day. The determined industrialists gained this demand, after all else had failed, by simply blowing a whistle when the time was up. Most of their other demands were won as well. In spite of even the Disque despotism, mattresses, clean linen and shower baths were reluctantly granted as the fruits of victory.

But even as these lines are written the jails and prisons of America are filled to overflowing with men and women whose only crime is loyalty to the working class. The war profiteers are still wallowing in luxury. None has ever been placed behind the bars. Before he was lynched in Butte, Frank Little had said, "I stand for the solidarity of labor." That was enough. The vials of wrath were poured on his head for no other reason. And for no other reason was the hatred of the employing class directed at the valiant hundreds who now rot in prison for longer terms than those meted out to felons. William Haywood and Eugene Debs are behind steel bars today for the same cause. The boys at Centralia were conspired against because they too stood "for the solidarity of labor." It is simply lying and camouflage to attempt to trace such persecutions to any other source. These are things America will be ashamed of when she comes to her senses. Such grewsome events are paralleled in no country save the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm or the Russia of the Czar.

This picture of labor persecution in free America—terrible but true—will serve as a background for the dramatic history of the events leading up to the climacteric tragedy at Centralia on Armistice Day, 1919.

WHILE IN WASHINGTON . . .

All over the state of Washington the mobbing, jailing and tar and feathering of workers continued the order of the day until long after the cessation of hostilities in Europe. The organization had always urged and disciplined its members to avoid violence as an unworthy weapon. Usually the loggers have left their halls to the mercy of the mobs when they knew a raid was contemplated. Centralia is the one exception. Here the outrages heaped upon them could be no longer endured.

In Yakima and Sedro Woolley, among other places in 1918, union men were stripped of their clothing, beaten with rope ends and hot tar applied to the bleeding flesh. They were then driven half naked into the woods. A man was hanged at night in South Montesano about this time and another had been tarred and feathered. As a rule the men were taken unaware before being treated in this manner. In one instance a stationary delegate of the Industrial Workers of the World received word that he was to be "decorated" and rode out of town on a rail. He slit a pillow open and placed it in the window with a note attached stating that he knew of the plan; would be ready for them, and would gladly supply his own feathers. He did not leave town either on a rail or otherwise.

In Seattle, Tacoma and many other towns, union halls and print shops were raided and their contents destroyed or burned. In the former city in 1919, men, women and children were knocked insensible by policemen and detectives riding up and down the sidewalks in automobiles, striking to right and left with "billy" and night stick as they went. These were accompanied by auto

trucks filled with hidden riflemen and an armored tank bristling with machine guns. A peaceable meeting of union men was being dispersed.

In Centralia, Aberdeen and Montesano, in Grays Harbor County, the struggle was more local but not less intense. No fewer than twenty-five loggers on different occasions were taken from their beds at night and treated to tar and feathers. A great number were jailed for indefinite periods on indefinite charges. As an additional punishment these were frequently locked in their cells and the fire hose played on their drenched and shivering bodies. "Breech of jail discipline" was the reason given for this "cruel and unusual" form of lumber trust punishment.

LOREN ROBERTS

American. Logger. 19 years old. Loren's mother said of him at the trial: "Loren was a good boy, he brought his money home regularly for three years. After his father took sick he was the only support for his father and me and the three younger ones." The father was a sawyer in a mill and died of tuberculosis after an accident had broken his strength. This boy, the weakest of the men on trial, was driven insane by the unspeakable "third degree" administered in the city jail. One of the lumber trust lawyers was in the jail at the time Roberts signed his so-called "confession." "Tell him to quit stalling," said a prosecutor to Vanderveer, when Roberts left the witness stand. "You cur!" replied the defense attorney in a low voice, "you know who is responsible for this boy's condition." Roberts was one of the loggers on Seminary Hill.

In Aberdeen and Montesano there were several raids and many deportations of the tar and feather variety. In Aberdeen in the fall of 1917 during a "patriotic" parade, the battered hall of the union loggers was again forcibly entered in the absence of its owners. Furniture, office fixtures, Victrola and books were dumped into the street and destroyed. In the town of Centralia, about a year before the tragedy, the Union Secretary was kidnapped and taken into the woods by a mob of well dressed business men. He was made to "run the gauntlet" and severely beaten. There was a strong sentiment in favor of lynching him on the spot, but one of the mob objected saying it would be "too raw." The victim was then escorted to the outskirts of the city and warned not to return under pain of the usual penalty. On more than one occasion loggers who had expressed themselves in favor of the Industrial Workers of the World, were found in the morning dangling from trees in the neighborhood. No explanation but that of "suicide" was ever offered. The whole story of the atrocities perpetrated during these days of the White Terror, in all probability, will never be published. The criminals are well known but their influence is too powerful to ever make it expedient to

expose their crimes. Besides, who would care to get a gentleman in trouble for killing a mere "wobbly"? The few instances noted above will, however, give the reader some slight idea of the grewsome events that were leading inevitably to that grim day in Centralia in November, 1919.

WEATHERING THE STORM

Through it all the industrialists clung to their Red Cards and to the One Big Union for which they had sacrificed so much. Time after time, with incomparable patience, they would refurnish and reopen their beleaguered halls, heal up the wounds of rope, tar or "billy" and proceed with the work of organization as though nothing had happened. With union cards or credentials hidden in their heavy shoes they would meet secretly in the woods at night. Here they would consult about members who had been mobbed, jailed or killed, about caring for their families —if they had any—about carrying on the work of propaganda and laying plans for the future progress of their union. Perhaps they would take time to chant a rebel song or two in low voices. Then, back on the job again to "line up the slaves for the New Society!"

Through a veritable inferno of torment and persecution these men had refused to be driven from the woods or to give up their union—the Industrial Workers of the World. Between the two dreadful alternatives of peonage or persecution they chose the latter—and the lesser. Can you imagine what their peonage must have been like?

SINISTER CENTRALIA

But Centralia was destined to be the scene of the most dramatic portion of the struggle between the entrenched interests and the union loggers. Here the long persecuted industrialists made a stand for their lives and fought to defend their own, thus giving the glib-tongued lawyers of the prosecution the opportunity of accusing them of "wantonly murdering unoffending paraders" on Armistice Day.

Centralia in appearance is a creditable small American city —the kind of city smug people show their friends with pride from the rose-scented tranquility of a super-six in passage. The streets are wide and clean, the buildings comfortable, the lawns and shade trees attractive. Centralia is somewhat of a coquette but she is as sinister and cowardly as she is pretty. There is a shudder lurking in every corner and a nameless fear sucks the sweetness out of every breeze. Song birds warble at the outskirts of the town but one is always haunted by the cries of the human beings who have been tortured and killed within her confines.

A red-faced business man motors leisurely down the wet street. He shouts a laughing greeting to a well dressed group at the curb who respond in kind. But the roughly dressed lum-

berworkers drop their glances in passing one another. The Fear is always upon them. As these lines are written several hundred discontented shingle-weavers are threatened with deportation if they dare to strike. They will not strike, for they know too well the consequences. The man-hunt of a few months ago is not forgotten and the terror of it grips their hearts whenever they think of opposing the will of the Moloch that dominates their every move.

Around Centralia are wooded hills; men have been beaten beneath them and lynched from their limbs. The beautiful Chehalis River flows near by; Wesley Everest was left dangling from one of its bridges. But Centralia is provokingly pretty for all that. It is small wonder that the lumber trust and its henchmen wish to keep it all for themselves.

Well tended roads lead in every direction, bordered with clearings of worked out camps and studded with occasional tree stumps of great age and truly prodiguous size. At intervals are busy saw mills with thousands of feet of odorous lumber piled up in orderly rows. In all directions stretches the pillared immensity of the forests. The vistas through the trees seem enchanted rather than real—unbelievably green and of form and depth that remind one of painted settings for a Maeterlinck fable rather than matter-of-fact timber land.

THE HIGH PRIESTS OF LABOR HATRED

Practically all of this land is controlled by the trusts; much of it by the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, of which F. B. Hubbard is the head. The strike of 1917 almost ruined this worthy gentleman. He has always been a strong advocate of the open shop, but during the last few years he has permitted his rabid labor-hatred to reach the point of fanaticism. This Hubbard figures prominently in Centralia's business, social and mob circles. He is one of the moving spirits in the Centralia conspiracy. The Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, besides large tracts of land, owns saw-mills, coal mines and a railway. The Centralia newspapers are its mouthpieces while the Chamber of Commerce and the Elks' Club are its general headquarters. The Farmers' & Merchants' Bank is its local citadel of power. In charge of this bank is a sinister character, one Uhlman, a German of the old school and a typical Prussian junker. At one time he was an officer in the German army but at present is a "100% American"—an easy metamorphosis for a Prussian in these days. His native born "brother-at-arms" is George Dysart whose son led the posses in the man-hunt that followed the shooting. In Centralia this bank and its Hun dictator dominates the financial, political and social activities of the community. Business men, lawyers, editors, doctors and local authorities all kow-tow to the institution and its Prussian president. And woe be to any who dare do otherwise! The power of the "interests" is a vengeful power and will have no other power before it. Even the mighty arm of the law becomes palsied in its presence.

LUMBERWORKERS' UNION HALL RAIDED IN 1918

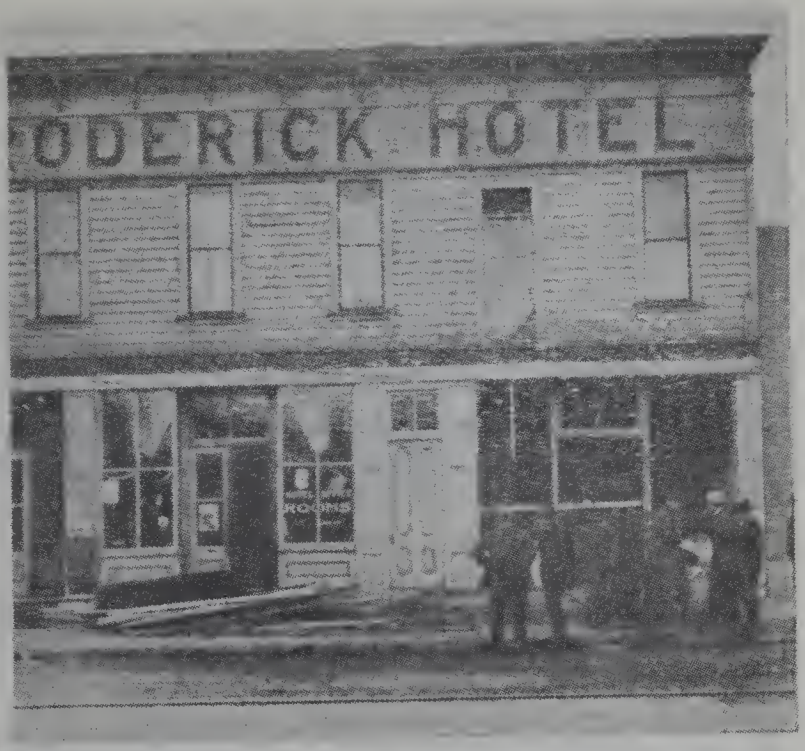
The first of the two halls to be wrecked by Centralia's terrorists. This picture was not permitted to be introduced as evidence of the conspiracy to raid the new hall. Judge Wilson didn't want the jury to know anything about this event.

The Farmers' & Merchants' Bank is the local instrumentality of the invisible government that holds the nation in its clutch. Kaiser Uhlman has more influence than the city mayor and more power than the police force. The law has always been a little thing to him and his clique. The inscription on the shield of this bank is said to read "To hell with the Constitution; this is Lewis County." As events will show, this inspiring maxim has been faithfully adhered to. One of the mandates of this delectable nest of highbinders is that no headquarters of the Union of the lumber workers shall ever be permitted within the sacred precincts of the city of Centralia.

THE LOVED AND HATED UNION HALL

Now the loggers, being denied the luxury of home and family life, have but three places they can call "home." The bunkhouse in the camp, the cheap rooming house in town and the Union Hall. This latter is by far the best loved of all. It is here the men can gather around a crackling wood fire, smoke their pipes and warm their souls with the glow of comradeship. Here they can, between jobs or after work, discuss the vicissitudes of their daily lives, read their books and magazines and sing their songs of solidarity, or merely listen to the "tinned" humor or harmony of the much-prized Victrola. Also they here attend to affairs of their Union —line up members, hold business and educational meetings and a weekly "open forum." Once in awhile a rough and wholesome "smoker" is given. The features of this great event are planned for weeks in advance and sometimes talked about for months afterwards.

These halls are at all times open to the public and inducements are made to get workers to come in and read a thoughtful treatise on Industrial questions. The latch-string is always out for people who care to listen to a lecture on economics or similar subjects. Inside the hall there is usually a long reading-table littered with books, magazines or papers. In a rack or case at the wall are to be found copies of the "Seattle Union Record," "The Butte Daily Bulletin," "The New Solidarity," "The Industrial Worker," "The Liberator," the "New Republic" and "The Nation." Always there is a shelf of thumb-worn books on history, science, economics and socialism. On the walls are lithographs or engravings of noted champions of the cause of Labor, a few photographs of local interest and the monthly Bulletins and Statements of the Union. Invariably there is a blackboard with jobs, wages and hours written in chalk for the benefit of men seeking employment. There are always a number of chairs in the room and a roll top desk for the secretary. Sometimes at the end of the hall is a plank rostrum—a modest altar to the Goddess of Free Speech and open discussion. This is what the loved and hated I. W. W. Halls are like—the halls that have been raided and destroyed by the hundreds during the last three years.



THE SCENE OF THE ARMISTICE DAY TRAGEDY

This is what was left of the Union hall the loggers tried to defend on November 11th. Three of the raiders, Grimm, McElfresh and Casagranda, were killed in the immediate vicinity of the doorway. Several others were wounded while attempting to rush the doors.

Remember, too, that in each of these raids the union men were not the aggressors and that there was never any attempt at reprisal. In spite of the fact that the lumber workers were within their legal right to keep open their halls and to defend them from felonious attack, it had never happened until November 11, that active resistance was offered the marauders. This fact alone speaks volumes for the long-suffering patience of the logger and for his desire to settle his problems by peaceable means wherever possible. But the Centralia raid was the straw that broke the camel's back. The lumber trust went a little too

far on this occasion and it got the surprise of its life. Four of its misguided dupes paid for their lawlessness with their lives, and a number of others were wounded. There has not since been a raid on a union hall in the Northwestern District.

It is well that workingmen and women throughout the country should understand the truth about the Armistice Day tragedy in Centralia and the circumstances that led up to it. But in order to know why the hall was raided it is necessary first to understand why this, and all similar halls, are hated by the oligarchies of the woods.

The issue contested is whether the loggers have the right to organize themselves into a union, or whether they must remain chattels--mere hewers of wood and helpless in the face of the rapacity of their industrial overlords—or whether they have the right to keep open their halls and peacefully to conduct the affairs of their union. The lumber workers contend that they are entitled by law to do these things and the employers assert that, law or no law, they shall not do so. In other words, it is a question of whether labor organization shall retain its foothold in the lumber industry or be "driven from the woods."

PIONEERS OF UNIONISM

It is hard for workers in most of the other industries—especially in the East—to understand the problems, struggles and aspirations of the husky and unconquerable lumber workers of the Northwest. The reason is that the average union man takes his union for granted. He goes to his union meetings, discusses the affairs of his craft, industry or class, and he carries his card —all as a matter of course. It seldom enters his mind that the privileges and benefits that surround him and the protection he enjoys are the result of the efforts and sacrifices of the nameless thousands of pioneers that cleared the way. But these unknown heroes of the great struggle of the classes did precede him with their loyal hearts and strong hands; otherwise workers now organized would have to start the long hard battle at the beginning and count their gains a step at a time, just as did the early champions of industrial organization, or as the loggers of the West Coast are now doing.

The working class owes all honor and respect to the first men who planted the standard of labor solidarity on the hostile frontier of unorganized industry. They were the men who made possible all things that came after and all things that are still to come. They were the trail blazers. It is easier to follow them than to have gone before them—or with them. They established the outposts of unionism in the wilderness of Industrial autocracy. Their voices were the first to proclaim the burning message of Labor's power, of Labor's mission and of Labor's ultimate emancipation. Their breasts were the first to receive the blows of the enemy; their unprotected bodies were shielding the countless

SEMINARY HILL

The Union hall looks out on this hill, with Tower avenue and an alley between. It is claimed that loggers, among others Loren Roberts, Bert Bland and the missing Ole Hanson, fired at the attacking mob from this position.

thousands to follow. They were the forerunners of the solidarity of Toil. They fought in a good and a great cause; for without solidarity, Labor would have attained nothing yesterday, gained nothing today nor dare to hope for anything tomorrow.

THE BLOCK HOUSE AND THE UNION HALL

In the Northwest today the rebel lumberjack is a pioneer. Just as our fathers had to face the enmity of the Indians, so are these men called upon to face the fury of the predatory interests that have usurped the richest timber resources of the richest nation in the world. Just outside Centralia stands a weather-beaten landmark. It is an old, brown, dilapidated block house of early days. In many ways it reminds one of the battered and wrecked union halls to be found in the heart of the city.

The evolution of industry has replaced the block house with the union hall as the embattled center of assault and defense. The weapons are no longer the rifle and the tomahawk but the boycott and the strike. The frontier is no longer territorial but industrial. The new struggle is as portentious as the old. The stakes are larger and the warfare even more bitter.

The painted and be-feathered scalp-hunter of the Sioux or Iroquois were not more heartless in maiming, mutilating and killing their victims than the "respectable" profit-hunters of to-day—the type of men who conceived the raid on the Union Hall in Centralia on Armistice Day—and who fiendishly tortured and hanged Wesley Everest for the crime of defending himself from their inhuman rage. It seems incredible that such deeds could be possible in the twentieth century. It is incredible to those who have not followed the bloody trail of the lumber trust and who are not familiar with its ruthlessness, its greed and its lust for power.

As might be expected the I. W. W. Halls in Washington were hated by the lumber barons with a deep and undying hatred. Union halls were a standing challenge to their hitherto undisputed right to the complete domination of the forests. Like the blockhouses of early days, these humble meeting places were the outposts of a new and better order planted in the stronghold of the old. And they were hated accordingly. The thieves who had invaded the resources of the nation had long ago seized the woods and still held them in a grip of steel. They were not going to tolerate the encroachments of the One Big Union of the lumber workers. Events will prove that they did not hesitate at anything to achieve their purposes.

THE FIRST CENTRALIA HALL

In the year 1918 a union hall stood on one of the side streets in Centralia. It was similar to the halls that have just been described. This was not, however, the hall in which the Armistice Day tragedy took place. You must always remember that there were two halls raided in Centralia; one in 1918 and another in 1919. The loggers did not defend the first hall and many of them were manhandled by the mob that wrecked it. The loggers did defend the second and were given as reward a hanging, a speedy, fair and impartial conviction and sentences of from 25 to 40 years. No member of the mob has ever been punished or even taken to task for his misdeed. Their names are known to everybody. They kiss their wives and babies at night and go to church on Sundays. People tip their hats to them on the street. Yet they are a greater menace to the institutions of this country than all the "reds" in the land. In a world where Mammon is king the king can do no wrong. But the question of "right" or "wrong" did not concern the lumber interests when they raided the Union hall in 1918. "Yes, we raided the hall, what are you going to do about it," is the position they take in the matter.

During the 1917 strike the two lumber trust papers in Centralia, the "Hub" and the "Chronicle" were bitter in their denunciation of the strikers. Repeatedly they urged that most drastic and violent measures be taken by the authorities and "citizens" to break the strike, smash the union and punish the strikers. The war-frenzy was at its height and these miserable sheets went about their work like Czarist papers inciting a pogrom. The lumber workers were accused of "disloyalty," "treason," "anarchy"—anything that would tend to make their cause unpopular. The Abolitionists were spoken about in identical terms before the civil war. As soon as the right atmosphere for their crime had been created the employers struck and struck hard.

It was in April, 1918. Like many other cities in the land Centralia was conducting a Red Cross drive. Among the features of this event were a bazaar and a parade.

The profits of the lumber trust were soaring to dizzy heights at this time and their patriotism was proportionately exalted.

There was the usual brand of hypocritical and fervid speechmaking. The flag was waved, the Government was lauded and the Constitution praised. Then, after the war-like proclivities of the stay-at-home heroes had been sufficiently worked upon; flag, Government and Constitution were forgotten long enough for the gang to go down the street and raid the "wobbly" hall.

AVALON HOTEL, CENTRALIA

From this point Elsie Hornbeck claimed she identified Eugene Barnett in the open window with a rifle. Afterwards she admitted that her identification was based only on a photograph shown her by the prosecution. This young lady nearly fainted on the witness stand while trying to patch her absurd story together.

Dominating the festivities was the figure of F. B. Hubbard, at that time President of the Employers' Association of the State of Washington. This is neither Hubbard's first nor last appearance as a terrorist and mob-leader—usually behind the scenes, however, or putting in a last minute appearance.

THE 1918 RAID

It had been rumored about town that the Union Hall was to be wrecked on this day but the loggers at the hall were of the opinion that the business men, having driven their Secretary out of town a short time previously, would not dare to perpetrate another atrocity so soon afterwards. In this they were sadly mistaken.

Down the street marched the parade, at first presenting no unusual appearance. The Chief of Police, the Mayor and the Governor of the State were given places of honor at the head of the procession. Company G of the National Guard and a gang of broad-cloth hoodlums disguised as "Elks" made up the main body of the marchers. But the crafty and unscrupulous Hubbard had laid his plans in advance with characteristic cunning. The parade, like a scorpion, carried its sting in the rear.

Along the main avenue went the guardsmen and the gentlemen of the Elks Club. So far nothing extraordinary had happened. Then the procession swerved to a side street. This must be the right thing for the line of march had been arranged by the Chamber of Commerce itself. A couple of blocks more and the parade had reached the intersection of First Street and Tower Avenue. What happened then the Mayor and Chief of Police probably could not have stopped even had the Governor himself

ordered them to do so. From somewhere in the line of march a voice cried out, "Let's raid the I. W. W. Hall!" And the crowd at the tail end of the procession broke ranks and leaped to their work with a will.

In a short time the intervening block that separated them from the Union Hall was covered. The building was stormed with clubs and stones. Every window was shattered and every door was smashed, the very sides of the building were torn off by the mob in its blind fury. Inside the rioters tore down the partitions and broke up chairs and pictures. The union men were surrounded, beaten and driven to the street where they were forced to watch furniture, records, typewriter and literature demolished and burned before their eyes. An American flag hanging in the hall, was torn down and destroyed. A Victrola and a desk were carried to the street with considerable care. The former was auctioned off on the spot for the benefit of the Red Cross. James Churchill, owner of a glove factory, won the machine. He still boasts of its possession. The desk was appropriated by F. B. Hubbard himself. This was turned over to an expressman and carted to the Chamber of Commerce. A small boy picked up the typewriter case and started to take it to a nearby hotel office. One of the terrorists detected the act and gave warning. The mob seized the lad, took him to a nearby light pole and threatened to lynch him if he did not tell them where books and papers were secreted which somebody said had been carried away by him. The boy denied having done this, but the hoodlums went into the hotel, ransacked and overturned everything. Not finding what they wanted, they left with a notice that the proprietor would have to take the sign down from his building in just twenty-four hours. Then the mob surged around the unfortunate men who had been found in the Union hall. With cuffs and blows these were dragged to waiting trucks where they were lifted by the ears to the body of the machine and knocked prostrate one at a time. Sometimes a man would be dropped to the ground just after he had been lifted from his feet. Here he would lay with ear drums bursting and writhing from the kicks and blows that had been freely given. Like all similar mobs this one carried ropes, which were placed about the necks of the loggers. "Here's an I. W. W." yelled someone. "What shall we do with him?" A cry was given to "lynch him!" Some were taken to the city jail and the rest were dumped unceremoniously on the other side of the county line.

Since that time the wrecked hall has remained tenantless and unrepaired. Grey and gaunt like a house in battle-scarred Belgium, it stands a mute testimony of the labor-hating ferocity of the lumber trust. Repeated efforts have since been made to destroy the remains with fire. The defense had tried without avail to introduce a photograph of the ruin as evidence to prove that the second hall was raided in a similar manner on Armistice Day, 1919. Judge Wilson refused to permit the jury to see either the photographs or the hall. But in case of another trial . . .?

Evidently the lumber trust thought it better to have all traces of its previous crime obliterated.

The raid of 1918 did not weaken the lumber workers' Union in Centralia. On the contrary it served to strengthen it. But not until more than a year had passed were the loggers able to establish a new headquarters. This hall was located next door to the Roderick Hotel on Tower Avenue, between Second and Third Streets. Hardly was this hall opened when threats were circulated by the Chamber of Commerce that it, like the previous one, was marked for destruction. The business element was lined up solid in denunciation of and opposition to the Union Hall and all that it stood for. But other anti-labor matters took up their attention and it was some time before the second raid was actually accomplished.

There was one rift in the lute of lumber trust solidarity in Centralia. Business and professional men had long been grovelling in sycophantic servility at the feet of "the clique." There was only one notable exception.

A LAWYER—AND A MAN

A young lawyer had settled in the city a few years previous to the Armistice Day tragedy. Together with his parents and four brothers he had left his home in Minnesota to seek fame and fortune in the woods of Washington. He had worked his way through McAlester College and the Law School of the University of Minnesota. He was young, ambitious, red-headed and husky, a loving husband and the proud father of a beautiful baby girl. Nature had endowed him with a dangerous combination of gifts,—a brilliant mind and a kind heart. His name was just plain Smith—Elmer Smith—and he came from the old rugged American stock.

Smith started to practice law in Centralia, but unlike his brother attorneys, he held to the assumption that all men are equal under the law—even the hated I. W. W. In a short time his brilliant mind and kind heart had won him as much hatred from the lumber barons as love

ELMER SMITH

Attorney at law. Old American stock—born on a homestead in North Dakota. By championing the cause of the "under-dog" in Centralia Smith brought down on himself the wrath of the lumber trust. He defended many union men in the courts, and at one time sought to prosecute the kidnappers of Tom Lassiter. Smith is the man Warren O. Grimm told would get along all right, "if you come in with us." He bucked the lumber trust instead and landed in prison on a trumped-up murder charge. Smith was found "not guilty" by the jury, but immediately re-arrested on practically the same charge. He is not related to Britt Smith.

WESLEY EVEREST

Logger. American (old Washington pioneer stock). Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917. A returned soldier. Earnest, sincere, quiet, he was the "Jimmy Higgins" of the Centralia branch of the Lumberworkers Union. Everest was mistaken for Britt Smith, the Union secretary, whom the mob had started out to lynch. He was pursued by a gang of terrorists and unmercifully manhandled. Later—at night—he was taken from the city jail and hanged to a bridge. In the automobile, on the way to the lynching, he was unsexed by a human fiend—a well known Centralia business man—who used a razor on his helpless victim. Even the lynchers were forced to admit that Everest was the most "dead game" man they had ever seen.

from the down-trodden,—which is saying a good deal. The "interests" studied the young lawyer carefully for awhile and soon decided that he could be neither bullied or bought. So they determined to either break his spirit or to break his neck. Smith is at present in prison charged with murder. This is how it happened:

Smith established his office in the First Guarantee Bank Building which was quite the proper thing to do. Then he began to handle law suits for wage-earners, which was altogether the reverse. Caste rules in Centralia, and Elmer Smith was violating its most sacred mandatories by giving the "working trash" the benefit of his talents instead of people really worth while.

Warren O. Grimm, who was afterwards shot while trying to break into the Union Hall with the mob, once cautioned Smith of the folly and danger of such a course. "You'll get along all right," said he, "if you will come in with us." Then he continued:

"How would you feel if one of your clients would come up to you in public, slap you on the back and say 'Hello, Elmer?'"

"Very proud," answered the young lawyer.

Some months previous Smith had taken a case for an I. W. W. logger. He won it. Other cases in which workers needed legal advice came to him. He took them. A young girl was working at the Centralia "Chronicle". She was receiving a weekly wage of three dollars which is in defiance of the minimum wage law of the state for women. Smith won the case. Also he collected hundreds of dollars in back wages for workers whom the companies had sought to defraud. Workers in the clutches of loan sharks were extricated by means of the bankruptcy laws, hitherto only used by their masters. An automobile firm was making a practice of replacing Ford engines with old ones when

a machine was brought in for repairs. One of the victims brought his case to Smith. and a lawsuit followed. This was an unheard-of proceeding, for heretofore such little business tricks had been kept out of court by common understanding.

A worker, formerly employed by a subsidiary of the Eastern Lumber & Railway Company, had been deprived of his wages on a technicality of the law by the corporation attorneys. This man had a large family and hard circumstances were forced upon them by this misfortune. One of his little girls died from what the doctor called malnutrition—plain starvation. Smith filed suit and openly stated that the lawyers of the corporation were responsible for the death of the child. The indignation of the business and professional element blazed to white heat. A suit for libel and disbarment proceedings were started against him. Nothing could be done in this direction as Smith had not only justice but the law on his side. His enemies were waiting with great impatience for a more favorable opportunity to strike him down. Open threats were beginning to be heard against him.

A Union lecturer came to town. The meeting was well attended. A viglance committee of provocateurs and business men was in the audience. At the close of the lecture those gentlemen started to pass the signal for action. Elmer Smith sauntered down the aisle, shook hands with the speaker and told him he would walk to the train with him.

The following morning the door to Smith's office was ornamented with a cardboard sign. It read: "Are you an American? You had better say so. Citizens' Committee." This was lettered in lead pencil. Across the bottom were scrawled these words: "No more I. W. W. meetings for you."

In 1918 an event occurred which served further to tighten the noose about the stubborn neck of the young lawyer. On this occasion the terrorists of the city perpetrated another shameful crime against the working class—and the law.

BLIND TOM—A BLEMISH ON AMERICA

Tom Lassiter made his living by selling newspapers at a little stand on a street corner. Tom is blind, a good soul and well liked by the loggers. But Tom has vision enough to see that there is something wrong with the hideous capitalist system we live under; and so he kept papers on sale that would help enlighten the workers. Among these were the "Seattle Union Record," "The Industrial Worker" and "Solidarity". To put it plainly, Tom was a thorn in the side of the local respectability because of his modest efforts to make people think. And his doom had also been sealed.

Early in June the newsstand was broken into and all his clothing, literature and little personal belongings were taken to a vacant lot and burned. A warning sign was left on a short pole stuck in the ashes. The message, "You leave town in 24 hours, U. S. Soldiers, Sailors and Marines," was left on the table in his room.

With true Wobbly determination, Lassiter secured a new stock of papers and immediately re-opened his little stand. About this time a Centralia business man, J. H. Roberts by name, was heard to say "This man (Lassiter) is within his legal rights and if we can't do anything by law we'll take the law into our own hands." This is precisely what happened.

On the afternoon of June 30th, Blind Tom was crossing Tower Avenue with hesitating steps when, without warning, two business men seized his groping arms and yelled in his ear, "We'll get you out of town **this** time!" Lassiter called for help. The good Samaritan came along in the form of a brute-faced creature known as W. R. Patton, a rich property owner of the city. This Christian gentleman sneaked up behind the blind man and lunged him forcibly into a waiting Oakland automobile. The machine is owned by Cornelius McIntyre who is said to have been one of the kidnapping party.

"Shut up or I'll smash your mouth so you can't yell," said one of his assailants as Lassiter was forced, still screaming for help, into the car. Turning to the driver one of the party said, "Step on her and let's get out of here." About this time Constable Luther Patton appeared on the scene. W. R. Patton walked over to where the constable stood and shouted to the bystanders, "We'll arrest the first person that objects, interferes or gets too loud."

"A good smash on the jaw would do more good," suggested the kind-hearted official.

"Well, we got that one pretty slick and now there are two more we have to get," stated W. R. Patton, a short time afterwards.

Blind Tom was dropped helpless in a ditch just over the county line. He was picked up by a passing car and eventually made his way to Olympia, capital of the state. In about a week he was back in Centralia. But before he could again resume his paper selling he was arrested on a charge of "criminal syndicalism." He is now awaiting conviction at Chehalis.

Before his arrest, however, Lassiter engaged Elmer Smith as his attorney. Smith appealed to County Attorney Herman Allen for protection for his client. After a half-hearted effort to locate the kidnappers—who were known to everybody—this official gave up the task saying he was "Too busy to bother with the affair, and, besides, the offense was only "third degree assault" which is punishable with a fine of but one dollar and costs. The young lawyer did not waste any more time with the County authorities. Instead he secured sworn statements of the facts in the case and submitted them to the Governor. These were duly acknowledged and placed on file in Olympia. But up to date no action has been taken by the executive to prosecute the criminals who committed the crime.

"Handle these I. W. W. cases if you want to," said a local attorney to Elmer Smith, counsel for one of the banks, "but sooner or later they're all going to be hanged or deported anyway."

WHERE BARNETT'S RIFLE WAS SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND

Eugene Barnett was said to have left his rifle under this sign-board as he fled from the scene of the shooting. It would have been much easier to hide a gun in the tall brush in the foreground. In reality Barnett did not have a rifle on November 11th and was never within a mile of this place. Prosecutor Cunningham said he had "been looking all over for that rifle" when it was turned over to him by a stool pigeon. Strangely enough Cunningham knew the number of the gun before he placed hands on it.

Smith was feathering a nest for himself—feathering it with steel and stone and a possible coil of hempen rope. The shadow of the prison bars was falling blacker on his red head with every passing moment. His fearless championing of the cause of the "under dog" had won him the implacable hatred of his own class. To them his acts of kindness and humanity were nothing less than treason. Smith had been ungrateful to the clique that had offered him every inducement to "come in with us". A lawyer with a heart is as dangerous as a working man with his brains. Elmer Smith would be punished all right; it would just be a matter of time.

The indifference of the County and State authorities regarding the kidnaping of blind Tom gave the terrorists renewed confidence in the efficacy and "legality" of their methods. Also it gave them a hint as to the form their future depredations were to take. And so, with the implied approval of everyone worth considering, they went about their plotting with still greater determination and a soothing sense of security.

THE CONSPIRACY DEVELOPS

The cessation of hostilities in Europe deprived the gangsters of the cloak of "patriotism" as a cover for their crimes. But this cloak was too convenient to be discarded so easily. "Let the man in uniform do it" was an axiom that had been proved both profitable and safe. Then came the organization of the local post of the American Legion and the now famous Citizens' Protective League—of which more afterwards.

With the signing of the Armistice, and the consequent almost imperceptible lifting of the White Terror that dominated the country, the organization of the loggers began daily to gather strength. The Chamber of Commerce began to growl menac-

ingly, the Employers' Association to threaten and the lumber trust papers to incite open violence. And the American Legion began to function as a "cats paw" for the men behind the scenes.

Why should the beautiful city of Centralia tolerate the hated Union hall any longer? Other halls had been raided, men had been tarred and feathered and deported—no one had ever been punished! Why should the good citizens of Centralia endure a lumberworkers headquarters and their despised union itself right in the midst of their peaceful community? Why indeed! The matter appeared simple enough from any angle. So then and there the conspiracy was hatched that resulted in the tragedy on Armistice Day. But the forces at work to bring about this unhappy conclusion were far from local. Let us see what these were like before the actual details of the conspiracy are recounted.

There were three distinct phases of this campaign to "rid the woods of the agitators." These three phases dovetail together perfectly. Each one is a perfect part of a shrewdly calculated and mercilessly executed conspiracy to commit constructive murder and unlawful entry. The diabolical plan itself was designed to brush aside the laws of the land, trample the Constitution underfoot and bring about an unparalleled orgy of unbridled labor hatred and labor repression that would settle the question of unionism for a long time.

THE CONSPIRACY—AND A SNAG

First of all comes the propaganda stage with the full force of the editorial virulence of the trust-controlled newspapers directed against labor in favor of "law and order," i. e., the lumber interests. All the machinery of newspaper publicity was used to villify the lumber worker and to discredit his Union. Nothing was left unsaid that would tend to produce intolerance and hatred or to incite mob violence. This is not only true of Centralia, but of all the cities and towns located in the lumber district. Centralia happened to be the place where the tree of anti-labor propaganda first bore its ghastly fruit. Space does not permit us to quote the countless horrible things the I. W. W. was supposed to stand for and to be constantly planning to do. Statements from the lips of General Wood and young Roosevelt to the effect that citizens should not argue with Bolshevists but meet them "head on" were very conspicuously displayed on all occasions. Any addle-headed mediocrity, in or out of uniform, who had anything particularly atrocious to say against the labor movement in general or the "radicals" in particular, was afforded every opportunity to do so. The papers were vying with one another in devising effectual, if somewhat informal, means of dealing with the "red menace".

Supported by, and partly the result of this barrage of lies, misrepresentation and incitation, came the period of attempted repression by "law". This was probably the easiest thing of all

because the grip of Big Business upon the law-making and law-enforcing machinery of the nation is incredible. At all events a state's "criminal syndicalism law" had been conveniently passed and was being applied vigorously against union men, A. F. of L. and I. W. W. alike, but chiefly against the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union, No. 500, of the Industrial Workers of the World, the basic lumber industry being the largest in the Northwest and the growing power of the organized lumberjack being therefore more to be feared.

No doubt the lumber interests had great hope that the execution of these made-to-order laws would clear up the atmosphere so far as the lumber situation was concerned. But they were doomed to a cruel and surprising disappointment.

HIS UNCLE PLANNED IT

Dale Hubbard, killed in self-defense by Wesley Everest, Armistice Day, 1919. F. B. Hubbard, a lumber baron and uncle of the dead man, is held to have been the instigator of the plot in which his nephew was shot. Hubbard was martyrized by the lumber trust's determination "to let the men in uniform do it."

A number of arrests were made in Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana and even Nevada. Fifty or sixty men all told were arrested and their trials rushed as test cases. During this period from April 25th to October 28th, 1919, the lumber trust saw with chagrin and dismay each of the state cases in turn either won outright by the defendants or else dismissed in the realization that it would be impossible to win them. By October 28th George F. Vanderveer, chief attorney for the defense, declared there were not a single member of the I. W. W. in custody in Washington, Idaho or Montana under this charge. In Seattle, Washington, an injunction was obtained restraining the mayor from closing down the new Union hall in that city under the new law. Thus it appeared that the nefarious plan of the employers and their subservient lawmaking adjuncts, to outlaw the lumber workers Union and to penalize the activities of its members, was to be doomed to an ignominious failure.

RENEWED EFFORTS—LEGAL AND OTHERWISE

Furious at the realization of their own impotency the "interests" launched forth upon a new campaign. This truly machiavellian scheme was devised to make it impossible for accused men to secure legal defense of any kind. All labor cases were to be tried simultaneously, thus making it impossible for the defendants to secure adequate counsel. George F. Russell, Secre-

tary-Manager of the Washington Employers' Association, addressed meetings over the state urging all Washington Prosecuting Attorneys to organize that this end might be achieved. It is reported that Governor Hart, of Washington, looked upon the scheme with favor when it was brought to his personal attention by Mr. Russell.

However, the fact remains that the lumber trust was losing and that it would have to devise even more drastic measures if it were to hope to escape the prospect of a very humiliating defeat. And, all the while the organization of the lumber workers continued to grow.

In Washington the situation was becoming more tense, momentarily. Many towns in the heart of the lumber district had passed absurd criminal syndicalism ordinances. These prohibited membership in the I. W. W.; made it unlawful to rent premises to the organization or to circulate its literature. The Employers' Association had boasted that it was due to its efforts that these ordinances had been passed. But still they were faced with the provocative and unforgetable fact, that the I. W. W. was no more dead than the cat with the proverbial nine lives. Where halls had been closed or raided the lumber workers were transacting their union affairs right on the job or in the bunkhouses, just as though nothing had happened. What was more deplorable a few Union halls were still open and doing business at the same old stand. Centralia was one of these; drastic measures must be applied at once or loggers in other localities might be encouraged to open halls also. As events prove these measures were taken—and they were drastic.

THE EMPLOYERS SHOW THEIR FANGS

That the Employers' Association was insiduously preparing its members for action suitable for the situation is evidenced by the following quotations from the official bulletin addressed privately "to Members of the Employers' Association of Washington". Note them carefully; they are published as "suggestions to members" over the written signature of George F. Russell, Secretary-Manager:

June 25th, 1918.—"Provide a penalty for idleness. . . . Common labor now works a few days and then loafs to spend the money earned. . . . Active prosecution of the I. W. W. and other radicals."

April 30th, 1919.—"Keep business out of the control of radicals and I. W. W. . . . Overcome agitation. . . . Closer co-operation between employers and employes. . . . Suppress the agitators. . . . Hang the Bolshevists."

May 31st, 1919—"If the agitators were taken care of we would have very little trouble. . . . Propaganda to counteract radicals and overcome agitation. . . . Put the I. W. W. in jail."

June 30th, 1919.—"Make some of the Seattle papers print the truth. . . . Get rid of the I. W. W.'s."

July 2nd, 1919.—"Educate along the line of the three R's and the golden rule, economy and self denial. . . . Import Japanese labor. . . . Import Chinese labor."

July 31st, 1919.—"Deport about ten Russians in this community."

August 31st, 1919.—"Personal contact between employer and employe, stringent treatment of the I. W. W."

October 15th, 1919.--"There are many I. W. W.'s—mostly in the logging camps. . . . "

October 31st, 1919.—(A little over a week before the Centralia raid.)—"Run your business or quit. . . . Business men and tax payers of Vancouver, Washington, have organized the Loyal Citizens' Protective League; opposed to Bolsheviki and the Soviet Form of government and in favor of the open shop. . . . Jail the radicals and deport them. . . . Since the Armistice these radicals have started in again. ONLY TWO COMMUNITIES IN WASHINGTON ALLOW I. W. W. HEADQUARTERS." (!!!)

ARTHUR McELFRESH

A Centralia druggist. His wife warned him not to march to the union headquarters because "she knew he'd get hurt." McElfresh is the man said to have been shot inside the hall when the mob burst through the door.

December 31st, 1919.—"Get rid of all the I. W. W. and all other un-American organizations. . . . Deport the radicals or use the rope as at Centralia. Until we get rid of the I. W. W. and radicals we don't expect to do much in this country. . . . Keep cleaning up on the I. W. W. . . . Don't let it die down. . . . Keep up public sentiment. . . ."

These few choice significant morsels of one hundred per cent (on the dollar) Americanism are quoted almost at random from the private bulletins of the officials of the Iron Heel in the state of Washington. Here you can read their sentiments in their own words; you can see how dupes and hirelings were coached to perpetrate the crime of Centralia, and as many other similiar crimes as they could get away with. Needless to say these illuminating lines were not intended for the perusal of the working class. But now that we have obtained them and placed them before your eyes you can draw your own conclusion. There are many, many more records germane to this case that we would like to place before you, but the Oligarchy has closed its steel jaws upon them and they are at present inaccessible. Men are still afraid to tell the truth in Centralia. Some day the workers may learn the whole truth about the inside workings of the Cen-

tralia conspiracy. Be that as it may the business interests of the Northwest lumber country stand bloody handed and doubly damned, black with guilt and foul with crime; convicted before the bar of public opinion, by their own statements and their own acts.

FAILURE AND DESPERATION

Let us see for a moment how the conspiracy of the lumber barons operated to achieve the unlawful ends for which it was designed. Let us see how they were driven by their own failure at intrigue to adopt methods so brutal that they would have disgraced the head-hunter; how they tried to gain with murder-lust what they had failed to gain lawfully and with public approval.

The campaign of lies and slander inaugurated by their private newspapers failed to convince the workers of the undesirability of labor organization. In spite of the armies of editors and news-whelps assembled to its aid, it served only to lash to a murderous frenzy the low instincts of the anti-labor elements in the community. The campaign of legal repression, admittedly instituted by the Employers' Association, failed also in spite of the fact that all the machinery of the state from dog-catcher down to Governor was at its beck and call on all occasions and for all purposes.

Having made a mess of things with these methods the lumber barons threw all scruples to the winds—if they ever had any—threw aside all pretension of living within the law. They started out, mad-dog like, to rent, wreck and destroy the last vestige of labor organization from the woods of the Northwest, and furthermore, to hunt down union men and martyrize them with the club, the gun, the rope and the courthouse.

It was to cover up their own crimes that the heartless beasts of Big Business beat the tom-toms of the press in order to lash the "patriotism" of their dupes and hirelings into hysteria. It was to hide their own infamy that the loathsome war dance was started that developed perceptibly from uncomprehending beliggerency into the lawless tumult of mobs, raids and lynchings! And it will be an everlasting blot upon the fair name of America that they were permitted to do so.

The Centralia tragedy was the culmination of a long series of unpunished atrocities against labor. What is expected of men who have been treated as these men were treated and who were denied redress or protection under the law? Every worker in the Northwest knows about the wrongs lumberworkers have endured—they are matters of common knowledge. It was common knowledge in Centralia and adjoining towns that the I. W. W. hall was to be raided on Armistice Day. Yet eight loggers have been sentenced from twenty-five to forty years in prison for the crime of defending themselves from the mob that set out to murder them! But let us see how the conspiracy was operating in Centralia to make the Armistice Day tragedy inevitable.

THE MAELSTROM—AND FOUR MEN

WARREN O. GRIMM

Warren O. Grimm, killed at the beginning of the rush on the I. W. W. hall. At another raid on an I. W. W. hall in 1918 Grimm was said by witnesses to have been leading the mob, "holding two American flags and dancing like a whirling dervish." His life-long friend, Frank Van Gilder, testified: "I stood less than two feet from Grimm when he was shot. He doubled up, put his hands to his stomach and said to me: 'My God, I'm shot'." What did you do then?" "I turned and left him."

Centralia was fast becoming the vortex of the conspiracy that was rushing to its inevitable conclusion. Event followed event in rapid succession, straws indicating the main current of the flood tide of labor-hatred. The Commercial Club was seething with intrigue like the court of old France under Catherine de Medici; only this time it was Industrial Unionism instead of Huguenots who were being marked for a new night of St. Bartholomew. The heresy to be uprooted was belief in industrial instead of religious freedom; but the stake and the gibbet were awaiting the New Idea just as they had the old.

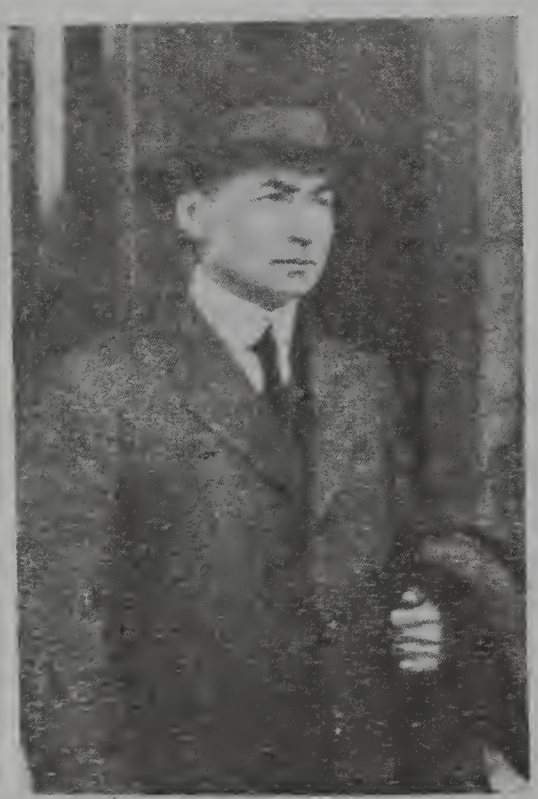
The actions of the lumber interests were now but thinly veiled and their evil purpose all too manifest. The connection between the Employers' Association of the state and its local representatives in Centralia had become unmistakably evident. And behind these loomed the gigantic silhouette of the Employers' Association of the nation—the colossal "invisible government"—more powerful at times than the Government itself. More and more stood out the naked brutal fact that the purpose of all this plotting was to drive the union loggers from the city and to destroy their hall. The names of the men actively interested in this movement came to light in spite of strenuous efforts to keep them obscured. Four of these stand out prominently in the light of the tragedy that followed: George F. Russell, F. B. Hubbard, William Scales and last, but not least, Warren O. Grimm.

The first named, George F. Russell, is a hired Manager for the Washington Employers' Association, whose membership employs between 75,000 and 80,000 workers in the state. Russell is known to be a reactionary of the most pronounced type. He is an avowed union smasher and a staunch upholder of the open shop principle, which is widely advertised as the "American plan" in Washington. Incidentally he is an advocate of the scheme to import Chineses and Japanese cooley labor as a solution of the "high wage and arrogant unionism" problem.

F. B. Hubbard, is a small-bore Russell, differing from his chief only in that his labor hatred is more fanatical and less discreet. Hubbard was hard hit by the strike in 1917 which fact has evidently won him the significant title of "a vicious little anti-labor reptile." He is the man who helped to raid the 1918 Union Hall in Centralia and who appropriated for himself the stolen desk of the Union Secretary. His nephew Dale Hubbard was shot while trying to lynch Wesley Everest.

William Scales is a Centralia business man and a virulent sycophant. He is a parochial replica of the two persons mentioned above. Scales was in the Quartermaster's Department down on the border during the trouble with Mexico. Because he was making too much money out of Uncle Sam's groceries, he was relieved of his duties quite suddenly and discharged from the service. He was fortunate in making France instead of Fort Leavenworth, however, and upon his return, became an ardent proselyte of Russell and Hubbard and their worthy cause. Also he continued in the grocery business.

Warren O. Grimm came from a good family and was a small town aristocrat. His brother is city attorney at Centralia. Grimm was a lawyer, a college athlete and a social lion. He had been with the American forces in Siberia and his chief bid for distinction was a noisy dislike for the Workers' & Peasants' Republic of Russia, and the I. W. W. which he termed the "American Bolsheviki". During the 1918 raid on the Centralia hall Grimm is said to have been dancing around "like a whirling dervish" and waving the American flag while the work of destruction was going on. Afterwards he became prominent in the American Legion and was the chief "cats paw" for the lumber interests who were capitalizing the uniform to gain their own unholy ends. Personally he was a clean-cut modern young man.



HIZZONER, THE JEDGE

In his black robe, like a bird of prey, he perched above the courtroom and ruled always adversely to the cause of labor. Appointed to try men accused of killing other men whom he had previously eulogized Judge John M. Wilson did not disappoint those who appointed him. In open court Vanderveer told this man: "There was a time when I thought your rulings were due to ignorance of the law. That will no longer explain them."

SHADOWS CAST BEFORE

On June 26th, the following notice appeared conspicuously on the first page of the Centralia Hub:

MEETING OF BUSINESS MEN CALLED FOR FRIDAY EVENING

"Business men and property owners of Centralia are urged to attend a meeting tomorrow in the Chamber of Commerce rooms to meet the officers of the Employers' Association of the state to discuss ways and means of bettering the conditions which now confront the business and property interests of the state. George F. Russell, Secretary-Manager, says in his note to business men: 'We need your advice and your co-operation in support of the movement for the defense of property and property rights. It is the most important question before the public today.'"

At this meeting Mr. Russell dwelt on the statement that the "radicals" were better organized than the property interests. Also he pointed out the need of a special organization to protect "rights of property" from the encroachments of all "foes of the government". The Non-Partisan League, the Triple Alliance and the A. F. of L. were duly condemned. The speaker then launched out into a long tirade against the Industrial Workers of the World which was characterized as the most dangerous organization in America and the one most necessary for "good citizens" to crush. Needless to state the address was chock full of 100% Americanism. It amply made up in forcefulness anything it lacked in logic.

So the "Citizens' Protective League" of Centralia was born. From the first it was a law unto itself—murder lust wearing the smirk of respectability—Judge Lynch dressed in a business suit. The advent of this infamous league marks the final ascendency of terrorism over the Constitution in the city of Centralia. The only things still needed were a secret committee, a coil of rope and —an opportunity.

F. B. Hubbard was the man selected to pull off the "rough stuff" and at the same time keep the odium of crime from smirching the fair names of the conspirators. He was told to "perfect his own organization". Hubbard was eminently fitted for his position by reason of his intense labor-hatred and his aptitude for intrigue.

The following day the Centralia Daily Chronicle carried the following significant news item:

BUSINESS MEN OF COUNTY ORGANIZE

Representatives From Many Communities Attend Meeting in Chamber of Commerce, Presided Over by Secretary of Employers' Association.

"The labor situation was thoroughly discussed this afternoon at a meeting held in the local Chamber of Commerce which was attended by representative business men from various parts of Lewis County. George F. Russell, Secretary of the Employers' Association, of Washington, presided at the meeting.

"A temporary organization was effected with F. B. Hubbard, President of the Eastern Railway & Lumber Company, as chairman. He was empowered **to perfect his own organization. A**

"SPECIAL PROSECUTOR"

C. D. Cunningham, attorney for F. B. Hubbard and various lumber interests, took charge of the prosecution immediately. He was the father of much of the "third degree" methods used on witnesses. Vanderveer offered to prove at the trial that Cunningham was at the jail when Wesley Everest was dragged out, brutally mutilated and then lynched.

similar meeting will be held in Chehalis in connection with the noon luncheon of the Citizens' Club on that day."

The city of Centralia became alive with gossip and speculation about this new move on the part of the employers. Everybody knew that the whole thing centered around the detested hall of the Union loggers. Curiosity seekers began to come in from all parts of the county to have a peep at this hall before it was wrecked. Business men were known to drive their friends from the new to the old hall in order to show what the former would look like in a short time. People in Centralia generally knew for a certainty that the present hall would go the way of its predecessor. It was just a question now as to the time and circumstances of the event.

Warren O. Grimm had done his bit to work up sentiment against the union loggers and their hall. Only a month previously—on Labor Day, 1919,—he had delivered a "labor" speech that was received with great enthusiasm by a local clique of business men. Posing as an authority on Bolshevism on account of his Siberian service Grimm had elaborated on the dangers of this pernicious doctrine. With a great deal of dramatic emphasis he had urged his audience to beware of the sinister influence of "the American Bolsheviki—the Industrial Workers of the World."

A few days before the hall was raided Elmer Smith called at Grimm's office on legal business. Grimm asked him, by the way, what he thought of his Labor Day speech. Smith replied that he thought it was "rotten" and that he couldn't agree with Grimm's anti-labor conception of Americanism. Smith pointed to the deportation of Tom Lassiter as an example of the "Americanism" he considered disgraceful. He said also that he thought free speech was one of the fundamental rights of all citizens.

"I can't agree with you," replied Grimm. "That's the proper way to treat such a fellow."

THE NEW BLACK HUNDRED

On October 19th the Centralia Hub published an item headed "Employers Called to Discuss Handling of 'Wobbly' Problem." This article urges all employers to attend, states that the meeting

will be held in the Elks' Club and mentioned the wrecking of the Union Hall in 1918. On the following day, October 20th, three weeks before the shooting, this meeting was held at the hall of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks—the now famous Elks' Club of Centralia. The avowed purpose of this meeting was to "deal with the I. W. W. problem." The chairman was William Scales, at that time Commander of the Centralia Post of the American Legion. The I. W. W. Hall was the chief topic of discussion. F. B. Hubbard opened up by saying that the I. W. W. was a menace and should be driven out of town. Chief of Police Hughes, however, cautioned them against such a course. He is reported to have said that "the I. W. W. is doing nothing wrong in Centralia—is not violating any law—and you have no right to drive them out of town in this manner." The Chief of Police then proceeded to tell the audience that he had taken up the matter of legally evicting the industrialists with City Attorney C. E. Grimm, a brother of Warren O. Grimm, who is said to have told them, "Gentlemen, there is no law by which you can drive the I. W. W. out of town." City Commissioner Saunders and County Attorney Allen had spoken to the same effect. The latter, Allen, had gone over the literature of the organization with regard to violence and destruction and had voluntarily dismissed a "criminal syndicalist" case without trial for want of evidence.

LEWIS COUNTY'S LEGAL PROSTITUTE

Herman Allen, prosecuting attorney of Lewis County. He stood at the corner during the raid and received papers stolen from the hall. There is no record of his having protested against any illegal action. He turned over his office to the special prosecutors and acted as their tool throughout. During the entire trial he never appeared as an active participant.

Hubbard was furious at this turn of affairs and shouted to Chief of Police Hughes: "It's a damned outrage that these men should be permitted to remain in town! Law or no law, if I were Chief of Police they wouldn't stay here twenty-four hours."

"I'm not in favor of raiding the hall **myself,**" said Scales. "But I'm certain that if anybody else wants to raid the I. W. W. Hall there is no jury in the land will ever convict them."

After considerable discussion the meeting started to elect a committee to deal with the situation. First of all an effort was made to get a workingman elected as a member to help camouflage its very evident character and make people believe that "honest labor" was also desirous of ridding the town of the hated

I. W. W. Hall. A switchman named Henry, a member of the Railway Brotherhood, was nominated. When he indignantly declined, Hubbard, red in the face with rage, called him a "damned skunk."

THE INNER CIRCLE

Scales then proceeded to tell the audience in general and the city officials in particular that he would himself appoint a committee "whose inner workings were secret," and see if he could not get around the matter that way. The officers of the League were then elected. The President was County Coroner David Livingstone, who afterwards helped to lynch Wesley Everest. Dr. Livingstone made his money from union miners. William Scales was vice president and Hubbard was treasurer. The secret committee was then appointed by Hubbard. As its name implies it was an underground affair, similar to the Black Hundreds of Old Russia. No record of any of its proceedings has ever come to light, but according to best available knowledge, Warren O. Grimm, Arthur McElfresh, B. S. Cromier and one or two others who figured prominently in the raid, were members. At all events on November 6th, five days before the shooting, Grimm was elected Commander of the Centralia Post of the American Legion, taking the place of Scales, who resigned in his favor. Scales evidently was of the opinion that a Siberian veteran and athlete was better fitted to lead the "shock troops" than a mere counter-jumper like himself. There is no doubt but the secret committee had its members well placed in positions of strategic importance for the coming event.

The following day the Tacoma News Tribune carried a significant editorial on the subject of the new organization:

"At Centralia a committee of citizens has been formed that takes the mind back to the old days of vigilance committees of the West, which did so much to force law-abiding citizenship upon certain lawless elements. It is called the Centralia Protective Association, and its object is to combat I. W. W. activities in that city and the surrounding country. It invites to membership all citizens who favor the enforcement of law and order . . . It is high time for the people who do believe in the lawful and orderly conduct of affairs to take the upper hand . . . Every city and town might, with profit, follow Centralia's example."

The reference to "lawful and orderly conduct of affairs" has taken a somewhat ironical twist, now that Centralia has shown the world what she considers such processes to be.

No less significant was an editorial appearing on the same date in the Centralia Hub:

"If the city is left open to this menace, we will soon find ourselves at the mercy of an organized band of outlaws bent on destruction. What are we going to do about it?" And, referring to the organizatior of the "secret committee," the editorial stated: "It was decided that the inner workings of the organiza-

THE STOOL PIGEON

Tom Morgan, who turned state's evidence. There is an historical precedent for Morgan. Judas acted similarly, but Judas later had the manhood to go out and hang himself. Morgan left for "parts unknown."

tion were to be kept secret, to more effectively combat a body using similar tactics."

The editorial reeks with lies; but it was necessary that the mob spirit should be kept at white heat at all times. Newspaper incitation has never been punished by law, yet it is directly responsible for more murders, lynchings and raids than any other one force in America.

THE PLOT LEAKS OUT

By degrees the story of the infamous secret committee and its diabolical plan leaked out, adding positive confirmation to the many already credited rumors in circulation. Some of the newspapers quite openly hinted that the I. W. W. Hall was to be the object of the brewing storm. Chief of Police Hughes told a member of the Lewis County Trades Council, William T. Merriman by name, that the business men were organizing to raid the hall and drive its members out of town. Merriman, in turn carried the statement to many of his friends and brother unionists. Soon the prospective raid was the subject of open discussion,—over the breakfast toast, on the street corners, in the camps and mills —every place.

So common was the knowledge in fact that many of the craft organizations in Centralia began to discuss openly what they should do about it. They realized that the matter was one which concerned labor and many members wanted to protest and were urging their unions to try to do something. At the Lewis County Trades Council the subject was brought up for discussion by its president, L. F. Dickson. No way of helping the loggers was found, however, if they would so stubbornly try to keep open their headquarters in the face of such opposition. Harry Smith, a brother of Elmer Smith, the attorney, was a delegate at this meeting and reported to his brother the discussion that took place.

Secretary Britt Smith and the loggers at the Union hall were not by any means ignorant of the conspiracy being hatched against them. Day by day they had followed the development of the plot with breathless interest and not a little anxiety. They knew from bitter experience how union men were handled when they were trapped in their halls. But they would not entertain the idea of abandoning their principles and seeking personal safety. Every logging camp for miles around knew of the danger also. The loggers there had gone through the hell of the organization period and had felt the wrath of the lumber barons. Some of them felt

"OILY" ABEL

Suave and slimy as a snake; without any of the kindlier traits of nature, W. H. Abel, sounded the gamut of rottenness in his efforts to convict the accused men without the semblance of a fair trial. Abel is notorious throughout Washington as the hireling of the lumber interests. In 1917 he prosecuted "without fee" all laboring men on strike and is attorney for the Cosmopolic "penitentiary" so called on account of the brutality with which it treats employes. Located in one of the small towns of the state Abel has made a fortune prosecuting labor cases for the special interests.

that the statement of Secretary of Labor Wilson as to the attitude of the Industrial Workers of the World towards "overthrowing the government," and "violence and destruction" would discourage the terrorists from attempting such a flagrant and brutal injustice as the one contemplated.

Regarding the deportation of I. W. W.'s for belonging to an organization which advocates such things, Secretary of Labor Wilson had stated a short time previously: "An exhaustive study into the by-laws and practices of the I. W. W. has thus far failed to disclose anything that brings it within the class of organizations referred to."

Others of the loggers were buoyed up with the many victories won in the courts on "criminal syndicalism" charges and felt that the raid would be too "raw" a thing for the lumber interests even to consider. All were secure in the knowledge and assurance that they were violating no law in keeping open their hall. And they wanted that hall kept open.

Of course the question of what was to be done was discussed at their business meetings. When news reached them on November 4th of the contemplated "parade" they decided to publish a leaflet telling the Citizens of Centralia about the justice and legality of their position, the aims of their organization and the real reason for the intense hatred which the lumber trust harbored against them. Such leaflet was drawn up by Secretary Britt Smith and approved by the membership. It was an honest, outspoken appeal for public sympathy and support. This leaflet—word for word as it was printed and circulated in Centralia—is reprinted below:

TO THE CITIZENS OF CENTRALIA WE MUST APPEAL

"To the law abiding citizens of Centralia and to the working class in general: We beg of you to read and carefully consider the following:

"The profiteering class of Centralia have of late been waving the flag of our country in an endeavor to incite the lawless element of our city to raid our hall and club us out of town. For this purpose they have inspired editorials in the Hub, falsely and viciously attacking the I. W. W., hoping to gain public approval for such revolting criminality. These profiteers are holding numerous secret meetings to that end, and covertly inviting returned service men to do their bidding. In this work they are ably assisted by the bankrupt lumber barons of southwest Washington who led the mob that looted and burned the I. W. W. hall a year ago.

"These criminal thugs call us a band of outlaws bent on destruction. This they do in an attempt to hide their own dastardly work in burning our hall and destroying our property. They say we are a menace; and we are a menace to all mobocrats and pilfering thieves. Never did the I. W. W. burn public or private halls, kidnap their fellow citizens, destroy their property, club their fellows out of town, bootleg or act in any way as lawbreakers. These patriotic profiteers throughout the country have falsely and without any foundation whatever charged the I. W. W. with every crime on the statute books. For these alleged crimes thousands of us have been jailed in foul and filthy cells throughout this country, often without charge, for months and in some cases, years, and when released re-arrested and again thrust in jail to await a trial that is never called. The only convictions of the I. W. W. were those under the espionage law, where we were forced to trial before jurors, all of whom were at political and industrial enmity toward us, and in courts hostile to the working class. This same class of handpicked courts and juries also convicted many labor leaders, socialists, non-partisans, pacifists, guilty of no crime save that of loyalty to the working class.

THE CHIEF FINK

Frank P. Christensen, who was the "fixer" for the prosecution. As Assistant Attorney General he used his office to intimidate witnesses and in the effort to cover up actions of the mob. He is reported to have been responsible for the recovery and burial of Everest's body, saying: "We've got to bring in that body and bury it. If the wobs ever find out what was done and get it they'll raise hell and make capital of it."

"By such courts Jesus the Carpenter was slaughtered upon the charge that 'he stirreth up the people.' Only last month 25 I. W. W. were indicted in Seattle as strike leaders, belonging to an unlawful organization, attempting to overthrow the government and other vile things under the syndicalist law passed by

the last legislature. To exterminate the "wobbly" both the court and jury have the lie to every charge. The court held them a lawful organization and their literature was not disloyal nor inciting to violence, though the government had combed the country from Chicago to Seattle for witnesses, and used every pamphlet taken from their hall in government raids.

"In Spokane 13 members were indicted in the Superior Court for wearing the I. W. W. button and displaying their emblem. The jury unanimously acquitted them and the court held it no crime.

"In test cases last month both in the Seattle and Everett Superior Courts, the presiding judge declared the police had no authority in law to close their halls and the padlocks were ordered off and the halls opened.

"Many I. W. W. in and around Centralia went to France and fought and bled for the democracy they never secured. They came home to be threatened with mob violence by the law and order outfit that pilfered every nickle possible from their mothers and fathers while they were fighting in the trenches in the thickest of the fray.

"Our only crime is solidarity, loyalty to the working class and justice to the oppressed."

"LET THE MEN IN UNIFORM DO IT"

On November 6th, the Centralia Post of the American Legion met with a committee from the Chamber of Commerce to arrange for a parade—another "patriotic" parade. The first anniversary of the signing of the armistice was now but a few days distant and Centralia felt it incumbent upon herself to celebrate. Of course the matter was brought up rather circumspectly, but knowing smiles greeted the suggestion. One business man made a motion that the brave boys wear their uniforms. This was agreed upon.

The line of march was also discussed. As the union hall was a little off the customary parade route, Scales suggested that their course lead past the hall "in order to show them how strong we are." It was intimated that a command "eyes right" would be given as the legionaires and business men passed the union headquarters. This was merely a poor excuse of the secret committeemen to get the parade where they needed it. But many innocent men were lured into a "lynching bee" without knowing that they were being led to death by a hidden gang of broadcloth conspirators who were plotting at murder. Lieutenant Cormier, who afterwards blew the whistle that was the signal for the raid, endorsed the proposal of Scales as did Grimm and McElfresh—all three of them secret committeemen.

Practically no other subject but the "parade" was discussed at this meeting. The success of the project was now assured for it had been placed into the hands of the men who alone could arrange to "have the men in uniform do it." The men in uni-

form had done it once before and people knew what to expect.

The day following this meeting the Centralia Hub published an announcement of the coming event stating that the legionaires had "voted to wear uniforms." The line of march was published for the first time. Any doubts about the real purpose of the parade vanished when people read that the procession was to march from the City Park to Third street and Tower avenue and return. The union hall was on Tower between Second and Third streets, practically at the end of the line of march and plainly the objective of the demonstrators.

BRIDGE FROM WHICH EVEREST WAS HANGED

From this bridge, over the Chehalis river, Wesley Everest was left dangling by a mob of business men. Automobile parties visited this spot at different times during the night and played their headlights on the corpse in order better to enjoy the spectacle.

"DECENT LABOR"—HANDS OFF!

A short time after the shooting a virulent leaflet was issued by the Mayor's office stating that the "plot to kill had been laid two or three weeks before the tragedy," and that "the attack (of the loggers) was without justification or excuse." Both statements are bare faced lies. The meeting was held the 6th and the line of march made public on the 7th. The loggers could not possibly have planned a week and a half previously to shoot into a parade they knew nothing about and whose line of march had not yet been disclosed. It was proved in court that the union men armed themselves at the very last moment, after everything else had failed and they had been left helpless to face the alternative of being driven out of town or being lynched.

About this time eyewitnesses declare coils of rope were being purchased in a local hardware store. This rope is all cut up into little pieces now and most of it is dirty and stained. But many of Centralia's best families prize their souvenir highly. They say it brings good luck to a family.

A few days after the meeting just described William Dunning, vice president of the Lewis County Trades and Labor Assembly, met Warren Grimm on the street. Having fresh in his mind a recent talk about the raid in the Labor Council meetings, and being well aware of Grimm's standing and influence, Dunning broached the subject.

"We've been discussing the threatened raid on the I. W. W. hall," he said.

"Who are you, an I. W. W.?" asked Grimm.

Dunning replied stating that he was vice president of the Labor Assembly and proceeded to tell Grimm the feeling of his organization on the subject.

"Decent labor ought to keep its hands off," was Grimm's laconic reply.

The Sunday before the raid a public meeting was held in the union hall. About a hundred and fifty persons were in the audience, mostly working men and women of Centralia. A number of loggers were present, dressed in the invariable mackinaw, stagged overalls and caulked shoes. John Foss, an I. W. W. ship builder from Seattle, was the speaker. Secretary Britt Smith was chairman. Walking up and down the isle, selling the union's pamphlets and papers was a muscular and sun-burned young man with a rough, honest face and a pair of clear hazel eyes in which a smile was always twinkling. He wore a khaki army coat above stagged overalls of a slightly darker shade,—Wesley Everest, the ex-soldier who was shortly to be mutilated and lynched by the mob.

"I HOPE TO JESUS NOTHING HAPPENS"

The atmosphere of the meeting was already tainted with the Terror. Nerves were on edge. Every time any newcomer would enter the door the audience would look over their shoulders with apprehensive glances. At the conclusion of the meeting the loggers gathered around the secretary and asked him the latest news about the contemplated raid. For reply Britt Smith handed them copies of the leaflet "We Must Appeal" and told of the efforts that had been made and were being made to secure legal protection and to let the public know the real facts in the case.

"If they raid the hall again as they did in 1918 the boys won't stand for it," said a logger.

"If the law won't protect us we've got a right to protect ourselves," ventured another.

"I hope to Jesus nothing happens," replied the secretary.

Wesley Everest laid down his few unsold papers, rolled a brown paper cigarette and smiled enigmatically over the empty seats in the general direction of the new One Big Union label on the front window. His closest friends say he was never afraid of anything in all his life.

None of these men knew that loggers from nearby camps, having heard of the purchase of the coils of rope, were watching the hall night and day to see that "nothing happens."

The next day, after talking things over with Britt Smith, Mrs. McAllister, wife of the proprietor of the Roderick hotel from whom the loggers rented the hall, went to see Chief of Police Hughes. This is how she told of the interview:

"I got worried and I went to the Chief. I says to him, 'Are you going to protect my property?' Hughes says, 'We'll do the

CARTING AWAY WESLEY EVEREST'S BODY FOR BURIAL

After the mutilated body had been cut down it laid in the river for two days. Then it was taken back to the city jail where it remained for two days more—as an object lesson—in plain view of the comrades of the murdered boy. Everest was taken from this building to be lynched. During the first week after the tragedy this jail witnessed scenes of torture and horror that equalled the worst days of the Spanish inquisition.

best we can for you, but as far as the wobblies are concerned they wouldn't last fifteen minutes if the business men start after them. The business men don't want any wobblies in this town'."

The day before the tragedy Elmer Smith dropped in at the union hall to warn his clients that nothing could now stop the raid. "Defend it if you choose to do so," he told them. "The law gives you that right."

It was on the strength of this remark, overheard by the stool-pigeon, Morgan, and afterwards reported to the prosecution, that Elmer Smith was hailed to prison charged with murder in the first degree. His enemies had been certain all along that his incomprehensible delusion about the law being the same for the poor man as the rich would bring its own punishment. It did; there can no longer be any doubt on the subject.

THE SCORPION'S STING

November 11th was a raw, gray day; the cold sunlight barely penetrating the mist that hung over the city and the distant tree-cald hills. The "parade" assembled at the City Park. Lieutenant Cormier was marshal. Warren Grimm was commander of the Centralia division. In a very short time he had the various bodies arranged to his satisfaction. At the head of the procession was the "two-fisted" Centralia bunch. This was followed by one from Chehalis, the county seat, and where the parade would logically have been held had its purpose been an honest one. Then came a few sailors and marines and a large body of well dressed gentlemen from the Elks. The school children who were to have marched did not appear. At the very end were a couple of dozen boy scouts and an automobile carrying pretty girls dressed in Red Cross uniforms. Evidently this parade, unlike

the one of 1918, did not, like a scorpion, carry its sting in the rear. But wait until you read how cleverly this part of it had been arranged!

The marchers were unduly silent and those who knew nothing of the lawless plan of the secret committee felt somehow that something must be wrong. City Postmaster McCleary and a wicked-faced old man named Thompson were seen carrying coils of rope. Thompson is a veteran of the Civil War and a minister of God. On the witness stand he afterwards swore he picked up the rope from the street and was carrying it "as a joke." It turned out that the "joke" was on Wesley Everest.

"Be ready for the command 'eyes right' or 'eyes left' when we pass the 'reviewing stand'," Grimm told the platoon commanders just as the parade started.

The procession covered most of the line of march without incident. When the union hall was reached there was some craning of necks but no outburst of any kind. A few of the out-of-town paraders looked at the place curiously and several business men were seen pointing the hall out to their friends. There were some dark glances and a few long noses but no demonstration.

"When do we reach the reviewing stand?" asked a parader, named Joe Smith, of a man marching beside him.

"Hell, there ain't any reviewing stand," was the reply. "We're going to give the wobbly hall 'eyes right' on the way back."

The head of the columns reached Third avenue and halted. A command of 'about face' was given and the procession again started to march past the union hall going in the opposite direction. The loggers inside felt greatly relieved as they saw the crowd once more headed for the city. But the Centralia and Chehalis contingents, that had headed the parade, was now in the rear—just where the "scorpion sting" of the 1918 parade had been located! The danger was not yet over.

"LET'S GO! AT 'EM, BOYS!"

The Chehalis division had marched past the hall and the Centralia division was just in front of it when a sharp command was given. The latter stopped squarely in front of the hall but the former continued to march. Lieutenant Cormier of the secret committee was riding between the two contingents on a bay horse. Suddenly he placed his fingers to his mouth and gave a shrill whistle. Immediately there was a hoarse cry of "Let's go-o-o! At 'em, boys!" About sixty feet separated the two contingents at this time, the Chehalis men still continuing the march. Cormier spurred his horse and overtook them. "Aren't you boys in on this?" he shouted.

At the words "Let's go," the paraders from both ends and the middle of the Centralia contingent broke ranks and started on the run for the union headquarters. A crowd of soldiers surged against the door. There was a crashing of glass and a

splintering of wood as the door gave way. A few of the marauders had actually forced their way into the hall. Then there was a shot, three more shots . . . and a small volley. From Seminary hill and the Avalon hotel rifles began to crack.

ELKS CLUB, CENTRALIA

It was here that the Centralia conspiracy was hatched and the notorious "secret committee" appointed to do the dirty work.

The mob stopped suddenly, astounded at the unexpected opposition. Out of hundreds of halls that had been raided during the past two years this was the first time the union men had attempted to defend themselves. It had evidently been planned to stampede the entire contingent into the attack by having the secret committeemen take the lead from both ends and the middle. But before this could happen the crowd, frightened at the shots, started to scurry for cover. Two men were seen carrying the limp figure of a soldier from the door of the hall. When the volley started they dropped it and ran. The soldier was a handsome young man, named Arthur McElfresh. He was left lying in front of the hall with his feet on the curb and his head in the gutter. The whole thing had been a matter of seconds.

"I HAD NO BUSINESS BEING THERE"

Several men had been wounded. A pool of blood was widening in front of the doorway. A big man in officer's uniform was seen to stagger away bent almost double and holding his hands over his abdomen. "My God, I'm shot!" he had cried to the soldier beside him. This was Warren O. Grimm; the other was his friend, Frank Van Gilder. Grimm walked unassisted to the rear of a nearby soft drink place from whence he was taken to a hospital. He died a short time afterwards. Van Gilder swore on the witness stand that Grimm and himself were standing at the head of the columns of "unoffending paraders" when his friend was shot. He stated that Grimm had been his life-long friend but admitted that when his "life-long friend" received his mortal wound that he (Van Gilder), instead of acting like a hero in no man's land, had deserted him in precipitate haste. Too many eye witnesses had seen Grimm stagger wounded from the doorway of the hall to suit the prosecution. Van Gilder knew at which place Grimm had been shot but it was necessary that he be placed at a convenient distance from the hall. It is reported on good authority that Grimm, just before he died in the hospital,

confessed to a person at his bedside: "It served me right, I had no business being there."

A workingman, John Patterson, had come down town on Armistice Day with his three small children to watch the parade. He was standing thirty-five feet from the door of the hall when the raid started. On the witness stand Patterson told of being pushed out of the way by the rush before the shooting began. He saw a couple of soldiers shot and saw Grimm stagger away from the doorway wounded in the abdomen. The testimony of Dr. Bickford at the coroner's inquest under oath was as follows:

"I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow, but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Someone next to me put his foot against the door and forced it open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening about us." Dr. Bickford is an A. E. F. man and one of the very few legionaires who dared to tell the truth about the shooting. The Centralia business element has since tried repeatedly to ruin him.

In trying to present the plea of self defense to the court, defense attorney Vanderveer stated:

"There was a rush, men reached the hall under the command of Grimm, and yet counsel asks to have shown a specific overt act of Grimm before we can present the plea of self-defense. Would he have had the men wait with their lives at stake? The fact is that Grimm was there and in defending themselves these men shot. Grimm was killed because he was there. They could not wait. Your honor, self defense isn't much good after a man is dead."

The prosecution sought to make a point of the fact that the loggers had fired into a street in which there were innocent bystanders as well as paraders. But the fact remains that the only men hit by bullets were those who were in the forefront of the mob.

THROUGH THE HALL WINDOW

How the raid looked from the inside of the hall can best be described from the viewpoint of one of the occupants, Bert Faulkner, a union logger and ex-service man. Faulkner described how he had dropped in at the hall on Armistice Day and stood watching the parade from the window. In words all the more startling for their sheer artlessness he told of the events which followed: First the grimacing faces of the business men, then as the soldiers returned, a muffled order, the smashing of the window, with the splinters of glass falling against the curtain, the crashing open of the door . . . and the shots that "made his ears ring," and made him run for shelter to the rear of the hall, with the shoulder of his overcoat torn with a bullet. Then how he found himself on the back stairs covered with rifles and commanded to come down with his hands in the air. Finally how he was frisked to the city jail in an automobile with a business man

standing over him armed with a piece of gas pipe.

CITY PARK, CENTRALIA

At this place the parade assembled that started out to raid the Union hall and lynch its secretary.

Eugene Barnett gave a graphic description of the raid as he saw it from the office of the adjoining Roderick hotel. Barnett said he saw the line go past the hotel. The business men were ahead of the soldiers and as this detachment passed the hotel returning the soldiers still were going north. The business men were looking at the hall and pointing it out to the soldiers. Some of them had their thumbs to their noses and others were saying various things.

"When the soldiers turned and came past I saw a man on horseback ride past. He was giving orders which were repeated along the line by another. As the rider passed the hotel he gave a command and the second man said: 'Bunch up, men!'

"When this order came the men all rushed for the hall. I heard glass break. I heard a door slam. There was another sound and then shooting came. It started from inside the hall.

"As I saw these soldiers rush the hall I jumped up and threw off my coat. I thought there would be a fight and I was going to mix in. Then came the shooting, and I knew I had no business there."

Later Barnett went home and remained there until his arrest the next day.

In the union hall, besides Bert Faulkner, were Wesley Everest, Roy Becker, Britt Smith, Mike Sheehan, James McInerney and the "stool pigeon," these, with the exception of Faulkner and Everest, remained in the hall until the authorities came to place them under arrest. They had after the first furious rush of their assailants, taken refuge in a big and long disused ice box in the rear of the hall. Britt Smith was unarmed, his revolver being found afterwards, fully loaded, in his roll-top desk. After their arrest the loggers were taken to the city jail which was to be the scene of an inquisition unparalleled in the history of the United States. After this, as an additional punishment, they were compelled to face the farce of a "fair trial" in a capitalistic court.

WESLEY EVEREST

But Destiny had decided to spare one man the bitter irony of judicial murder. Wesley Everest still had a pocket full of cartridges and a forty-four automatic that could speak for itself.

This soldier-lumberjack had done most of the shooting in the hall. He held off the mob until the very last moment, and, instead of seeking refuge in the refrigerator after the "paraders" had been dispersed, he ran out of the back door, reloading his pistol as he went. It is believed by many that Arthur McElfresh was killed inside the hall by a bullet fired by Everest.

In the yard at the rear of the hall the mob had already reorganized for an attack from that direction. Before anyone knew what had happened Everest had broken through their ranks and scaled the fence. "Don't follow me and I won't shoot," he called to the crowd and displaying the still smoking blue steel pistol in his hand.

"There goes the secretary!" yelled someone, as the logger started at top speed down the alley. The mob surged in pursuit, collapsing the board fence before them with sheer force of numbers. There was a rope in the crowd and the union secretary was the man they wanted. The chase that followed probably saved the life, not only of Britt Smith, but the remaining loggers in the hall as well.

Running pell-mell down the alley the mob gave a shout of exultation as Everest slowed his pace and turned to face them. They stopped cold, however, as a number of quick shots rang out and bullets whistled and zipped around them. Everest turned in his tracks and was off again like a flash, reloading his pistol as he ran. The mob again resumed the pursuit. The logger ran through an open gateway, paused to turn and again fire at his pursuers; then he ran between two frame dwellings to the open street. When the mob again caught the trail they were evidently under the impression that the logger's ammunition was exhausted. At all events they took up the chase with redoubled energy. Some men in the mob had rifles and now and then a pot-shot would be taken at the fleeing figure. The marksmanship of both sides seems to have been poor for no one appears to have been injured.

DALE HUBBARD

This kind of running fight was kept up until Everest reached the river. Having kept off his pursuers thus far the boy started boldly for the comparative security of the opposite shore, splashing the water violently as he waded out into the stream. The mob was getting closer all the time. Suddenly Everest seemed to change his mind and began to retrace his steps to the shore. Here he stood dripping wet in the tangled grasses to await the arrival of the mob bent on his destruction. Everest had lost his hat and his wet hair stuck to his forehead. His gun was now so hot he could hardly hold it and the last of his ammunition was in the magazine. Eye witnesses declare his face still wore a quizical, half bantering smile when the mob overtook him. With the pistol held loosely in his rough hand Everest stood at bay, ready to make a last stand for his life. Seeing him thus, and no doubt

thinking his last bullet had been expended, the mob made a rush for its quarry.

"Stand back!" he shouted. "If there are 'bulls' in the crowd, I'll submit to arrest; otherwise lay off of me."

No attention was paid to his words. Everest shot from the hip four times,—then his gun stalled. A group of soldiers started to run in his direction. Everest was tugging at the gun with both hands. Raising it suddenly he took careful aim and fired. All the soldiers but one wavered and stopped. Everest fired twice, both bullets taking effect. But the soldier did not stop. Two more shots were fired almost point blank before the logger dropped his assailant at his feet. Then he tossed away the empty gun and the mob surged upon him.

The legionaire who had been shot was Dale Hubbard, a nephew of F. B. Hubbard, the lumber baron. He was a strong, brave and misguided young man—worthy of a nobler death.

BLIND TOM LASSITER

Tom Lassiter is the blind news dealer who was kidnapped and deported out of town in June, 1919, by a gang of business men. His stand was raided and the contents burned in the street. He had been selling The Seattle Union Record, The Industrial Worker and Solidarity. County Attorney Allen said he couldn't help to apprehend the criminals and would only charge them with third degree assault if they were found. The fine would be one dollar and costs! Lassiter is now in jail in Chehalis charged with "criminal syndicalism."

"LET'S FINISH THE JOB!"

Everest attempted to fight with his fists but was overpowered and severely beaten. A number of men clamoured for immediate lynching, but saner council prevailed for the time and he was dragged through the streets towards the city jail. When the mob was half a block from this place the "hot heads" made another attempt to cheat the state executioner. A wave of fury seemed here to sweep the crowd. Men fought with one another for a chance to strike, kick or spit in the face of their victim. It was an orgy of hatred and blood-lust. Everest's arms were pinioned, blows, kicks and curses rained upon him from every side. One business man clawed strips of bleeding flesh from his face. A woman slapped his battered cheek with a well groomed hand. A soldier tried to lunge a hunting rifle at the helpless logger; the crowd was too thick. He bumped them aside with the butt of the gun to get room. Then he crashed the muzzle with full force into Everest's mouth. Teeth were broken and blood flowed profusely.

A rope appeared from somewhere. "Let's finish the job!" cried a voice. The rope was placed about the neck of the logger. "You haven't got guts enough to lynch a man in the daytime," was all he said.

At this juncture a woman brushed through the crowd and took the rope from Everest's neck. Looking into the distorted faces of the mob she cried indignantly, "You are curs and cowards to treat a man like that!"

There may be human beings in Centralia after all.

Wesley Everest was taken to the city jail and thrown without ceremony upon the cement floor of the "bull pen." In the surrounding cells were his comrades who had been arrested in the union hall. Here he lay in a wet heap, twitching with agony. A tiny bright stream of blood gathered at his side and trailed slowly along the floor. Only an occasional quivering moan escaped his torn lips as the hours slowly passed by.

"HERE IS YOUR MAN"

Later, at night, when it was quite dark, the lights of the jail were suddenly snapped off. At the same instant the entire city was plunged in darkness. A clamour of voices was heard beyond the walls. There was a hoarse shout as the panel of the outer door was smashed in. "Don't shoot, men," said the policemen on guard, "Here is your man." It was night now, and the business men had no further reason for not lynching the supposed secretary. Everest heard their approaching foot steps in the dark. He arose drunkenly to meet them. "Tell the boys I died for my class," he whispered brokenly to the union men in the cells. These were the last words he uttered in the jail. There were sounds of a short struggle and of many blows. Then a door slammed and, in a short time the lights were switched on. The darkened city was again illuminated at the same moment. Outside three luxurious automobiles were purring themselves out of sight in the darkness.

The only man who had protested the lynching at the last moment was William Scales. "Don't kill him, men," he is said to have begged of the mob. But it was too late. "If you don't go through with this you're an I. W. W. too," they told him. Scales could not calm the evil passions he had helped to arouse.

But how did it happen that the lights were turned out at such an opportune time? Could it be that city officials were working hand in glove with the lynch mob?

Defense Attorney Vanderveer offered to prove to the court that such was the case. He offered to prove this was a part of the greater conspiracy against the union loggers and their hall, —offered to prove it point by point from the very beginning. Incidentally Vanderveer offered to prove that Earl Craft, electrician in charge of the city lighting plant, had left the station at seven o'clock on Armistice day after securely locking the door; and that while Craft was away the lights of the city were turned

off and Wesley Everest taken out and lynched. Furthermore, he offered to prove that when Craft returned, the lights were again turned on and the city electrician, his assistant and the Mayor of Centralia were in the building with the door again locked.

These offers were received by his honor with impassive judicial dignity, but the faces of the lumber trust attorneys were wreathed with smiles at the audacity of the suggestion. The corporation lawyers very politely registered their objections which the judge as politely sustained.

THE NIGHT OF HORRORS

After Everest had been taken away the jail became a nightmare—as full of horrors as a madman's dream. The mob howled around the walls until late in the night. Inside, a lumber trust lawyer and his official assistants were administering the "third degree" to the arrested loggers, to make them "confess." One at a time the men were taken to the torture chamber, and so terrible was the ordeal of this American Inquisition that some were almost broken—body and soul. Loren Roberts had the light in his brain snuffed out. Today he is a shuffling wreck. He is not interested in things any more. He is always looking around with horror-wide eyes, talking of "voices" and "wires" that no one but himself knows anything about. There is no telling what they did to the boy, but he signed the "confession." Its most incriminating statement must have contained too much truth for the prosecution. It was never used in court.

When interviewed by Frank Walklin of the Seattle Union Record the loggers told the story in their own way:

"I have heard tales of cruelty," said James McInerney, "but I believe what we boys went through on those nights can never be equaled. I thought it was my last night on earth and had reconciled myself to an early death of some kind, perhaps hanging. I was taken out once by the mob, and a rope was placed around my neck and thrown over a cross-bar or something.

"I waited for them to pull the rope. But they didn't. I heard voices in the mob say, 'That's not him,' and then I was put back into the jail."

John Hill Lamb, another defendant, related how several times a gun was poked through his cell window by some one who was aching to get a pot shot at him. Being ever watchful he hid under his bunk and close to the wall where the would-be murderer could not see him.

Britt Smith and Roy Becker told with bated breath about Everest as he lay half-dead in the corridor, in plain sight of the prisoners in the cells on both sides. The lights went out and Everest, unconscious and dying, was taken out. The men inside could hear the shouts of the mob diminishing as Everest was hurried to the Chehalis River bridge.

BERT BLAND

Logger. American. (Brother of O. C. Bland.) One of the men who fired from Seminary Hill. Bland has worked all his life in the woods. He joined the Industrial Workers of the World during the great strike of 1917. Bert Bland took to the hills after the shooting and was captured a week later during the man hunt.

None of the prisoners was permitted to sleep that night; the fear of death was kept upon them constantly, the voices outside the cell windows telling of more lynchings to come.

"Every time I heard a footstep or the clanking of keys," said Britt Smith, "I thought the mob was coming after more of us. I didn't sleep, couldn't sleep; all I could do was strain my ears for the mob I felt sure was coming." Ray Becker, listening at Britt's side, said: "Yes, that was one hell of a night." And the strain of that night seems to linger in their faces; probably it always will remain—the expression of a memory that can never be blotted out.

When asked if they felt safer when the soldiers arrived to guard the Centralia jail, there was a long pause, and finally the answer was "Yes." "But you must remember," offered one, "that they took 'em out at Tulsa from a supposedly guarded jail; and we couldn't know from where we were what was going on outside."

"For ten days we had no blankets," said Mike Sheehan. "It was cold weather, and we had to sleep uncovered on concrete floors. In those ten days I had no more than three hours sleep."

"The mob and those who came after the mob wouldn't let us sleep. They would come outside our windows and hurl curses at us, and tell each of us it would be our turn next. They brought in Wesley Everest and laid him on the corridor floor; he was bleeding from his ears and mouth and nose, was curled in a heap and groaning. And men outside and inside kept up the din. I tried to sleep; I was nearly mad; my temples kept pounding like sledge-hammers. I don't know how a man can go through all that and live—but we did."

All through the night the prisoners could hear the voices of the mob under their cell windows. "Well, we fixed that guy Everest all right," some one would say. "Now we'll get Roberts." Then the lights would snap off, there would be a shuffling, curses, a groan and the clanking of a steel door. All the while they were being urged to "come clean" with a statement that would clear the lumber trust of the crime and throw the blame onto its victims. McInerney's neck was scraped raw by the rope of the mob but he repeatedly told them to "go to hell!" Morgan, the

stool-pigeon, escaped the torture by immediate acquiescence. Someone has since paid his fare to parts unknown. His "statement" didn't damage the defense.

THE HUMAN FIEND

But with the young logger who had been taken out into the night things were different. Wesley Everest was thrown, half unconscious, into the bottom of an automobile. The hands of the men who had dragged him there were sticky and red. Their pant legs were sodden from rubbing against the crumpled figure at their feet. Through the dark streets sped the three machines. The smooth asphalt became a rough road as the suburbs were reached. Then came a stretch of open country, with the Chehalis river bridge only a short distance ahead. The cars lurched over the uneven road with increasing speed, their headlights playing on each other or on the darkened highway.

RAY BECKER

Logger. American born. Twenty-five years of age. Studied four years for the ministry before going to work in the woods. His father and brother are both preachers. Becker joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917 and has always been a strong believer in the cause of the solidarity of Labor. He has the zeal of a prophet and the courage of a lion. Defended himself inside the hall with an Ivor Johnson, 38, until his ammunition was exhausted. He surrendered to the authorities—not the mob.

Wesley Everest stirred uneasily. Raising himself slowly on one elbow he swung weakly with his free arm, striking one of his tormentors full in the face. The other occupants immediately seized him and bound his hands and feet with rope. It must have been the glancing blow from the fist of the logger that gave one of the gentlemen his fiendish inspiration. Reaching in his pocket he produced a razor. For a moment he fumbled over the now limp figure in the bottom of the car. His companions looked on with stolid acquiescence. Suddenly there was a piercing scream of pain. The figure gave a convulsive shudder of agony. After a moment Wesley Everest said in a weak voice: "For Christ's sake, men; shoot me—don't let me suffer like this."

On the way back to Centralia, after the parade rope had done its deadly work, the gentleman of the razor alighted from the car in front of a certain little building. He asked leave to wash his hands. They were as red as a butcher's. Great clots of blood were adhering to his sleeves. "That's about the nastiest job I ever had to do," was his casual remark as he washed himself in the cool clear water of the Washington hills. The name of this man is known to nearly everybody in Centralia. He is still at large.

The headlight of the foremost car was now playing on the slender steel framework of the Chehalis river bridge. This machine crossed over and stopped, the second one reached the middle of the bridge and stopped while the third came to a halt when it had barely touched the plankwork on the near side. The well-dressed occupants of the first and last cars alighted and proceeded at once to patrol both approaches to the bridge.

LYNCHING—AN AMERICAN INSTITUTION

Wesley Everest was dragged out of the middle machine. A rope was attached to a girder with the other end tied in a noose around his neck. His almost lifeless body was hauled to the side of the bridge. The headlights of two of the machines threw a white light over the horrible scene. Just as the lynchers let go of their victim the fingers of the half dead logger clung convulsively to the planking of the bridge. A business man stamped on them with a curse until the grip was broken. There was a swishing sound; then a sudden crunching jerk and the rope tied to the girder began to writhe and twist like a live thing. This lasted but a short time. The lynchers peered over the railing into the darkness. Then they slowly pulled up the dead body, attached a longer rope and repeated the performance. This did not seem to suit them either, so they again dragged the corpse through the railings and tied a still longer rope around the horribly broken neck of the dead logger. The business men were evidently enjoying their work, and besides, the more rope the more souvenirs for their friends, who would prize them highly.

This time the knot was tied by a young sailor. He knew how to tie a good knot and was proud of the fact. He boasted of the stunt afterwards to a man he thought as beastly as himself. In all probability he never dreamed he was talking for publication. But he was.

The rope had now been lengthened to about fifteen feet. The broken and gory body was kicked through the railing for the last time. The knot on the girder did not move any more. Then the lynchers returned to their luxurious cars and procured their rifles. A headlight flashed the dangling figure into ghastly relief. It was riddled with volley after volley. The man who fired the first shot boasted of the deed afterwards to a brother lodge member. He didn't know he was talking for publication either.

On the following morning the corpse was cut down by an unknown hand. It drifted away with the current. A few hours later Frank Christianson, a tool of the lumber trust from the Attorney General's office, arrived in Centralia. "We've got to get that body," this worthy official declared, "or the wobs will find it and raise hell over its condition."

The corpse was located after a search. It was not buried, however, but carted back to the city jail, there to be used as a terrible object lesson for the benefit of the incarcerated union men. The unrecognizable form was placed in a cell between two

THE BURIAL OF THE MOB'S VICTIM

No undertaker would handle Everest's body. The autopsy was performed by a man from Portland, who hung the body up by the heels and played a hose on it. The men lowering the plank casket into the grave are Union loggers who had been caught in the police drag net and taken from jail for this purpose.

of the loggers who had loved the lynched boy as a comrade and a friend. Something must be done to make the union men admit that they, and not the lumber interests, had conspired to commit murder. This was the final act of ruthlessness. It was fruitful in results. One "confession," one Judas and one shattered mind were the result of their last deed of fiendish terrorism.

No undertaker could be found to bury Everest's body, so after two days it was dropped into a hole in the ground by four union loggers who had been arrested on suspicion and were released from jail for this purpose. The "burial" is supposed to have taken place in the new cemetery; the body being carried thither in an auto truck. The union loggers who really dug the grave declare, however, that the interment took place at a desolate spot "somewhere along a railroad track." Another body was seen, covered with ashes in a cart, being taken away for burial on the morning of the twelfth. There are persistent rumors that more than one man was lynched on the eve of Armistice day. A guard of heavily armed soldiers had charge of the funeral. The grave has since been obliterated. Rumor has it that the body has since been removed to Camp Lewis. No one seems to know why or when.

"AS COMICAL AS A CORONER"

An informal inquest was held in the city jail. A man from Portland performed the autopsy, that is, he hung the body up by the heels and played a water hose on it. Everest was reported by the coroner's jury to have met his death at the hands of parties unknown. It was here that Dr. Bickford let slip the statement

about the hall being raided before the shooting started. This was the first inkling of truth to reach the public. Coroner Livingstone, in a jocular mood, reported the inquest to a meeting of gentlemen at the Elks' Club. In explaining the death of the union logger, Dr. Livingstone stated that Wesley Everest had broken out of jail, gone to the Chehalis river bridge and jumped off with a rope around his neck. Finding the rope too short he climbed back and fastened on a longer one; jumped off again, broke his neck and then shot himself full of holes. Livingstone's audience, appreciative of his tact and levity, laughed long and hearty. Business men still chuckle over the joke in Centralia. "As funny as a funeral" is no longer the stock saying in this humorous little town; "as comical as a coroner" is now the approved form.

THE MAN-HUNT

Acting on the theory that "a strong offensive is the best defense," the terrorists took immediate steps to conceal all traces of their crime and to shift the blame onto the shoulders of their victims. The capitalist press did yeoman service in this cause by deluging the nation with a veritable avalanche of lies.

For days the district around Centralia and the city itself were at the mercy of a mob. The homes of all workers suspected of being sympathetic to Labor were spied upon or surrounded and entered without warrant. Doors were battered down at times, and women and children abused and insulted. Heavily armed posses were sent out in all directions in search of "reds." All roads were patrolled by armed business men in automobiles. A strict mail and wire censorship was established. It was the open season for "wobblies" and intimidation was the order of the day. The White Terror was supreme.

An Associated Press reporter was compelled to leave town hastily without bag or baggage because he inadvertently published Dr. Bickford's indiscreet remark about the starting of the trouble. Men and women did not dare to think, much less think aloud. Some of them in the district are still that way.

To Eugene Barnett's little home came a posse armed to the teeth. They asked for Barnett and were told by his young wife that he had gone up the hill with his rifle. Placing a bayonet to her breast they demanded entrance. The brave little woman refused to admit them until they had shown a warrant. Barnett surrendered when he had made sure he was to be arrested and not mobbed.

O. C. Bland, Bert Bland, John Lamb and Loven Roberts were also apprehended in due time. Two loggers, John Doe Davis and Ole Hanson, who were said to have also fired on the mob, have not yet been arrested. A vigorous search is still being made for them in all parts of the country. It is believed by many that one of these men was lynched like Everest on the night of November 11th.

HYPOCRISY AND TERROR

COURT HOUSE AT MONTESANO—AND A LITTLE "ATMOSPHERE"

The trial was held on the third floor of the building as you look at the picture. The soldiers were sent for over the head of the judge by one of the lumber trust attorneys of the prosecution. Their only purpose was to create the proper "atmosphere" for an unjust conviction.

The reign of terror was extended to cover the entire West coast. Over a thousand men and women were arrested in the state of Washington alone. Union halls were closed and kept that way. Labor papers were suppressed and many men have been given sentences of from one to fourteen years for having in their possession copies of periodicals which contained little else but the truth about the Centralia tragedy. The Seattle Union Record was temporarily closed down and its stock confiscated for daring to hint that there were two sides to the story. During all this time the capitalist press was given full rein to spread its infamous poison. The general public, denied the true version of the affair, was shuddering over its morning coffee at the thought of I. W. W. desperadoes shooting down unoffending paraders from ambush. But the lumber interests were chortling with glee and winking a suggestive eye at their high priced lawyers who were making ready for the prosecution. Jurymen were shortly to be drawn and things were "sitting pretty," as they say in poker.

Adding a characteristic touch to the rotten hypocrisy of the situation came a letter from Supreme Court Judge McIntosh to George Dysart, whose son was in command of a posse during the manhunt. This remarkable document is as follows:

Kenneth Mackintosh, Judge
The Supreme Court, State of Washington
Olympia.

George Dysart, Esq.,
Centralia, Wash. November 13, 1919.
My Dear Dysart:

I want to express to you my appreciation of the high character of citizenship displayed by the people of Centralia in their agonizing calamity. We are all shocked by the manifestation of barbarity on the part of the outlaws, and are depressed by

the loss of lives of brave men, but at the same time are proud of the calm control and loyalty to American ideals demonstrated by the returned soldiers and citizens. I am proud to be an inhabitant of a state which contains a city with the record which has been made for Centralia by its law-abiding citizens.

Sincerely,

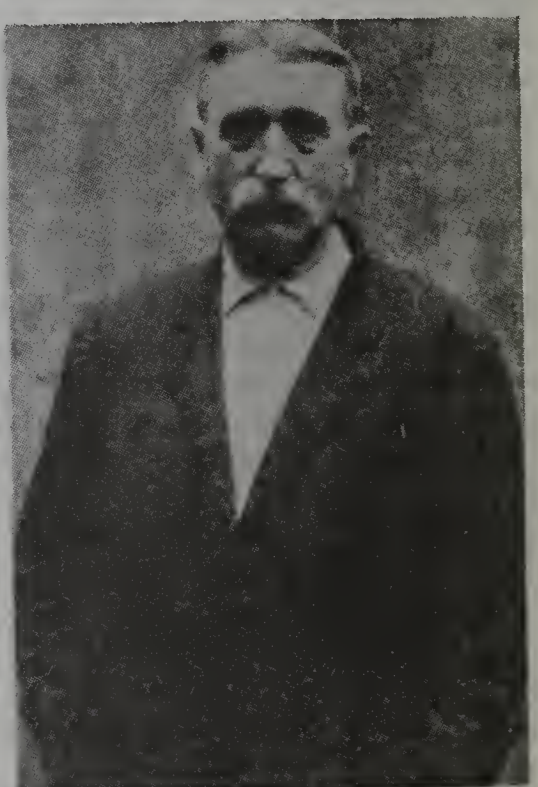
(Signed) KENNETH MACKINTOSH.

"PATRIOTIC" UNION SMASHING

No to be outdone by this brazen example of judicial perversion, Attorney General Thompson, after a secret conference of prosecuting attorneys, issued a circular of advice to county prosecutors. In this document the suggestion was made that officers and members of the Industrial Workers of the World in Washington be arrested by the wholesale under the "criminal syndicalism" law and brought to trial simultaneously so that they might not be able to secure legal defense. The astounding recommendation was also made that, owing to the fact that juries had been "reluctant to convict," prosecutors and the Bar Association should co-operate in examining jury panels so that "none but courageous and patriotic Americans" secure places on the juries.

This effectual if somewhat arbitrary plan was put into operation at once. Since the tragedy at Centralia dozens of union workers have been convicted by "courageous and patriotic" juries and sentenced to serve from one to fourteen years in the state penitentiary. Hundreds more are awaiting trial. The verdict at Montesano is now known to everyone. Truly the lives of the four Legion boys which were sacrificed by the lumber interests in furtherance of their own murderous designs, were well expended. The investment was a profitable one and the results are no doubt highly gratifying.

But just the same the despicable plot of the Attorney General is an obvious effort to defeat the purpose of the courts and obtain unjust convictions by means of what is termed "jury



MIKE SHEEHAN

Born in Ireland. 64 years old. Has been a union man for over fifty years, having joined his grandfather's union when he was only eight. Has been through many strikes and has been repeatedly black-hated, beaten and even exiled. He was a stoker in the Navy during the Spanish War. Mike Sheehan was arrested in the Union hall, went through the horrible experience in the city jail and was found "not guilty" by the jury. Like Elmer Smith, he was re-arrested on another similar charge and thrown back in jail.

fixing." There may be honor among thieves but there is plainly none among the public servants they have working for them!

The only sane note sounded during these dark days, outside of the startling statement of Dr. Bickford, came from Montana. Edward Bassett, commander of the Butte Post of the American Legion and an over-seas veteran, issued a statement to the labor press that was truly remarkable:

"The I. W. W. in Centralia, Wash., who fired upon the men that were attempting to raid the I. W. W. headquarters, were fully justified in their act.

"Mob rule in this country must be stopped, and when mobs attack the home of a millionaire, of a laborer, or of the I. W. W., it is not only the right but the duty of the occupants to resist with every means in their power. If the officers of the law can not stop these raids, perhaps the resistance of the raided may have that effect.

"Whether the I. W. W. is a meritorious organization or not, whether it is unpopular or otherwise, should have absolutely nothing to do with the case. The reports of the evidence at the coroner's jury show that the attack was made before the firing started. If that is true, I commend the boys inside for the action that they took.

"The fact that there were some American Legion men among the paraders who everlastingly disgraced themselves by taking part in the raid, does not affect my judgment in the least. Any one who becomes a party to a mob bent upon unlawful violence, cannot expect the truly patriotic men of the American Legion to condone his act."

VANDERVEER'S OPENING SPEECH

Defense Attorney George Vanderveer hurried across the continent from Chicago to take up the legal battle for the eleven men who had been arrested and charged with the murder of Warren O. Grimm. The lumber interests had already selected six of their most trustworthy tools as prosecutors. It is not the purpose of the present writer to give a detailed story of this "trial" —possibly one of the greatest travesties on justice ever staged. This incident was a very important part of the Centralia conspiracy but a hasty sketch, such as might be portrayed in these pages, would be an inadequate presentation at best. It might be well, therefore, to permit Mr. Vanderveer to tell of the case as he told it to the jury in his opening and closing arguments. Details of the trial itself can be found in other booklets by more capable authors. Vanderveer's opening address appears in part below:

May it please the court and gentlemen of the jury:—As you have already sensed from our examination of you and from a question which I propounded to counsel at the close of his statement yesterday, the big question in this case is, who was the aggressor, who started the battle? Was it on the one side a deliberately planned murderous attack upon innocent marchers, or was it on the other side a deliberately planned wicked attack upon the

JAMES McINERNEY

Logger. Born in County Claire, Ireland. Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1916. Was wounded on the steamer "Verona" when the lumber trust tried to exterminate the union lumberworkers with bullets at Everett, Washington McInerney was one of those trapped in the hall. He surrendered to officers of the law. While in the city jail his neck was worn raw with a hangman's rope in an effort to make him "confess" that the loggers and not the mob had started the trouble. McInerney told them to "go to hell." He is Irish and an I. W. W. and proud of being both.

I. W. W., which they merely resisted? That, I say, is the issue. I asked counsel what his position would be in order that you might know it, and that he said was his position, that he would stand and fall and be judged by it, and I say to you now that is our position, and we will stand or fall and be judged by that issue.

In order that you may properly understand this situation, and the things that led up to it, the motives underlying it, the manner in which it was planned and executed, I want to go just a little way back of the occurrence on November 11th, and state to you in rough outline the situation that existed in Centralia, the objects that were involved in this case, the things each are trying to accomplish and the way each went about it. There has been some effort on the part of the state to make it appear it is not an I. W. W. trial. I felt throughout that the I. W. W. issue must come into this case, and now that they have made their opening statement, I say unreservedly it is here in this case, not because we want to drag it in here, but because it can't be left out. To conceal from you gentlemen that it is an I. W. W. issue would be merely to conceal the truth from you and we, on our part, don't want to do that now or at any time hereafter.

The I. W. W. is at the bottom of this. Not as an aggressor, however. It is a labor organization, organized in Chicago in 1905, and it is because of the philosophy for which it stands and because of certain tactics which it evolves that this thing arose.

A LABOR MOVEMENT ON TRIAL

The I. W. W. is the representative in this country of the labor movement of the rest of the world. It is the representative in the United States of the idea that capitalism is wrong; that no man has a right, moral or otherwise, to exploit his fellowmen, the idea that our industrial efforts should be conducted not for the profits of any individual but should be conducted for social service, for social welfare. So the I. W. W. says first, that the wage system is wrong and that it means to abolish that wage system. It says that it intends to do this, not by political action, not by balloting, but by organization on the industrial or economical field, precisely as employers, precisely as capital is organized on the basis of the industry, not on the basis of the tool. The I. W. W. says industrial evolution has progressed to that point where the tool no longer enforces craftsmanship. In the place of a half dozen or dozen who were employed, each a skilled artisan, employed to do the work, you have a machine process to do that work and it resulted in the organization of the industry on an industrial basis. You have the oil industry, controlled by the Standard Oil; you have the lumber industry, controlled by the Lumbermen's Association of the South and West, and you

have the steel and copper industry, all organized on an industrial basis resulting in a fusing, or corporation, or trust of a lot of former owners. Now the I. W. W. say if they are to compete with our employers, we must compete with our employers as an organization, and as they are organized so we must protect our organization, as they protect themselves. And so they propose to organize into industrial unions; the steel workers and the coal miners, and the transportation workers each into its own industrial unit.

This plan of organization is extremely distasteful to the employers because it is efficient; because it means a new order, a new system in the labor world in this country. The meaning of this can be gathered, in some measure, from the recent experiences in the steel strike of this country, where they acted as an industrial unit; from the recent experiences in the coal mining industry, where they acted as an industrial unit. Instead of having two or three dozen other crafts, each working separately, they acted as an industrial unit. When the strike occurred it paralyzed industry and forced concessions to the demands of the workers. That is the first thing the I. W. W. stands for and in some measure and in part explains the attitude capital has taken all over the country towards it.

JAMES McINERNEY

(After he had undergone the "Third degree".)

McInerney had a rope around his neck nearly all night before this picture was taken. One end of the rope had been pulled taut over a beam by his tormentors. McInerney had told them to "go to hell." "It's no use trying to get anything out of a man like that," was the final decision of the inquisitors.

In the next place it says that labor should organize on the basis of some fundamental principle; and labor should organize for something more than a mere bartering and dickering for fifty cents a day or for some shorter time, something of that sort. It says that the system is fundamentally wrong and must be fundamentally changed before you can look for some improvement. Its philosophy is based upon government statistics which show that in a few years in this country our important industries have crept into the hands of industrial kings and princes. Two per cent of our people own more than two-thirds of our entire wealth. Seventy-five per cent of the workers in the basic industry are unable to send their children to school. Seventy-one per cent of the heads of the families in our basic industries are unable to provide a decent living for their families without the assistance of the other members. Twenty-nine per cent of our laborers are able to live up to the myth that he is the head of the family. The results of these evils are manifold. Our people are not being raised in decent vicinities. They are not being raised and educated. Their health is not being cared for; their morals are not being cared for. I will show you that in certain of our industries where the wages are low and the hours are long, that the children of the working people die at the rate of 300 to 350 per thousand inhabitants under the age of one year because of their undernourishment, lack of proper housing and lack of proper medical attention and because the mothers of these children before they are born and when the children are being carried in the mother's womb that they are compelled to go into the industries and work and work and work, and before the child can receive proper nourishment the mother is compelled to go back into the industry and work again. The I. W. W.'s say there must be a fundamental change and that fundamental

change must be in the line of reorganization of industry, for public service, so that the purpose shall be that we will work to live and not merely live to work. Work for service rather than work for profit.

TO KILL AN IDEAL . . .

Some time in September, counsel told you, the I. W. W., holding these beliefs, opened a hall in Centralia. Back of that hall was a living room, where Britt Smith lived, kept his clothes and belongings and made his home. From then on the I. W. W. conducted a regular propaganda meeting every Saturday night. These propaganda meetings were given over to a discussion of these industrial problems and beliefs. From that district there were dispatched into nearby lumber camps and wherever there were working people to whom to carry this message—there were dispatched organizers who went out, made the talks in the camps briefly and sought to organize them into this union, at least to teach them the philosophy of this labor movement.

Because that propaganda is fatal to those who live by other people's work, who live by the profits they wring from labor, it excited intense opposition on the part of employers and business people of Centralia and about the time this hall was opened we will show you that people from Seattle, where they maintain their headquarters for these labor fights, came into Centralia and held meetings. I don't know what they call this new thing they were seeking to organize—it is in fact a branch of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of the United States, a national organization whose sole purpose is to fight and crush and beat labor. It was in no sense a local movement because it started in Seattle and it was organized by people from Seattle, and the purpose was to organize in Centralia an organization of business men to combat this new labor philosophy. Whether in the mouths of the I. W. W., or Nonpartisan League, or the Socialists, it did not make any difference; to brand anybody as a traitor, un-American, who sought to tell the truth about our industrial conditions.

O. C. BLAND

Logger. American. Resident of Centralia for a number of years. Has worked in woods and mills practically all his life. Has a wife and seven children. Bland was in the Arnold hotel at the time of the raid. He was armed but had cut his hand on broken glass before he had a chance to shoot. Since his arrest and conviction his family has undergone severe hardships. The defense is making an effort to raise enough funds to keep the helpless wives and children of the convicted men in the comforts of life.

THE TWO RAIDS

In the fall of 1918, the I. W. W. had a hall two blocks and a half from this hall, at the corner of First and B streets. There was a Red Cross parade, and that hall was wrecked, just as was this hall. These profiteering gentlemen never overlook an opportunity to capitalize a patriotic event, and so they capitalized the Red Cross parade that day just as they capitalized the Armistice Day parade on November 11, and in exactly the same way as on November 11.

And that day, when the tail-end of the parade of the Red Cross passed the main avenue, it broke off and went

a block out of its way and attacked the I. W. W. hall, a good two-story building. And they broke it into splinters. The furniture, records, the literature that belongs to these boys, everything was taken out into the street and burned.

Now, what was contemplated on Armistice Day? The I. W. W. did as you would do; it judged from experience.

PATIENCE NO LONGER A VIRTUE

When the paraders smashed the door in, the I. W. W.'s, as every lover of free speech and every respector of his person—they had appealed to the citizens, they had appealed to the officers, and some of their members had been tarred and feathered, beaten up, and hung—they said in thought: "Patience has ceased to be a virtue." And if the law will not protect us, and the people won't protect us, we will protect ourselves. And they did.

And in deciding this case, I want each of you, members of the jury, to ask yourself what would you have done?

There had been discussions of this character in the I. W. W. hall, and so have there been discussions everywhere. There had never ben a plot laid to murder anybody, nor to shoot anybody in any parade. I want you to ask yourself: "Why would anybody want to shoot anybody in a parade," and to particularly ask yourself why anyone would want to shoot upon soldiers?

He who was a soldier himself, Wesley Everest, the man who did most of the shooting, and the man whom they beat until he was unconscious and whom they grabbed from the street and put a rope around his neck, the man whom they nearly shot to pieces, and the man whom they hung, once dropping him ten feet, and when that didn't kill him lengthened the rope to 15 feet and dropped him again—why would one soldier want to kill another soldier, or soldiers, who had never done him nor his fellows any harm?

I exonerate the American Legion as an organization of the responsibility of this. For I say they didn't know about it. The day will come when they will realize that they have been mere catspaws in the hands of the Centralia commercial interests. That is the story. I don't know what the verdict will be today, but the verdict ten years hence will be the verdict in the Lovejoy case; that these men were within their rights and that they fought for a cause, that these men fought for liberty. They fought for these things for which we stand and for which all true lovers of liberty stand, and those who smashed them up are the real enemies of our country.

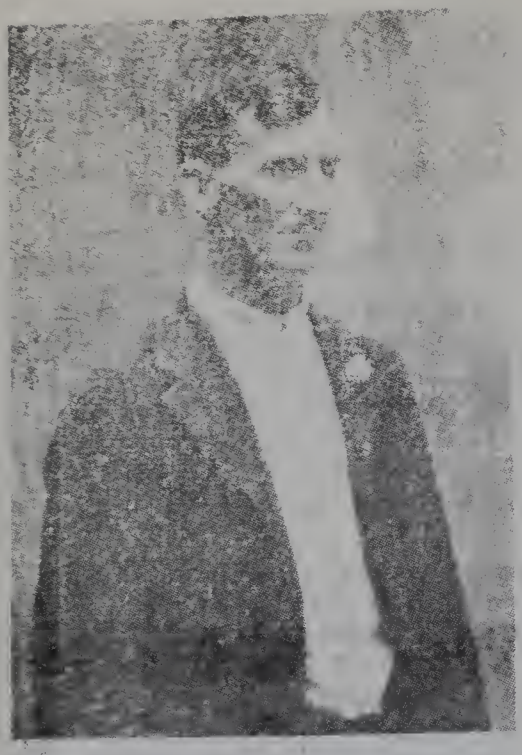
This is a big case, counsel says, the biggest case that has ever been tried in this country, but the biggest thing about these big things is from beginning to end it has been a struggle on the one side for ideals and on the other side to suppress those ideals. This thing was started with Hubbard at its head. It is being started today with Hubbard at its head in this courtroom, and I don't believe you will fall for it.

VANDERVEER'S CLOSING ARGUMENT

There are only two real issues in this case. One is the question: Who was the aggressor in the Armistice Day affray? The other is: Was Eugene Barnett in the Avalon hotel window when that affray occurred?

We have proven by unimpeachable witnesses that there was a raid on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia on November 11—a raid, in which the business interests of the city used members of the American Legion as catspaws. We have shown that Warren O. Grimm, for the killing of whom these defendants are on trial, actually took part in that raid, and was in the very doorway of the hall when the attack was made, despite the attempts of the prosecution to place Grimm 100 feet away when he was shot.

We have proven a complete alibi for Eugene Barnett through unshaken and undisputable witnesses. He was not in the Avalon hotel during the riot; he was in the Roderick hotel lobby; he had no gun, and he took no part in the shooting.



JOHN LAMB

Logger. American. Joined the Industrial Workers of the World in 1917. Lamb was in the Arnold Hotel with O. C. Bland during the raid on the hall. Neither of them did any shooting. John Lamb has lived for years in Centralia. He is married and has five children who are left dependent since the conviction.

In my opening statement, I said I would stand or fall on the issue of: Who was the aggressor on Armistice Day? I have stood by that promise, and stand by it now.

Mr. Abel, specially hired prosecutor in this trial, made the same promise. So did Herman Allen, the official Lewis county prosecutor, who has been so ingloriously shoved aside by Mr. Abel and his colleague, Mr. Cunningham, ever since the beginning here. But a few days ago, when the defense was piling up evidence showing that there was a raid on the I. W. W. hall by the paraders, Mr. Abel backed down.

WHY WERE THE SHOTS FIRED?

I was careful in the beginning to put him on record on that point; all along I knew that he and Mr. Allen would back down on the issue of who was the aggressor; they could not uphold their contention that the Armistice Day paraders were fired upon in cold blood while engaged in lawful and peaceful action.

What possible motive could these boys have had for firing upon innocent marching soldiers? It is true that the marchers were fired upon; that shots were fired by some of these defendants; but why were the shots fired?

There is only one reason why—they were defending their own legal property against unlawful invasion and attack; they were defending the dwelling place of Britt Smith, their secretary.

And they had full right to defend their lives and that property and that home against violence or destruction; they had a right to use force, if necessary, to effect that defense. The law gives them that right; and it accrues to them also from all of the wells of elementary justice.

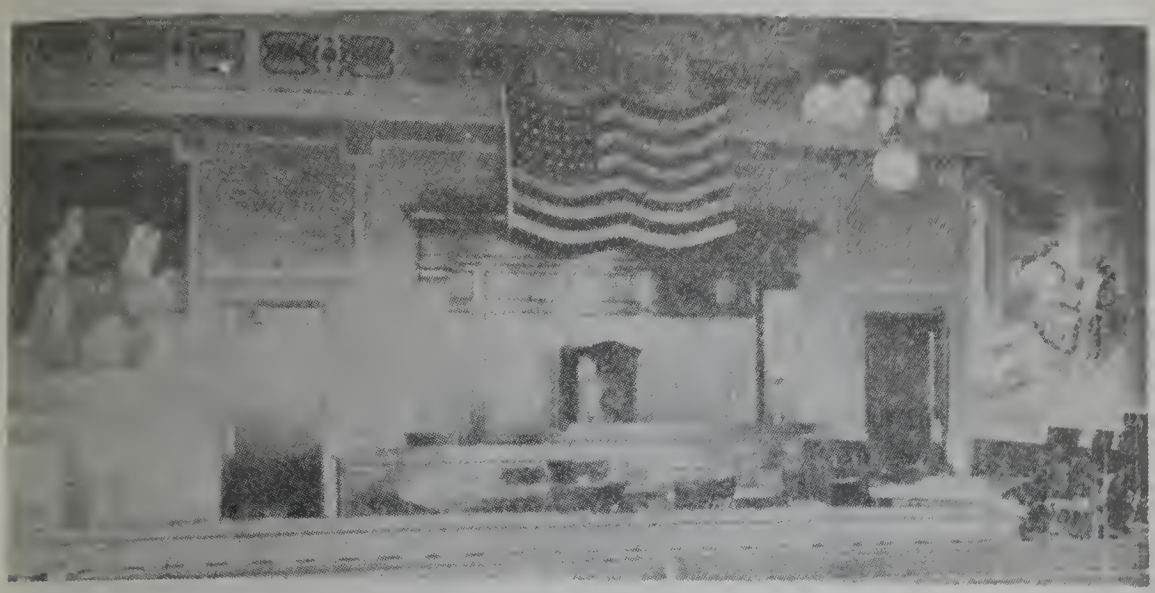
The law says that when a man or group of men have reason to fear attack from superior numbers, they may provide whatever protection they may deem necessary to repel such an attack. And it says also that if a man who is in bad company when such an attack is made happens to be killed by the defenders, those defenders are not to be considered guilty of that man's death.

So they had the troops come, to blow bugles and drill in the streets where the jury could see; their power, however wielded, was great enough to cause Governor Hart to send the soldiers here without consulting the trial judge or the sheriff, whose function it was to preserve law and order here—and you know, I am sure, that law and order were adequately preserved here before the troops came.

"FEARFUL OF THE TRUTH"

They tried the moth-eaten device of arresting our witnesses for alleged perjury, hoping to discredit those witnesses thus in your eyes because they knew they couldn't discredit them in any regular nor legitimate way.

Fearful of the truth, the guilty ones at Centralia deliberately framed up evidence to save themselves from blame—to throw the responsibility for



COURT ROOM IN WHICH THE FARCICAL "TRIAL" TOOK PLACE

This garish room in the Court house at Montesano was the scene of the attempted "judicial murder" that followed the lynching. The judge always entered his chambers through the door under the word "Transgression"; the jury always left through the door over which "Instruction" appears. In this room the lumber trust attorneys attempted to build a gallows of perjured testimony on which to break the necks of innocent men.

the Armistice Day horror onto other men. But they bungled the frame-up badly. No bolder nor cruder fabrication has ever been attempted than the ridiculous effort to fasten the killing of Warren Grimm upon Eugene Barnett.

These conspirators were clumsy enough in their planning to drive the I. W. W. out of town; their intent was to stampede the marching soldiers into raiding the I. W. W. hall. But how much more clumsy was the frame-up afterward—the elaborate fixing of many witnesses to make it appear that Grimm was shot at Tower avenue and Second street when he actually was shot in front of the hall; and to make it appear that Ben Casagranda and Earl Watts were shot around the corner on Second street, when they were actually shot on Tower avenue, close to the front of the hall.

Do you think that Elsie Hornbeck told the truth while she was on the witness stand? Or did she lie? She told you that she saw a thin-faced man in the Avalon hotel window on Armistice Day, before the shooting; and after many helpless pauses and appealing glances at Mr. Abel, she identified Barnett as that man. She had sworn that she had never seen the man in the window from that shrieking day until she saw Barnett in court; and made it appear that she was able to recognize Barnett solely because of the vivid impression his face made upon her memory on Nov. 11.

Then, you will remember, I compelled Elsie Hornbeck to admit that she had been shown photographs of Barnett by the prosecution. She would not have told this fact, had I not trapped her into admitting it; that was obvious to everybody in this courtroom that day.

You have heard the gentlemen of the prosecution assert that this is a murder trial, and not a labor trial. But they have been careful to ask all our witnesses whether they were I. W. W. members, whether they belonged to any labor union, and whether they were sympathetic towards workers on trial for their lives. And when the answer to any of these questions was yes, they tried to brand the witness as one not worthy of belief.

Their policy of thus browbeating working people who were called as witnesses is in keeping with the tactics of the mob during the days when it held Centralia in its grasp.

You know, even if the detailed story has been barred from the record, of the part F. R. Hubbard, lumber baron, played in this horror at Centralia. You have heard from various witnesses that the lumber mill owned by Hubbard's corporation, the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, is a notorious

non-union concern. And you have heard it said that W. A. Abel, the special prosecutor here, has been an ardent and active labor-baiter for years.

Hubbard wanted to drive the I. W. W. out of Centralia. Why did he want to drive them out? He said they were a menace. And it is true that they were a menace, and are a menace—to those who exploit the workers who produce the wealth for the few to enjoy.

WHY WERE ROPES CARRIED?

Was there a raid on the hall before the shooting? Dr. Frank Bickford, a reputable physician, appeared here and repeated under oath what he had sworn to at the coroner's inquest—that when the parade stopped, he offered to lead a raid on the hall if enough would follow,—but that others pushed ahead of him, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside.

And why did the Rev. H. W. Thompson have a rope? Thompson believes in hanging men by the neck until they are dead. When the state Employers' Association and others wanted the hanging law in Washington revived not long ago, the Reverend Thompson lectured in many cities and towns in behalf of that law. And he has since lectured widely against the I. W. W. Did he carry a rope in the parade because he owned a cow and a calf? Or what?

Why did the prosecution need so many attorneys here, if it had the facts straight? Why were scores of American Legion members imported here to sit at the trial at a wage of $4 per day and expenses?

They have told you this was a murder trial, and not a labor trial. But vastly more than the lives of ten men are the stakes in the big gamble here; for the right of workers to organize for the bettering of their own condition is on trial; the right of free assemblage is on trial; democracy and Americanism are on trial.

GEORGE VANDERVEER

This man single handed opposed six high priced lumber trust prosecutors in the famous trial at Montesano. Vanderveer is a man of wide experience and deep social vision. He was at one time prosecuting attorney for King County, Washington. The lumber trust has made countless threats to "get him." "A lawyer with a heart is as dangerous as a workingman with brains."

In our opening statement, we promised to prove various facts; and we have proven them, in the main; if there are any contentions about which the evidence remains vague, this circumstance exists only because His Honor has seen fit to rule out certain testimony which is vital to the case, and we believed, and still believe, was entirely material and properly admissible.

But is there any doubt in your minds that there was a conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. hall, and to run the Industrial Workers of the World out of town? Even if the court will not allow you to read the handbill issued by the I. W. W., asking protection from the citizens of Centralia, have you any doubt that the I. W. W. had reason to fear an attack from Warren Grimm and his fellow marchers? And have you any doubt that there was a raid on the hall?

When I came into this case I knew that we were up against tremendous odds. Terror was loose in Centralia; prejudice and hatred against the I. W. W. was being systematically and sweepingly spread in Grays Harbor county and throughout the whole Northwest; and intimidation or in-

fluence of some sort was being employed against every possible witness and talesman.

Not only were unlimited money and other resources of the Lewis County commercial interests banded against us, but practically all the attorneys up and down the Pacific coast had pledged themselves not to defend any I. W. W., no matter how great nor how small the charge he faced. Our investigators were arrested without warrant; solicitors for our defense fund met with the same fate.

And when the trial date approached, the judge before whom this case is being heard admitted that a fair trial could not be had here, because of the surging prejudice existent in this community. Then, five days later, the court announced that the law would not permit a second change of venue, and that the trial must go ahead in Montesano.

In the face of these things, and in the face of all the atmosphere of violence and bloodthirstiness which the prosecution has sought to throw around these defendants, I am placing our case in your hands; I am intrusting to you, gentlemen, to decide upon the fate of ten human beings—whether they shall live or die or be shut away from their fellows for months or years.

But I am asking you much more than that—I am asking you to decide the fate of organized labor in the Northwest; whether its fundamental rights are to survive or be trampled underfoot.

THE LUMBER TRUST WINS THE JURY

On Saturday evening, March 13th, the jury brought in its final verdict of guilty. In the face of the very evident ability of the lumber interests, to satisfy its vengeance at will, any other verdict would have been suicidal—for the jury.

The prosecution was out for blood and nothing less than blood. Day by day they had built the structure of gallows right there in the courtroom. They built a scaffolding on which to hang ten loggers—built it of lies and threats and perjury. Dozens of witnesses from the Chamber of Commerce and the American Legion took the stand to braid a hangman's rope of untruthful testimony. Some of these were members of the mob; on their white hands the blood of Wesley Everest was hardly dry. And they were not satisfied with sending their victims to prison for terms of from 25 to 40 years, they wanted the pleasure of seeing their necks broken. But they failed. Two verdicts were returned; his honor refused to accept the first; no intelligent man can accept the second.

Here is the way the two verdicts compare with each other: Elmer Smith and Mike Sheehan were declared not guilty and Loren Roberts insane, in both the first and second verdicts. Britt Smith, O. C. Bland, James McInerney, Bert Bland and Ray Becker were found guilty of murder in the second degree in both instances, but Eugene Barnett and John Lamb were at first declared guilty of manslaughter, or murder "in the third degree" in the jury's first findings, and guilty of second degree murder in the second.

The significant point is that the state made its strongest argument against the four men whom the jury practically exonerated of the charge of conspiring to murder. More significant is the fact that the whole verdict completely upsets the charge of conspiracy to murder under which the men were tried. The difference between first and second degree murder is that the former,

first degree, implies premeditation while the other, second degree, means murder that is not premeditated. Now, how in the world can men be found guilty of conspiring to murder without previous premeditation? The verdict, brutal and stupid as it is, shows the weakness and falsity of the state's charge more eloquently than anything the defense has ever said about it.

BUT LABOR SAYS, "NOT GUILTY!"

But another jury had been watching the trial. Their verdict came as a surprise to those who had read the newspaper version of the case. No sooner had the twelve bewildered and frightened men in the jury box paid tribute to the power of the Lumber Trust with a ludicrous and tragic verdict than the six workingmen of the Labor Jury returned their verdict also. Those six men represented as many labor organizations in the Pacific Northwest with a combined membership of many thousands of wage earners.

The last echoes of the prolonged legal battle had hardly died away when these six men sojourned to Tacoma to ballot, deliberate and to reach their decision about the disputed facts of the case. At the very moment when the trust-controlled newspapers, frantic with disappointment, were again raising the blood-cry of their pack, the frank and positive statement of these six workers came like a thunderclap out of a clear sky,—"Not Guilty!"

The Labor Jury had studied the development of the case with earnest attention from the beginning. Day by day they had watched with increasing astonishment the efforts of the defense to present, and of the prosecution and the judge to exclude, from the consideration of the trial jury, the things everybody knew to be true about the tragedy at Centralia. Day by day the sordid drama had been unfolded before their eyes. Day by day the conviction had grown upon them that the loggers on trial for their lives were being railroaded to the gallows by the legal hirelings of the Lumber Trust. The Labor Jury was composed of men with experience in the labor movement. They had eyes to see through a maze of red tape and legal mummery to the simple truth that was being hidden or obscured. The Lumber Trust did not fool these men and it could not intimidate them. They had the courage to give the truth to the world just as they saw it. They were convinced in their hearts and minds that the loggers on trial were innocent. And they would have been just as honest and just as fearless had their convictions been otherwise.

It cannot be said that the Labor Jury was biased in favor of the defendants or of the I. W. W. If anything, they were predisposed to believe the defendants guilty and their union an outlaw organization. It must be remembered that all the labor jury knew of the case was what it had read in the capitalist newspapers prior to their arrival at the scene of the trial. These men were not radicals but representative working men—members of conservative unions—who had been instructed by their organizations to observe impartially the progress of the trial and to report back to their unions the result of their observations. Read their report:

LABOR'S VERDICT

Labor Temple, Tacoma, March 15, 1920, 1:40 p. m.

The Labor Jury met in the rooms of the Labor Temple and organized, electing P. K. Mohr as foreman.

Present: J. A. Craft, W. J. Beard, Otto Newman, Theodore Mayer, E. W. Thrall and P. K. Mohr.

On motion a secret ballot of guilty or not guilty was taken, the count resulting in a unanimous **"Not Guilty!"**

LABOR'S SILENT JURY

W. J. Beard, Central Labor Council, Tacoma; Paul K. Mohr, Central Labor Council, Seattle; Theodore Meyer, Central Labor Council, Everett; E. W. Thrall, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia; John A. Craft, Metal Trades Council, Seattle.

2. Shall we give our report to the press? Verdict, "Yes."

3. Was there a conspiracy to raid the I. W. W. hall on the part of the business interests of Centralia? Verdict, "Yes."

There was evidence offered by the defense to show that the business interests held a meeting at the Elks' Club on October 20, 1919, at which ways and means to deal with the I. W. W. situation were discussed. F. B. Hubbard, Chief of Police Hughes and William Scales, commander of the American Legion at Centralia, were present. Prosecuting Attorney Allen was quoted as having said, "There is no law that would let you run the I. W. W. out of town." Chief of Police Hughes said, "You cannot run the I. W. W. out of town; they have violated no law." F. G. Hubbard said, "It's a damn shame; if I was chief I would have them out of town in 24 hours." William Scales, presiding at the meeting, said that although he was not in favor of a raid, there was no American jury that would convict them if they did, or words to that effect. He then announced that he would appoint a secret committee to deal with the I. W. W. situation.

4. **Was the I. W. W. hall unlawfully raided? Verdict, "Yes." The evidence introduced convinces us that an attack was made before a shot was fired.**

5. Had the defendants a right to defend their hall. Verdict, "Yes." On a former occasion the I. W. W. hall was raided, furniture destroyed and stolen, ropes placed around their necks and they were otherwise abused and driven out of town by citizens, armed with pick handles.

6. **Was Warren O. Grimm a party to the conspiracy of raiding the I. W. W. hall? Verdict, "Yes." The evidence introduced convinces us that Warren O. Grimm participated in the raid of the I. W. W. hall.**

7. To our minds the most convincing evidence that Grimm was in front of and raiding the I. W. W. hall with others, is the evidence of State Witness Van Gilder, who testified that he stood at the side of Grimm at the intersection of Second street and Tower avenue, when, according to his testimony, Grimm was shot. This testimony was refuted by five witnesses who testified that they saw Grimm coming wounded from the direction of the I. W. W. hall. It is not credible that Van Gilder, who was a personal and intimate friend of Grimm, would leave him when he was mortally wounded, to walk half a block alone and unaided.

8. **Did the defendants get a fair and impartial trial? Verdict, "No." The most damaging evidence of a conspiracy by the business men of Centralia, of a raid on the I. W. W. hall, was ruled out by the court and not permitted to go to the jury. This was one of the principal issues that the defense sought to establish.**

Also the calling of the federal troops by Prosecuting Attorney Allen was for no other reason than to create atmosphere. On interviewing the judge, sheriff and prosecuting attorney, the judge and the sheriff informed us that in their opinion the troops were not needed and that they were brought there without their consent or knowledge. In the interview Mr. Allen promised to furnish the substance of the evidence which in his opinion necessitated the presence of the troops the next morning, but on the following day he declined the information. He, however, did say that he did not fear the I. W. W., but was afraid of violence by the American Legion. This confession came after he was shown by us the fallacy of the I. W. W. coming armed to interfere with the verdict. Also the presence of the American Legion in large numbers in court.

Theodore Meyer, Everett Central Labor Council; John O. Craft, Seattle Metal Trades Council; E. W. Thrall, Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia; W. J. Beard, Tacoma Central Labor Council; Otto Newman, Portland Central Labor Council; P. K. Mohr, Seattle Central Labor Council.

The above report speaks for itself. It was received with great enthusiasm by the organizations of each of the jurymen when the verdict was submitted. On March 17th, the Seattle Central Labor Council voted unanimously to send the verdict to all of the Central Labor Assemblies of the United States and Canada.

Not only are the loggers vindicated in defending their property and lives from the felonious assault of the Armistice Day mob, but the conspiracy of the business interests to raid the hall and the raid itself were established. The participation of Warren O. Grimm is also accepted as proved beyond doubt. Doubly significant is the statement about the "fair and impartial trial" that is supposed to be guaranteed all men under our constitution.

Nothing could more effectively stamp the seal of infamy upon the whole sickening rape of justice than the manly outspoken statements of these six labor jurors. Perhaps the personalities of these men might prove of interest:

E. W. THRALL, of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Centralia, is an old time and trusted member of his union. As will be noticed, he comes from Centralia, the scene of the tragedy.

OTTO NEWMAN, of the Central Labor Council, Portland, Oregon, has ably represented his union in the C. L. C. for some time.

W. J. BEARD is organizer for the Central Labor Council in Tacoma, Washington. He is an old member of the Western Federation of Miners and remembers the terrible times during the strikes at Tulluride.

JOHN O. CRAFT is president of Local 40, International Union of Steam Operating Engineers, of which union he has been a member for the last ten years. Mr. Craft has been actively connected with unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. since 1898.

THEODORE MEYER was sent by the Longshoremen of Everett, Washington. Since 1903 he has been a member of the A. F. of L.; prior to that time being a member of the National Sailors and Firemen's Union of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Sailors' Union of Australia.

P. K. MOHR represents the Central Labor Council of Seattle and is one of the oldest active members in the Seattle unions. Mr. Mohr became a charter member of the first Bakers' Union in 1889 and was its first presiding officer. He was elected delegate to the old Western Central Labor Council in 1890. At one time Mr. Mohr was president of the Seattle Labor Council. At the present time he is president of the Bakers' Union.

Such are the men who have studied the travesty on justice in the great labor trial at Montesano. "Not Guilty" is their verdict Does it mean anything to you?

Preamble

of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

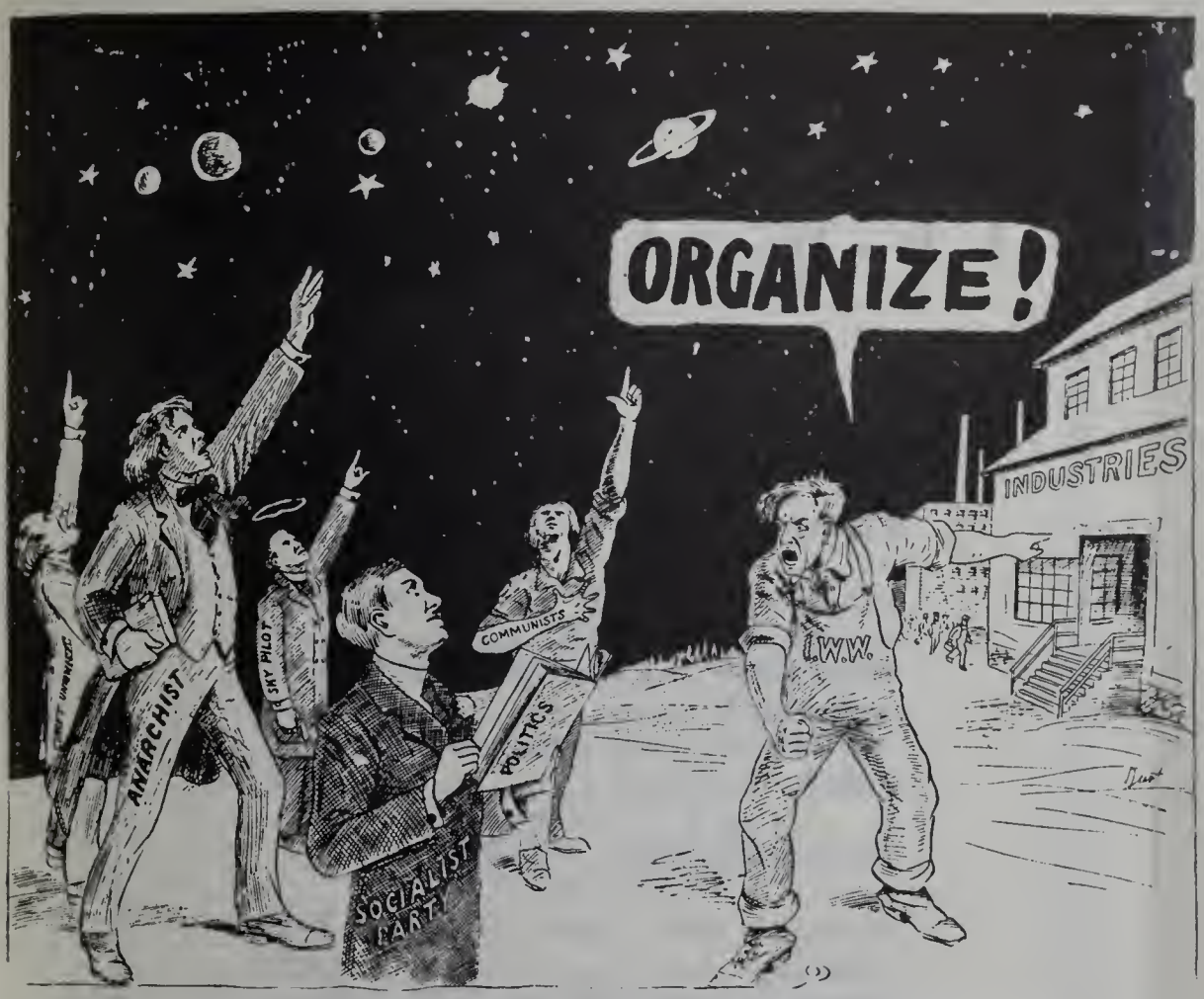
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



Education ★ Organization ★ Emancipation

Knowledge, like energy, is power only when it is put to work to get results.

All together, the working class knows how to make everything, how to do everything, how to create abundance and the necessary conditions for happiness for us all. But to put that knowledge to work requires organization. To get the full results that can come only from using all of it, requires organization as a class—One Big Union.

Science is knowledge organized. The I. W. W. is the working class organized—just the working class, with everybody from the coal miner to the chemist who figures out how to make a new flavoring extract out of the coal, organized to use our brains for ourselves. And it spells emancipation and a new era of abundance and security.

To start the process takes scientific industrial union education—such as you spread when you get new readers for the I. W. W. periodicals and pamphlets, pass out I. W. W. leaflets, or put up I. W. W. stickers. Educate to organize, and organize to educate—that's the road ahead to freedom. That's where the I.W.W. is marching, and you are cordially asked to hop into the parade.

I.W.W., 2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago, Ill.

I.W.W. LITERATURE

Clothbound books:

Dubofsky: We Shall Be All (550-page account of the IWW)..... $12.50
Gibbs Smith: Joe Hill (290 pages on rebel songwriter)..... 7.00
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years (200-page history, 1905-1955)..... 3.00

Paperback books:

Kornbluh: Rebel Voices (418-page IWW anthology)..... $4.95
Turner: Sydney's Burning (WWI Trails of IWW Australia, 264 pages)..... 2.00

Pamphlets:

IWW Songbook..... .40
World Labor Needs a Union..... .25
The General Strike..... .20
Unemployment and the Machine.... :10

Leaflets:

Economic Revolution (50 copies)... $1.00

Order from
Industrial Workers of the World,
2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

FOR THE MOST

ACCURATE AND TIMELY NEWS

OF THE WORLD-WIDE

CLASS STRUGGLE

READ

The Industrial Worker

Official Organ of the I. W. W.

2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago, Ill. 60614.

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

Wesley Everest

Torn and defiant as a wind-lashed reed,
Wounded, he faced you as he stood at bay;
You dared not lynch him in the light of day,
But on your dungeon stones you let him bleed;
Night came . . . and you black vigilants of Greed, . . .
Like human wolves, seized hard upon your prey,
Tortured and killed . . . and, silent, slunk away
Without one qualm of horror at the deed.

Once . . . long ago . . . do you remember how
You hailed Him king for soldiers to deride—
You placed a scroll above His bleeding brow
And spat upon Him, scourged Him, crucified . . . ?
A rebel unto Caesar—then as now—
Alone, thorn-crowned, a spear wound in His side!

—R. C. in "N. Y. Call."

THE CENTRALIA CONSPIRACY

The Centralia Conspiracy is an exciting history of the sturggle of the Industrial Workers of the World to organize the loggers of Washington State, and their persecution by the vested business interests through the American Legion. It is not the detached account of a contemporary labor historian, but the work of fellow IWW member Ralph Chaplin, written shortly after the event and paid for out of the pockets of the loggers in an attempt to solicit funds for legal defence.

Facing a ruthlessness and cruelty matched only by the goriest of Ku Klux Klan tales, the heroism of Wesley Everest, the dedication of of attorney Elmer Smith, and the solidarity of the loggers are true evidence of the beauty and strength of the Wobbly movement. It is a rich tradition which Ralph Chaplin manages to convey, and one from which modern radicals have a great deal to learn.

Order from

CHARLES H. KERR & COMPANY

431 S. DEARBORN, SUITE 829
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

Industrial Workers of the World

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS — CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CHICAGO REPLIES TO MOSCOW!

The 1945 January 27th issue of the Industrial Worker carried a letter sent by the Editor to Russia in reply to a request for a free copy of the paper. It was not intended as an indictment of the Communist policy—that would need volumes—but merely mentioned a few cases of Communist murders of members of the I.W.W.

The letter has been translated into Italian, Spanish, Hungarian, Swedish, Dutch and French by labor editors all over the world. The Lumber Workers Bulletin which reprinted the letter has sold out. Therefore, this fourth reprint in leaflet form.

A gent who signs himself "Director of Library of Social Sciences of the Academy of Social Science of the U.S.S.R." has recently written a letter to the INDUSTRIAL WORKER.

We believe that such a gent should be taught some social science! And History is one of them.

We believe he should be taught that the present is the child of the past, and the father of the future!

We believe that this gent should be taught some of the facts of life!

And who better able to teach these things than the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD?

We give here his letter and our reply to the same. Not that we hope to teach him anything — but we do hope that the working people of America will read — and reading, remember — the truths we speak.

To—
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF
THE WORLD,
555 West Lake St.,
Chicago, Ill.

From—
Library of Social Sciences of the
Academy of Sciences of the
U. S. S. R.
Moscow 19, Ul Frunze 11.

Gentlemen:

With reference to our previous correspondence interrupted on account of the present mailing and shipping conditions we would like to resume our exchange relations with your organization.

In checking over our file of your periodical "Industrial Worker," we find that we failed to receive the following numbers of it for the previous years.

(Here follows year by year from 1933, index numbers of the Industrial Worker of which they are short. The paragraph ends "1943, all numbers.")

We would be very much grateful to you if you found it possible to send us all the missing numbers and place our library on your mailing list for the current and next years to continue receiving it regularly from now on.

We are also interested in your other publications in the field of social and political problems, and particularly the contemporary labor movement and World War II.

In return we can offer you some of the publications of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., both current and periodical. Kindly let us know what subjects are of special interest to you, and we shall be glad to supply you with some of our latest publications.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) D. Ivanov, Director.

DEAR MR. IVANOV

Hanging round an Academy of Social Science, you may be aware of a platitude of science which is well known to the mujiki of America: that **"what is bred in the blood comes out in the bone."** We can assure you that this is a pragmatic truth, the kind of truth which your govt. professes to like.

We come from a long line of Yankee horse traders who married Xtian females. The maternal teaching was to **"Return Good for Evil,"** while the old man used to believe: **"Tisn't much good to give things away. When a guy needs something bad make a dicker and swap with him for something you need good. That way, you keep his friendship and show a profit on your generosity."**

Being the result of our breeding and upbringing, we wouldn't want to negate the truth of the American mujiki. Hence though we feel like ignoring you and your kind, it behooves us to act true to our breeding; to return the Good of the Industrial Worker for all the Evil you have done, and to try and make a dicker with you to our mutual advantage.

WE WILL SWAP

Do you, Mr. Ivanov, remember the days when the shipyard workers of the Kronstadt pulled a strike for one of the noblest and most unselfish causes in the history of the labor movement? Do you remember how these workers, comparatively well-fed themselves, noticed that Communist bigshots were living on the fat of the land while women and kids in Leningrad and Moscow were dying of starvation—even those who were eating

out of the garbage cans outside of Communist party headquarters?

It was a time, you remember, when all people (even us poor suckers) believed in the professed aims of the Revolution. Believed that at long last, Liberty, EQUALITY and Fraternity had become the bedrock of the new era. These workers pulled the pin in order to draw the attention of the Commissars to their stand on social science and to the misery of women and kids of their class.

And—you can read your Lenin on this—two vile rats named Djugashvilli and Bronstein took to the Kronstadt a large army of gunmen and two lying tongues. They induced the strikers to "arbitrate the issues" and when the strikers, believing in their honor, were willing to arbitrate, the gunmen put them up against the wall and machine-gunned them.

Do you remember a period when the name of Thiers caused nausea among decent people of all kinds because he did these things in Paris after the fall of the Paris Commune? Do you know that the infamy of Thiers is buried in the minds of decent people beneath the much greater infamy of the two men who were YOUR governors at the time?

These rats are known to the world under aliases. Stalin and Trotsky they called themselves. But in our social science, rats are still rats, no matter what they call themselves.

We will trade you whole files of the Industrial Worker for the lives of the men your govt. murdered in the Kronstadt. Many of them were our boys; they had Wobbly cards and Wobbly buttons on them when they died. And even though most of the others didn't belong they were still our kind of people. Workers with hearts; with guts; with thinking, rational minds, and with a hope of the future. Can we dicker with YOU for their lives?

WE WILL TRADE

Do You, Mr. Ivanov, remember the Kuzbas Colonies? Do you know that hundreds of our boys went to Russia in the hope of helping build a "Workers Fatherland?" Do you know, that seeing Russia with her life blood pouring from the wounds of civil war; seeing the country without rail transport, without minerals, without any of the raw materials of modern industry, these boys pooled their money, bought tools, and forming themselves into co-operative groups, left the semi-civilized USA to go to the uncivilized USSR? Your govt. welcomed them, it offered them 50% of the product of their labor; it lauded them for their sacrifice and solidarity. And then—it cheated them of food and wages; it lied about them—and finally —murdered them in cold blood!

We will trade you many a file of the Industrial Worker for their lives. But can you deliver?

Can you give us back the lives of Shatoff and Andreychine—men whose competence and services your govt. lauded so highly, but who were murdered because they foolishly believed they had the right to their own thoughts? We'd rather have some of the Jimmie Higginses you have murdered, but we'll trade for the lives of these two boys.

We will trade you many a volume of the Industrial Worker for the diaries of William D. Haywood which your govt. burned, lest the wage workers of the U.S. learn something of the truth of the tyranny then in birth, but now in full maturity in your Communist heaven. Would YOU dare send it out to us, knowing that willingly, we would print it?

WE WILL BARTER

Do you remember that the workers of Vienna put up a brave struggle against the clerical fascism of Dollfuss and the Germanic national socialism of Prince von Starhemberg? You know of course, that your govt. offered these workers a haven in your country. And you know that every last one of them were murdered by your govt., lest their independence have beneficial effect on the slavish servility of the mujiki of Moscow. You know of course, that your govt. added the last final insult by calling them "Trotskyites." Some of these were our boys, men who learned the social science of unionism in the ranks of the I.W.W. Not even the dirtiest rats of Commercial America ever defamed these boys with the last insult of "Trotskyism."

Can you give us the lives of one of these victims? Just one, and gladly we will send you the Industrial Worker. Even until the day it becomes the official organ of the Industrial Democracy of America!

MORE TRADE-BAIT

Does your social science encompass the knowledge that when the Jehovah-screaming Browder of Kansas, the ineffable Cant of London, and the cowardly Tom Mann of ignominious memory were living in luxury in the foreign city of Shanghai, uplifting the downpressed and uptrodden masses of China, (whom they knew as thirteen lackies they hired in their mansion) the Marine Transport Workers of the I.W.W. were doing a magnificent job for democracy on the waterfront stretching from Stettin in Germany, through Hamburg, Antwerp and on to LaHavre?

Do you know that many of these 510 boys were murdered and slugged on the direct orders of your gang? A guy named Kreb, alias Jan Valtin has admitted some of his part in these murders. Don't tell us that he is a liar—we know that if he wasn't your govt. would not have hired him. Don't tell us that he is a "no-good." How could he be otherwise after mixing so long with your kind of people?

Do you know that the local Nazis regarded the red-card men of Hamburg and Stettin as their most courageous and competent enemies. And do you know that members of YOUR communist party put the finger on these red-card men so that Hitler's mob could finish off the murders your mob had begun?

Can you trade us the lives of one of these members? Name your price and we'll meet it!

DO YOU REMEMBER?

Does your library have the facts on the Revolt of the Generals in Spain in 1936? Can you read there, that after the Socialist Party of France had conceived the idea of International Brigades of wage workers to help our Spanish fellow-workers, your govt. demanded full control under threat of refusal to sell arms to the legal govt. of the country?

Can you read in your library of the deliberate campaign of lies and treachery the members of your International waged against the union men of Spain? Do you know that your mobsters insisted that the industries and transport system being operated so efficiently by the C.N.T. be turned over to "public" control—the public being the kind of political lice who would accept the bribes so freely offered in the name of Holy Russia?

Do you know that this campaign culminated in a deliberate murder by govt. troops of the wage workers of Barcelona on—of all days—MAY DAY of 1937? Your chief of military espionage, General Krevitsky, says that they only wanted to murder POUMISTS. But do you know that there were more decent union men murdered than the cretins of your bastard child of POUM?

Does your library contain the facts of the English speaking Brigade, called the XVth by the Spanish govt., but called a different name by the commies of English speaking countries (Lincoln in U.S.; MacKenzie-Papineau, Canada; Saklatvala, England). Do you know that your mob insisted on nominating the commanders of this brigade — that your gang shot three of these commanders as "fascists." Your mob named four commanders of this outfit until the Spanish govt. stepped in. If 75% of your pets are fascist as you say—why should any decent man maintain relations with you?

Do you know that we have it from your own sources that of the "military experts" sent by your govt. to Spain, EVERY ONE OF THEM WERE SHOT WHEN THEY WENT BACK TO RUSSIA. We don't blame you for that! But why didn't you shoot these experts before you sent them to Spain? Do you know how many good guys lost their lives because of these experts? And do you know that Copec (Jugo-Slav) the only XVth Brigade Commander you didn't shoot was the most cowardly, most contemptible rat ever to sneak into a soldier's uniform? Is that the reason why you saved him, after shooting Lavelle, (French), Klaus (German), and Tchevedeu (Russian)?

The I.W.W. lost many good members because of your control of the International Brigades. We lost many members and thousands of good friends to the murder lust of your LISTER—the rat whose sadism would entitle him to high rank in your ogpooeys.

Can you trade back any of these lives?

OR TRY THIS

Your armies invaded Hungary and Poland. They have shown themselves to be just as intolerant of t h i n k i n g among workers as were the German armies. Do you know that your mob have murdered as many members of the I.W.W. in these countries as have the American Capitalist class in the U.S.? Men who learned something of SCIENTIFIC unionism here is the U.S. and who returned as missionaries to spread the light among the more benighted people of Europe?

Sure—we'll send you the Industrial Worker for your files—IF. Will you see that your murder gang allows us to send our paper BERMUNKAS to the Hungarian workers? Can you guarantee the

right to read a working class paper to those workers who are now being amgotted by Stalin's armies in Hungary?

You want some of our publications? Do you know that we have a daily newspaper published in the Finnish language?

We'd like to get it in the hands of the workers in Finland. Will your govt. agree that the Finnish workers have the right—the freedom to read—INDUSTRIALISTI if we honor you by sending the Industrial Worker into your despicable Academy?

OH MR. IVANOV

You have some issues of the Industrial Worker on your files. IF you will read them you will note that the I.W.W. have never had a great amount of respect for the petty-boogers of the SOCIAL LEFT. We have always regarded them as naive children who hadn't grown up. Occasionally, we meet one among them who is worth saving—generally a worker or a worker's kid.

You will note that we have a large amount of no-use for the substitutes for unionism which sprout from adolescent minds as incapable of understanding social science as any student of your Academy.

But—believe it or not—there was a time when we could trust these people in matters and causes common to us all. There was a time when we could collaborate with socialists and with other union-forms for specific causes and on specific issues. Not respecting their intelligence, but trusting to their integrity.

Do you know that this trust among workers and among working class organizations has been murdered and betrayed by the stooges of the govt. which hires you? Do you know that the faith in our fellow man has been replaced by suspicion and mistrust—due directly to the habit of forming **United Fronts** contracted by comrats on direct orders from your govt.?

Can YOU give a rebirth to the elementary solidarity which used to exist in working class organizations? Can you revive that shining faith in men with whom we differ that was at one time, the glory of the working class movement? Do this—and we'll give you a better education in social science than you ever dreamed possible. We will send you every copy of the two "language" papers and every copy of the Industrial Worker, the Railroad Worker, the Lumber Worker and the Metal Worker.

ARE WE TOO TOUGH?

Mr. Ivanov, you may believe that these dickers we offer are too tough to take. You may tell us that dead men cannot be revived—even by the Russian govt. You may tell us that faith in mankind, once ruined can never be reborn. And yet, because you have the good taste to want to read the Industrial Worker, you may still be anxious to trade.

So we'll deal with you for cash!

We know of **at least 5 million dollars** which you have spent on the Communist Party of America for the purpose of dividing and splitting the forces of labor. We are almost certain your govt. has spent more—but we will stick to what we know.

Are you willing to induce your govt. to spend **5 thousand** for the purpose of UNIFYING the American labor movement? One grand for every million you have spent to divide!

Too much? How about the half million dollars which the Russian govt. gave the rats and renegades of the I.W.W. WRECKING CREW which used to operate on the Pacific Coast? We'll trade you whole volumes of the Industrial Worker for your secret files on this matter!

Or—will you give us the inside story of the Marine Workers Industrial Union which you formed to smash the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union 510 of the I.W.W. Your stooges deliberately formed this—not as a union—but as a union busting agency. We have the word of men who are still in your party and service for this statement!

Men who were the initiators of this union-busting move!

MOOLA FROM MUJIKS

The millions of dollars you have spent in all countries from America to Afganistan to smash the working class movement were millions taken from the hide and sweat of the Russian mujiki. May be we wouldn't want that kind of money—even if you offered it to us. We have refused it on the numerous occasions your rats in the U. S. have offered it to us, and we see no reason to change our attitude.

But—today, you have got millions of lent-lost dollars which the Wall St. govt. is taking out of our paychecks weekly. We'd like to have some of these dollars back—even if we have to fumigate them to get rid of the stink of the hands they have passed through.

Here is a trade you might like to make.

For the first time in the history of the world, the standard of living of the American worker is declining in a period of prosperity.

Funny situation, isn't it?

But we cannot appreciate the humor of it! We know the reasons why!

Members of the stooge society of your feuhrer are in control of most of the international u n i o n s of the CIO which was born out of the Blue Eagle of the National Assn. of Manufacturers and the desire of Mr. Roosevelt to form a Bismarckian form of labor front.

We quote Mrs. Perkins on this. **"The No-Strike pledge was made by 30 or more labor leaders without consulting any of their members."**

That No-Strike pledge, Mr. Ivanov, has **cost the American wage worker billions of dollars** in wages that he should have been paid—and wasn't.

That No-Strike pledge has been the weapon whereby years of effort to erect and maintain standards, and years of heartbreaking toil to improve conditions have been thrown into the lap of the political helots to do with what they will.

That No-Strike pledge, Mr. Ivanov, is the bastard child of YOUR GOVT.! Its midwives were the agents of YOUR GOVT. in the American labor movement!

These same agents, Mr. Ivanov, are today, the most despicable strikebreakers and finks in the long, bloody history of American labor. We have had our Pinkertons, our Baldwin Felts, our Jim Farleys, our Pearl Bergdoffs, our American Legionnaires. But—in the last three years, YOUR GOVT. AGENTS have busted more strikes, have fingered more strikers, and have snitched on more workers than all these "honest fink" agencies combined.

Will you trade the honor of reading the Industrial Workers for .0001 per cent of the money which the antics of the comrat finks have cost the American worker during this period of prosperity? We promise, that if you will, we will give it to the decent elements of the U.A.W. who, trying to offset the finky record of their international officers find that they are being opposed by money which Coffee-Time Curran is stealing from seamen in order to fasten the chains of the No-Strike pledge on the auto workers!

PUT UP—OR SHUT UP

These are our offers, gent Ivanov. To our Yankee proclivity for trading we will add many a Yankee saying—the easiest of which is **Put up or shut up.** Make a dicker with us—that will satisfy us both. And if you're not ready to do that, will you please cease bothering us with your letters!

You know, Tovarish, when deciding to answer your plea, we wondered how we could get the answer to you. We could, in the best comrat manner, go hush-hush about it, and could with a lot of abracadabra, have handed this reply to Coffee-Time Curran to take to you when next time, in order to escape fighting for your cause in uniform, he poses as an honest seaman until his draft board forgets him.

If we sent this reply through such devious channels, you might think we were comrats and hence deserving of the contempt which you Russians must feel for the rats who tote your banner and bray your cause in other lands. And if we did use your channels, we would earn your contempt but what is more important, we would forfeit our own self-respect.

You may not know it, but there still exists in this land of Jefferson far more freedom of speech and far more liberty and equality than exists in your country. And that freedom and liberty exists because the I.W.W. have bought and paid for it!

We have paid for it with thousands of years in jail. We have bought it with hundreds of lives of good and gallant men. Men whose dust you were not worthy to swallow! And we who are alive and out of jail want that which our brothers have bought so dearly.

We are sending you this through the U. S. mails. We know that censors will look over every line of it—and that if they know anything of your history and ours, they will echo every word we say.

We are sending our reply to you to every city in the U. S. and to wage workers all over the world—that they may know some social science which your mobsters have deliberately tried to bury.

IF we thought you had a **real** Academy of social science, we would applaud your taste in wanting the authentic voice of labor unionism in your liberty. But we have seen some of the crap which you send out under the guise of "science" and we can get better in the gutter press of the U. S. In papers, which no matter how low and degraded, have still more spark than your Iskra and still more truth than your Pravda.

SOCIAL SCIENCES, EH?

You don't need to read every issue of the Industrial Worker in order to learn more than you know. On page 4 of this paper you will see the Preamble to the I.W.W. constitution, and you can pray to your dead Lenin for brains enough to understand and decency enough to comprehend the profound truths therein contained.

That the victims and the beneficiaries of the wages system have nothing in common —not even the Workers Fatherland as you call the hell you have made in Russia.

That as long as the wages system lasts, there can be no EQUALITY among men, and where there is no Equality there can be no Liberty, No Fraternity, No Peace.

That these conditions can be changed, when and only, the workers get wise to their position, organize as a class—in Germany, in Russia, in the U. S. and in Timbuctoo, take possession of the things that workers themselves have made, and put you and your kind in overalls and make you earn an honest living!

(And if YOU can understand and believe that much of social science, we are sure that you are one of the victims of the next "exhibition of justice" which your govt. stages so frequently.)

You know, Mr. Ivanov, that we have a govt. here that occasionally turns one of its Janus faces to us and tells us that we are in a "war against nazism." So we ought to be careful about thus writing you.

We know that your dead fuehrer Lenin was the first to use the term "national socialism;" that he laid down its code of ethics when he married the ideas of Machiavelli to those of Ignatius Loyola; that he laid down the economic basis of it when he promulgated his New Economic Policy in 1924; that he laid the cornerstone of its political corruption when to his "middle class intellectual mind" he added the contempt for people so ably expressed by M. Blanqui of an earlier France.

If we believe the Janus Face of govt. we might hesitate to thus write you. But the I.W.W. might be lots of things —but it has lost its naivete!

Sure, we'd like to put the Industrial Worker in your hands. We'd like much better if we could put a million industrial workers on your neck. But—why should we tell you these things. You can read the back copies of the Industrial Worker which you have and find out for yourself.

Here is a final offer—and a titbit of information. You did NOT get the Industrial Worker for 1943 and 1944 for a very good reason.

Some of the Russian workers were in the "underground" long before the underground became the plaything of govts. and the pet of propaganda pimps of Hollywood. There were Russian seamen who believed that if the Industrial Worker was good enough for your library, it surely must be good enough for the wage workers who were your serfs. They used to pick up many copies in many ports of the world and smuggle them in to your Fatherland.

Where are those boys today? In Siberia? In the Lubianka prison murdered by the OGPOOEYS?

Tell us that and heed our final offer. We will send you back copies of the Industrial Worker if you can send us the names of 500 union men in Russia who can read English.

Pretty tough proposition, eh? If you knew the name of ONE UNION man in Russia you would have him shot! If you dared believe that there were five hundred UNION men, your govt. would declare martial law in Russia which it now exercises in Poland, in Finland and in the Balkans.

The only ones in Russia who are allowed to learn English, are the agents who are picked for espionage in the semi-civilized English speaking countries. You couldn't afford to have people reading in the original those English books which your govt. murders in translation. The instructions given your mujiki when they enter a country like Romania is a sure indication of what you fear when people can read English literature direct! You and we know well, that if some mujiki tried to read the Industrial Worker in your library, he would be suspected of the great crime of being "politically unreliable." And neither you nor we would like to see that happen!

So, Dear Mr. Ivanov, the answer to your request for the Industrial Worker is distinctly in the negative. We have failed to teach any of the social sciences to your stooges and agents in this country, where despite their antics, they still have a little freedom. Why then should we hope to educate the poor suckers who live in your country?

Some day, let us hope, you will be able to read the Industrial Worker. Some day, let us hope, you will have brains enough to understand it. Some day let us hope, you will have decency enough to comprehend the social science arising from the lives of workers and of which the Industrial Worker is the foremost exponent. Some day—

Until then, Dear Mr. Ivanov—farewell.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

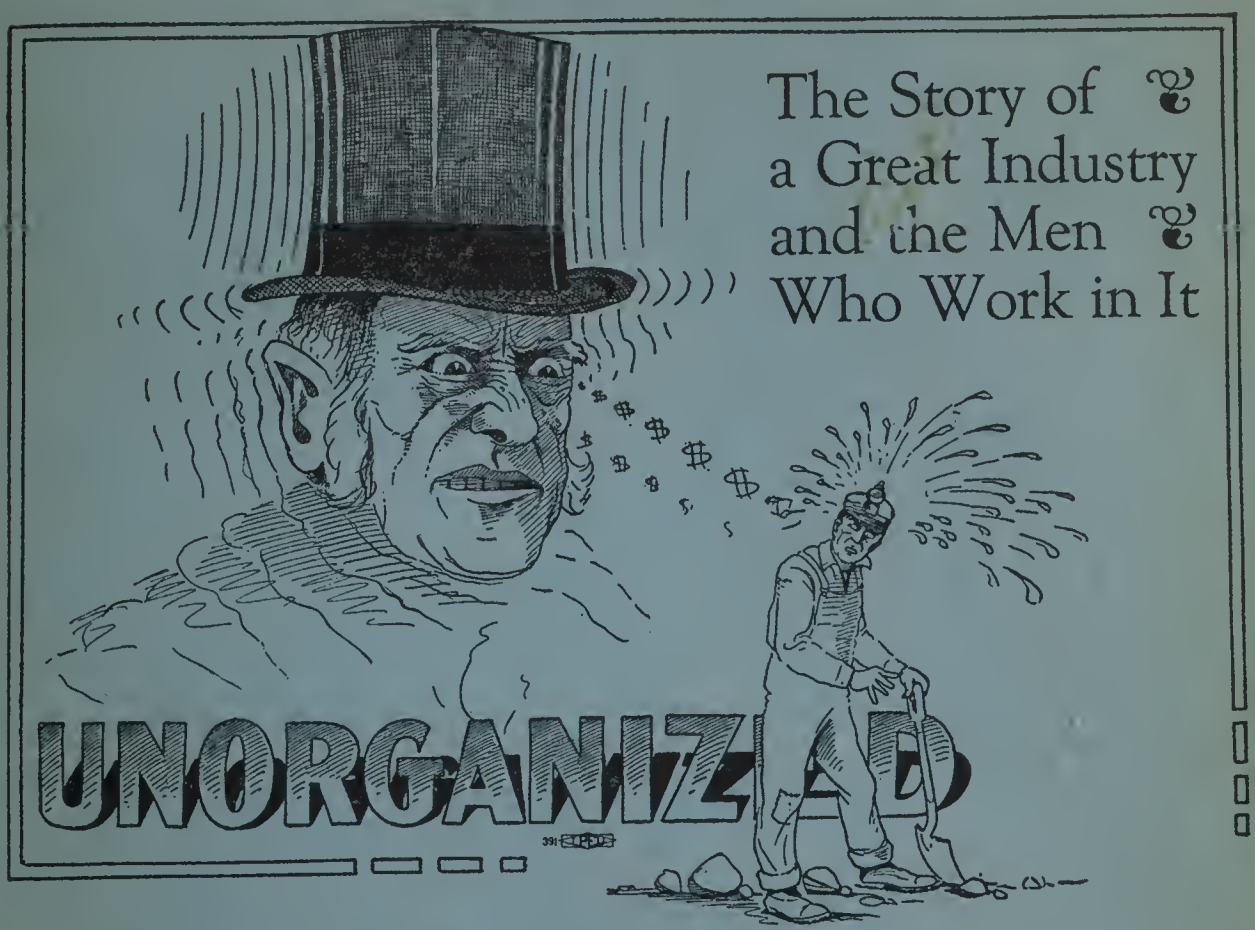
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

ISSUED BY THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD, 2422 No. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

Printed in U.S.A.

618 APCO

COAL MINES and COAL MINERS



THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
CHICAGO

Coal-Mine Workers and Their Industry

AN INDUSTRIAL HANDBOOK

PREPARED BY THE EDUCATIONAL BUREAU OF THE I. W. W.

FOR

COAL-MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 220, I. W. W.

PUBLISHED BY

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,

1001 WEST MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

The Industrial Siamese Twins

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

Table of Contents

1. *What is coal? How did it come into existence?* 7

2. *The coal resources of the world* 9

3. *The coal fields of United States and Canada* 16

4. *The early history of coal in the United States* 18

5. *Who is a coal miner?* 21

6. *Who is who in the coal mining industry?* 29

8. *Coal production in the United States* 38

9. *Can the coal miners of the United States get justice through political action?* 43

10. *The struggle towards organization among the coal mine workers* 56

11. *The United Mine Workers of America* 63

12. *The International Miners' Federation* 75

13. *Relative importance of union and non-union fields* ... 79

14. *How is the product of the coal mine workers divided?* 81

15. *The false argument of the operators* 87

16. *The proposed nationalization of the coal mines* 95

17. *The principles and methods of the I. W. W.* 99

18. *Why the coal miners should join Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 of the Industrial Workers of the World* 100

PREFACE

THIS HANDBOOK for the coal-mining industry is issued by the Industrial Workers of the World for the Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, of the I. W. W.

It is the opinion of the above organization that the main thing which separates the workers from control over and possession of the industries is their industrial ignorance. They may be mechanics and experts in their particular lines, but very few of them have that general grasp of all the facts pertaining to their industry which is indispensable in an age when the burning question is the taking over and the running of the industries by the organized workers. The first actual attempts in this line in Russia in the early stages of the revolution collapsed, mainly for lack of the necessary knowledge by the workers. We ought to learn from the mistakes made by others.

This handbook is the first book to be issued by the I. W. W. for the coal-mining industry. For that reason it is in the nature of a general introduction to the industry. The object of it is to arouse the interest of the coal-miners in the idea of taking over the mines and their operation through the unions, in accordance with the general program of the I. W. W., and to make them join Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 of the I. W. W.

We have tried to make each chapter a more or less independent link in the chain of 18 chapters, in order to make them suitable for reprinting in periodicals without any considerable changes. This accounts for the repetitions that occur now and then.

In due time this general introduction to the various phases of the coal-mining industry should be supplemented with one work after another, written with a view to teaching the workers to manage the industry on a world basis, in such a manner that there will be no risk of industrial collapse with subsequent reaction.

We hope the coal-miners reading this book will help us in circulating it to the limit of their possibilities.

The book can be obtained from either of the two following addresses:

Secretary, Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, 318 No. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.; or

General Secretary-Treasurer, I. W. W., 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Educational Bureau, I. W. W.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

1. WHAT IS COAL? HOW DID IT COME INTO EXISTENCE?

COAL is a *mineral of vegetable origin,* ranging in color from dark brown to black, and consisting chiefly of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen and nitrogen. When distilled coal yields coal gas and coal tar, the latter the principal source of benzine, and numerous other products.

Coal is found in seams of varying thickness, which are imbedded between the rock formations of three of the five main periods in the earth's geological history, namely the second, third and fourth periods, called the palæozoic, the mesozoic and the tertiary periods, and particularly in that sub-division of the palæozoic period which is called the carboniferous period or the "Coal Measures."

The geological period represented by the rocks of the Coal Measures was one of the most remarkable of which there is any record in the geological history of our planet.

Enormous areas of the earth's surface were covered with dense forests, which grew in lagoons and marshy regions. The whole land must have been very flat in those days, and little above the level of the sea, something similar to the everglades of Florida or to the great deltas of tropical rivers, in which locations wide expanses are occupied by sluggish rivers and lagoons of fresh water, where the mangrove grows along the shore and the bottom is covered with water-logged, decaying vegetation. The climate of those times was warm, equable and moist and the atmosphere was probably rich in carbon dioxide. The growth of vegetation must have been rapid, and dark evergreen plants and ferns lent a somber aspect to the scenery. As yet there were no flowers, no birds, and none of the higher four-legged animals. How long ago this was, nobody knows with exactness. Some believe it was hundreds of thousands of years ago, others say millions.

Prolonged but very slow sinking was in progress, and when for years the vegetation had densely clothed the soil, it was carried down below the water and covered over with mud and sand. Then, by some upheaval or gradual silting up of the sea bottom, a land surface was once more formed; luxuriant vegetation again sprang up, in course of time decayed, sank and became overlaid with silt and sand as before.

The vegetable layers thus deposited, subject to the heat of the earth and of decomposition, and to the pressure of accumulating masses of stratified matter, were gradually mineralized into the brown or black rock which we now call coal.

In other cases great masses of decaying vegetation drifted out into lakes or estuaries, and were there gradually submerged, covered with debris, and similarly converted into fuel for coming ages.

The changes which have taken place in converting the decaying vegetation into coal are partly chemical, partly structural.

The oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen of the woody fibre of vegetation tend to be expelled in the form of marsh gas and carbonic acid gas, while the carbon increases in proportion as the process advances, till in anthracite coal carbon forms nearly the whole of the resultant mass. The vegetable structure disappears —peat, lignite, bituminous and anthracite forming a series more and more removed from wood in composition and character.

The Coal Measures consist chiefly of beds of sandstone, shales and ironstones, throughout which the seams of coal, varying in number from a few to more than a hundred, are evenly distributed.

The fossils most common in the coal-bearing strata are plant remains, the stems and leaves of many kinds of ferns, fossil bark of giant trees. Land and fresh-water shells are also found, along with remains of fish, insects and air-breathing amphibians (animals living both in water and on land).

The thickness of the coal seams varies considerably, from less than an inch up to 40 feet, or even over 80 feet as in one case in Wyoming, but when they are very thick they consist, as a rule, of a number of beds, separated by partings of shale or other rocks.

2. THE COAL RESOURCES OF THE WORLD

THERE are few things in this world which are the object of so many uncomplimentary remarks as statistical figures. They are called "dry," "uninteresting," "dull" and "cold" and many other similar names. In many cases this harsh condemnation of statistics is purely subjective and may be traced to a failure to really study the meaning of the figures.

In spite of this bad reputation of statistical figures we shall here describe the coal resources of the world almost entirely with columns of figures, which, in our opinion, are that much concentrated fascination. We claim that the following tables tell a more wonderful story than could possibly be conveyed in words or pictures.

Coal means wealth and great possibilities. The absence of it means the opposite. Study these "dry" figures in detail, and you will find that they are the peep-hole through which you can look into the whole economic life of a country, and a key which deciphers its economic history in the past and gives a clue to prophesying about its future.

The world's coal supply is being used for the following purposes in the following proportions, approximately:

	Tons per year	Per cent
Manufacturing purposes	562,000,000	43
Heating buildings	250,000,000	20
Locomotive fuel	230,000,000	18
Coke	150,000,000	12
Steamer fuel	75,000,000	6
Illuminating gas	12,000,000	1
	1,279,000,000	100

In the above few figures are compressed a large part of the useful activities of the whole world.

It certainly should be interesting to know in what countries this life-giver is to be found, and what countries, if any, have been "left out in the cold" by Lady Bountiful Nature.

The following figures have the further fascination of being authoritative, and as nearly correct as it has been possible for internationally organized geological science to make them. The tables and facts connected with them are extracts from *"The Coal Resources of the World,"* which is the name of part of the printed report of *The Proceedings of the XII. International Geological Congress,* held in Toronto, Canada, in 1913, the year of highest coal production up to that time.

Anthracite, Bituminous and Lignite

Most of us have heard about anthracite coal, bituminous coal and lignite, but not everybody knows the exact difference. Anthracite is also called "hard coal," bituminous coal "soft coal," and lignite "brown coal." These names are a good help in distinguishing coal, but we will here give a short table, which gives the scientific classification in general use.

Classification of Coal

	Class A Anthracite coal		Class B Bituminous			Class C coal	Class D Sub-bitum's coal Brown coal Lignite	
Composition	1 %	2 %	1 %	2 %	3 %		1 %	2 %
Carbon	93–95	90–93	83–90	75–90	70–80	Long	60–75	45–65
Hydrogen	2–4	4–4.5	4.5–5	4.5–5.5	4.5–6	Smoking Flame	6–6.5	6–6.8
Oxygen and Nitrogen	3–5	3–5.5	5.5–12	6–15	18–20	30–40% volatile	20–30	30–45
Calorific value	8000–8330 calories	8330–8600 calories	8400–8900 calories	7700–8800 calories	6600–7800 calories	matter. Very porous coke	5500–7200 calories	4000–6000 calories

The above table will explain the meaning of the letters A, B, C, D, where they occur in the following tables. Please note that Classes B and C together constitute bituminous coal.

Estimate of the Coal Resources of the World (Actual, Probable and Possible Resources Added Together) In Million Tons

	Class A Anthracite	Class B. & C. Bituminous	Class D Sub-bituminous Brown Coal Lignite	Total in million tons
Oceania	659	133.481	36,270	170,410
Asia	407,637	760,098	111,851	1,279,586
Africa	11,662	45,123	1,054	57,839
America	22,542	2,271,080	2,811,906	5,105,528
Europe	54,346	693,162	36,682	784,190
Total	496,846	3,902,944	2,997,763	7,397,553

The above figures include everything, both what is actually now in sight and those coal measures which, according to the calculations of scientists, could probably and possibly be found. The figures—7 trillion tons and more—seem tremendous, but the consumption of coal is increasing at such a rapid rate, that, if consumption were to keep on increasing at the same rate in the future, the coal resources of the world would be exhausted in 200 years. But it is not considered probable that the increase will be in the same ratio. The following table will illustrate that increase up to date.

Table of Annual Production of the Principal Countries of the World
In Million Tons

	1865	1870	1875	1880	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905	1910
Australia	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.01	6.48	6.83	10.00
New Zeal'd	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.76	1.11	1.41	2.23
China	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14.59
India	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.65	6.22	7.92	12.09
Japan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4.84	7.43	11.89	14.79
So. Africa ..	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.40	0.76	3.22	5.50
Canada	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3.19	5.09	7.96	13.01
U. S. A.....	24.79	29.95	48.20	66.83	102.18	141.62	177.59	243.41	351.12	446.81
Mexico	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2.45
Gr. Britain	99.76	112.24	135.49	149.38	161.96	184.59	194.35	228.77	239.89	264.50
Spain	0.45	0.66	0.61	0.85	0.94	1.18	1.77	2.58	3.20	3.55
France	11.84	13.30	16.95	19.36	19.51	26.08	28.24	33.40	36.05	38.57
Belgium	11.84	13.69	15.01	16.88	17.44	20.37	20.41	23.46	21.84	23.13
Germany	28.33	34.88	48.53	59.12	73.67	89.29	103.96	149.79	173.66	221.98
Au.-Hung. ..	2.03	8.36	13.06	14.80	20.43	26.10	27.25	39.03	40.72	38.00
Italy	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.25	0.48	0.31	0.40
Sweden	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	0.20	0.25	0.33	0.21
Russia	0.33	0.69	1.17	3.27	4.24	7.00	9.10	14.76	17.12	24.57
Other C'tries	2.71	4.04	6.26	9.28	12.45	16.89	1.75	2.90	4.55	8.00
Total	102.08	217.81	285.30	339.37	412.82	513.12	581.72	765.92	928.02	1143.38

The World's Production of Coal, 1910-1920
(Metric Tons)

Year	Production in part estimated	Per cent produced by United States
1910	1,160,000,000	39.2
1911	1,189,000,000	37.9
1912	1,249,000,000	38.8
1913	1,342,000,000	38.5
1914	1,205,000,000	38.6
1915	1.196,000,000	40.4
1916	1,296,000,000	41.4
1917	1,345,000,000	44.0
1918	1,331,000,000	46.2
1919	1,158,000,000	42.9
1920	1,300,000,000	45.1

The author of "Coal, Iron and War" sums up the situation in four points, showing what bearing the constantly diminishing coal supply may have on the world's industrial activities and thus on life in its entirety upon our planet:

"(1) The coal reserves of the world are known to be very large, even as compared to a future increased demand. The period before which any trace of general exhaustion need be feared is to be measured, even from the most pessimistic standpoint, in centuries.

"(2) As demand continues, however, we are steadily using coal of a little lower grade, and coal that is a little more difficult and expensive to mine. These facts have a direct bearing on future coal costs and on future manufacturing costs in other lines.

"(3) The coal supplies of certain manufacturing districts and of certain countries are further advanced towards exhaustion than are those of some existing or possible competitors. There will, therefore, be seen *changes in relative importance of manufacturing centers, and gradual but certain changes in kinds of industry practiced.*

"(4) In the very near future it is probable that *the entry of new continents into the industrial field* will make still greater changes in manufacturing, in world competition and in world leadership. These may bring about changes in social and industrial structure among the older nations, especially among those most hardly pressed by their own decreasing coal supplies and by the new competition.

Some pessimists might say: "Of what interest are such statistical tables and predictions to us workers? What do we care how many centuries the coal lasts? What concern of ours is it if whole industrial districts are bankrupted because their coal supply gives out? Why should we worry because industry may be moved to the tremendous anthracite fields of China? All we care about is to get a living wage, a shorter workday and decent conditions, and then let the future take care of itself."

That is the way workers have reasoned in the past, and that is the way many of them are still reasoning. But a rapid change is coming over the world. The burning question of our age is no longer wages, hours and conditions, but it is the taking over of the industries by the workers themselves through their industrial unions and the running of the industries (as well as the whole society) by the workers themselves by means of an industrial administration. Like a person who has suddenly come into a great inheritance, we have got to start to look over the property which shall soon be all ours, so that we will know what we are about, what we have got and what we ought to do.

The tables given above, as well as those which follow, are nothing but a general survey of the great inheritance which will soon fall to us when "old man" Capitalism turns up his toes, as he is liable to do one of these days. The better the workers are posted on the details of the inheritance, the better they will be able to solve the social problem with which they will be confronted. The pessimists and short-sighted porkchop philosophers, who would put up with capitalism if they only got a better feed, are out of luck. The workers *will have to* take over the inheritance whether they want to or not. It is either that or social destruction. Under these circumstances we need not make any further apologies for presenting these *general survey tables of the coal inheritance,* which is now being fraudulently and maliciously withheld fro mthe right owner, i.e., humanity.

We will then first note that nearly all the coal is in the northern hemisphere. The figures for South America and Africa are so small as to be nearly negligible. We will get them out of the way first:

The Coal Resources of South America (Estimated Total Reserve) In Million Tons

	Anthracite	Bituminous	Lignite	(in million tons)
Colombia	.....	27,000	.....	27,000
Venezuela	.....	5	.....	5
Peru	700	1,339	.....	2,039
Argentina	.....	5	.....	5
Chile	.....	3,048	.....	3,048
Total	700	31,397	.....	32,097

The Coal Resources of Africa (Estimated Total Reserve) In Million Tons

	Class A	Class B & C	Class D	Total (in million tons)
Africa	11,662	45,123	1,054	57,839

In regard to this African coal reserve it is well to note that the most important part of it is confined to the southern portion of the continent which is controlled by England. The northern portion of the continent is practically without coal:

Belgian Congo	990	million tons
So. Nigeria	80	" "
Rhodesia	569	" "
British South Africa	56,200	" "
Total	57,839	million tons

The Coal Reserve of Oceania,

totalling 170,410 million tons, is also largely to be found in territory over which the British flag waves:

Australia	165,572	million tons
New Zealand	3,386	" "
British North Borneo	75	" "
Dutch India	1,311	" "
Philippines	66	" "
Total	170,410	million tons

The Coal Resources of Asia (Total Estimated Reserve) In Million Tons

	Class A	Class B & C	Class D	Total (in million tons)
Asia	407,637	760,098	111,851	1,279,586

We will get a better conception of this high figure by stating that the Asiatic coal reserve is over 1¼ trillion tons. Since we got the bolshevik ruble we are getting more familiar with the word "trillion."

For the sake of comparison let us note here that of the total anthracite world reserve of 496,846 million tons, Asia has 407,637 million tons, the largest part of it in *China*. Put these two facts together, that China has nearly 400 million people and nearly 400 billion tons of anthracite, and more than that of other kinds of coal, and we have the foundation for an industrial era the like of which we have never dreamt of before. We cannot avoid asking ourselves the question: Are those masses and those tons going to be exploited by international capitalists, or are the Chinese workers going to wake up out of their slumber of centuries and burn that coal in industrial furnaces of their own? In either case the Chinese are sure to "rock the boat" of society.

The Asiatic coal reserve is distributed as follows:

Corea	81	million tons
China	995,587	" "
Japan	7,970	" "
Manchuria	1,208	" "
Siberia	173,879	" "
Indo-China	20,002	" "
India	79,001	" "
Persia	1,858	" "
Total	1,279,586	million tons

The report of the International Geological Congress says that the reserve of coal in Asia is probably underestimated, as many of the Siberian and Chinese coal fields have not been sufficiently explored to admit of an estimate of their reserves being made.

Estimate of the Coal Reserve of Europe
In Million Tons

	Class A Anthracite	Class B & C Bituminous	Class D Lignite,etc.	Total in million tons
Gr. Britain & Ireland ..	11,357	178,176	.....	189,533
Portugal	20	.....	.....	20
Spain	1,635	6,366	767	8,768
France	3,271	12,680	1,632	17,583
Italy	144	.....	99	243
Greece	.....	.....	40	40
Bulgaria	.....	30	358	388
Denmark	.....	.....	50	50
Netherlands	320	4,082	.....	4,402
Belgium	.....	11,000	.....	11,000
Germany	.....	409,975	13,381	423,356
Hungary	.....	113	1,604	1,717
Austria	.....	40,982	12,894	53,876
Bosnia & Herzegovina	.....	.....	3,676	3,676
Servia	.....	45	484	529
Roumania	.....	.....	39	39
Sweden	.....	114	.....	114
Russia in Europe	37,599	20,849	1,658	60,106
Spitzbergen	.....	8,750	.....	8,750
Total in million tons....	54,346	693,162	36,682	784,190

As we see from this table, coal is found in commercial quantities in practically all the political divisions of Europe. In some countries the reserve is nearly exhausted, as in Switzerland. In others the large production is rapidly depleting the reserve, and in Europe as a whole the duration of the coal supply, in view of the present output, is a matter for serious consideration.

It should also be noted that the high figure for Germany has been considerably decreased through the peace treaty of Versailles in 1919.

The principal anthracite fields of Europe are in *the Donetz basin in Russia* and in *the Welsh fields of Great Britain.* The largest reserves of bituminous coal are in *the Belgian-German basins,* although *the British fields* may be more easily exploited and a larger percentage of the reserves extracted. Germany and Austria have about equal amounts of the D class coals, which constitute a large part of their present output.

In this connection it is well for the thoughtful student to again remember the trillion and a quarter tons virgin coal reserve of China and Siberia and the FIVE TRILLION tons coal reserve of North America, to which we are now coming.

The Coal Resources of North America
In Million Tons

	Actual reserve in million tons			Probable reserve in million tons			
	Class A	Cl. B&C	Class D	Class A	Class B&C	Class D	Total in mill. tons
New Foundland	.....	.....	.....	.....	500	.....	500
Canada							
Nova Scotia	.....	B 2,138	.....	.....	B 7,511	.....	.....
	.....	C 50	.....	.....	C 20	.....	.....
Ontario	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	25
Manitoba	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	160
Saskatchewan	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	57,400
Alberta	668	B 3,209	384,908	100	B 194,883	491,271	.....
Brit. Columbia	7	B 23,764	60	1,343	B 43,925	5,136	.....
Yukon	.....	.....	.....	40	B 210	4,690	.....
N. W. Territories	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4,800	.....
Arctic Islands	.....	.....	.....	.....	6,000	.....	.....
Total for Canada	675	29,161	384,968	1,483	254,500	563,492	1,234,269
United States	Actual and probable reserve added together						
Eastern	.....	.....	.....	16,906	494,454	.....	.....
Interior	.....	.....	.....	363	478,232	.....	.....
Gulf	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,952	.....
Northern Plains	.....	.....	.....	.....	41,106	1,134,000	.....
Rocky Mts. & Coast	.....	.....	.....	484	335,460	692,207	.....
Coal deeply covered	.....	.....	.....	.....	604,900	.....	.....
Alaska	.....	.....	.....	1,931	1,369	16,293	.....
Total for U. S. A.	.....	.....	.....	19,684	1,955,521	1,863,452	3,838,675
Central America							
Honduras	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	5
Total for N. Amer.	675	29,161	384,968	21,167	2,210,022	2,426,938	5,073,431

As will be seen from the above table, North America is well supplied with fossil fuel, the Palæozoic deposits of the East and the Mesozoic and Tertiary deposits of the West containing *about two-thirds of the estimated coal reserve of the world.*

In addition, some lignite has been found in Greenland, Guatemala, San Salvador, Costa Rica, Panama, Trinidad and Santo Domingo. A moderate reserve of coal is known in Mexico, but no estimate could be obtained for the report of the International Geological Congress.

After having made this condensed inventory of the coal resources of the world, we are now in a better position to judge what we ought to do, in order to come into possession of all this almost boundless wealth, which is so necessary for the welfare of humanity. And the first thing that sticks us in the eye is that *we need organs, industrial organs,* by means of which to take possession of the coal resources and work them. Such organs are the Industrial Unions, with their job branches and councils, organized by the I. W. W.

3. THE COAL FIELDS OF UNITED STATES AND CANADA

THE COAL FIELDS of the United States rank first in area of all the coal fields of the world, the known coal areas aggregating 339, 887 square miles out of the total 3,624,122 square miles of the United States, including Alaska, or nearly one-tenth of the total area. To this may be added 84,482 square miles supposed, but not definitely known to contain workable coal, and 28,470 square miles in which the coal lies at depths of 3,000 feet or more.

The United States Geological Survey separates the coal areas of the United States into *six divisions.*

(1) **The Eastern Province,** which includes all of the bituminous areas of the Appalachian region; the Atlantic coast region, including the coal fields near Richmond, Va., and the Deep River and Dan River fields of North Carolina, and—last but not least—the anthracite region of Pennsylvania.

(2) **The Gulf Province,** which includes the lignite fields of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas.

(3) **The Interior Province,** which includes all the bituminous areas of the Mississippi Valley region and the coal fields of Michigan. This province is further sub-divided into:

(a) *Eastern Interior Region,* embracing the fields of Illinois, Indiana and Western Kentucky.

(b) *Western Interior Region,* comprising the fields of Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas and Oklahoma.

(c) *Southwestern Interior Region,* which includes the coal fields of Texas.

(4) **The Northern Province or Great Plains Province,** which includes the lignite areas of North Dakota and South Dakota and the bituminous and sub-bituminous areas of Northeastern Wyoming and Northern and Eastern Montana.

(5) **The Rocky Mountain Province,** which includes the coal fields of the mountainous districts of Montana and Wyoming and all the coal fields of Utah, Colorado and New Mexico.

(6) **The Pacific Coast Province,** which includes California, Oregon and Washington.

The anthracite fields of the United States are confined almost wholly to an area of 485 square miles in ten counties of eastern Pennsylvania.

The Appalachian coal seams, the anthracite seams of the Eastern Province and the seams of the Interior Province were trees and ferns and herbs that waved to the moist breeze of the carboniferous period of the Palæozoïc era. The Rocky Mountain

fields are largely from the Mesozoic era, while the Gulf fields and those of the Pacific Coast are the youngest ones, belonging principally to the Tertiary era.

CANADA has large supplies of bituminous and sub-bituminous coals, located for the most part in the *Western Interior*, although there are important fields on both coasts. The total areas of the Dominion cover 109,108 square miles.

On the Atlantic seaboard there are productive mines in *Nova Scotia* and small workable beds in *New Brunswick*. The interior fields include valuable lignite deposits in *Manitoba* and *southern Saskatchewan*. The extensive coal fields of *Alberta* are Canada's greatest reserve. The Crow's Nest and the Elk River fields in the Rocky Mountains are important.

The Pacific Coast area embraces the fields on *Vancouver Island* and on *Queen Charlotte Islands*, the latter yielding semi-anthracite, bituminous and lignite coals.

Extensive coal and lignite deposits exist also in the *Yukon* district, the lower *McKenzie Region* and the *Arctic Islands*.

4. THE EARLY HISTORY OF COAL IN THE UNITED STATES

Transportation and Coal-Mining—the Industrial Siamese Twins

THE PRESENT generation might think that the early European settlers in America used coal, the same as we do. But such was not the case. As a matter of fact, the extensive use of coal did not become possible until the question of modern transportation had been solved through the construction of canals and railroads connecting with the coal regions. As long as coal had to be hauled by the wagon load over bumpy country roads there was no market for coal and no profit in coal-mining. In fact, in many parts of the country coal was a hundred years ago looked upon as a curious "black stone," which would burn, sort of a freak of nature.

The production of coal in the United States for the year of 1814 was 22 tons, while for 1821 it was only 1,322 tons. In 1820, 365 tons of anthracite were sent to Philadelphia from the head of the Lehigh River. What little coal trade there existed, was largely local. A farmer would come along with his wagon to get half a ton at a time. The scales of those days consisted of two big wooden boxes suspended from a trestle. One box would be filled with about half a ton of rocks, and when a customer happened along, the other box was shoveled full of coal until it tipped the "scales," and they called it square.

About a hundred years later, in 1918, the total coal production was over 678 million tons, with a value of over 1,828 million dollars, carried to markets in tens of thousands of railroad cars, barges and ships.

We have not the space to enter into the fascinating details of the early days of coal-mining, so we simply give some brief data.

Early History of Bituminous Coal

1679.—Father Hennepin discovered a coal mine on Illinois River.
1684.—William Penn granted privilege to mine coal in Pittsburgh, Pa.
1750.—Richmond, Va., coal was mined and marketed.
1758.—Coal was discovered in Coal Hill, opposite Pittsburgh, on Monongahela.
1766.—Richmond coal was advertised at 12d per bushel.
1774.—Coal was discovered at Deep River, North Carolina.
1786.—Coal was discovered at Chinchogak Bay, Alaska.
1802.—Initial shipment of Pittsburgh coal to Cincinnati.

1804.—Coal was first mined near Frostburg, Md.
1810.—Coal mined in Summit Co., Ohio.
1811.—Coal mined in Fulton, Perry Co., Ind.
1834.—First mention of coal in Alabama by Dr. Alex Jones.
1848.—First discovery of coal in Washington.
1852.—First production of coal on Pacific coast at Newport, on Coos Bay, Ore.
1858.—Indiana block coal district opened.
1862.—Clearfield district opened.
1864.—Domestic soft coal at Chicago, $17.00 per ton.
1871.—Straitsville, Ohio, district opened and began operations.

Early History of Anthracite Coal

1820.—Lehigh Coal & Navigation Co. began mining and shipping coal from Summit Hill region.
1825.—Schuylkill canal was completed from Mt. Carbon to Philadelphia.
1829.—Canal opened from Mauch Chunk to Easton, and Delaware and Hudson Canal Co. began transporting coal from Carbondale region.
1831.—Nesquehoning Railroad built. Morris canal opened, Philadelphia to Newark.
1832.—Shamokin Division of Northern Central Railway originally opened. Little Schuylkill Railroad began transporting coal from Tamaqua region.
1833.—Delaware division of Pennsylvania Canal opened.
1834.—Wyoming and State Canals opened.
1836.—Morris Canal opened to Jersey City.
1837.—Canal opened from White Haven to Mauch Chunk; shipments of coal began from Beaver Meadow region; shipments of coal began from Pine Grove via Union Canal; Morris and Essex Railroad opened.
1838.—Shipments of coal began from Hazelton region.
1839.—Summit Branch Railroad opened; shipment of coal began from Shamokin region westward, and from Lykens Valley westward.
1840.—Shipment of coal began from Buck Mountain region. Quakake Railroad opened.
1842.—Philadelphia & Reading Railroad began transporting coal to Port Richmond.
1846.—Shipments of coal began from Wilkesbarre region, via L. & S. R. R. and Lehigh Canal.
1850.—Pennsylvania Coal Co. began business.
1852.—Central R. R. of New Jersey opened from Elizabeth to Easton.
1854.—Delaware, Lackawanna & Western began mining and shipping.
1855.—Lehigh Valley R. R. Co. began transporting coal to Philipsburg.

1856.—Treverton R. R. opened; third rail laid from Hampton Junction.
1857.—Belvidere Delaware R. R. began transporting coal.
1858.—Mining began in McAuley Mountain region. Lake and Bloomsburg R. R. opened.
1864.—Stove coal sold at auction in July for $12.03 per ton.
1868.—Lehigh & Susquehanna R. R. opened to Waverley.
1870.—Nesquehoning Valley R. R. and Panther Creek tunnel opened; Sunbury, Hazelton and Wilkesbarre R. R. opened.
1871.—Erie R. R. began mining and shipping coal.
1879.—Stove coal sold at auction in September for $2.36 per ton.

The above piece of concentrated industrial history is very instructive and interesting. It shows that the *history of coal production is primarily the history of the development of transportation.* Since 1871, the last date mentioned in the above list, one railroad after another has entered into the various coal regions of the country and tapped them of their coal. The two industries are grown together like the Siamese twins, inseparable in life and death.

The close connection of the coal-mining industry and transportation industry is being brought home to us every day. The coal famine of 1920, which threatened to become a national catastrophe, was caused largely by a break-down of the means of transportation, car shortage etc. The workers of England have long ago clearly understood that fact and formed "the triple alliance" of coal miners, railroad and other transportation workers, which alliance has repeatedly shaken the foundation of the British empire. In the United States the workers concerned have been slower to see this natural connection. Only at this writing, early in 1922, the press brings us the news that conferences have been held between the officials of the coal miners' and the railroad workers' organizations, with a view to joint action against further wage reductions. In 100 years coal has become such a vital factor in the life of this nation that the coal miners and railroad workers in connection have absolute control of the country and its fate, if they only would act in solidarity and if they only were organized in the right manner. How long shall it be before the patient ox becomes conscious of his strength, shakes the yoke from his bleeding neck, and gores his tormentors?

5. WHO IS A COAL-MINER?

A Description of the Occupations in and Around the Coal-Mines

THIS I. W. W. handbook for coal-miners is going to be read with interest by tens of thousands of workers, inside and outside the I. W. W., who have never seen a "tipple," much less been down in a coal-mine. The workers of our age are different from what they used to be. Craft consciousness and clannishness are disappearing more and more as production and distribution are becoming more industrialized, and the bakery worker, the garment worker, the packing house worker, the marine transport worker, etc., are beginning to take almost as much interest in the life and the work of the coal-mine workers and the workers in other industries as they take in their own. They are beginning to feel that the workers are all one class. Craft consciousness is being replaced with class consciousness. "An injury to one is an injury to all." Such mutual interest should be encouraged and cultivated, and workers should be given an opportunity to get an industrial acquaintance with one another. For this reason we are in this handbook giving a great number of details which would perhaps make the old coal-miner smile with astonishment and ask whether we are trying to teach him his business, unless we tell him that this is done in order to make new friends for him, whose good will and moral support, perhaps even financial support, will come in handy in times of trouble. For the fighting coal-miner nothing is so important as to have public opinion in his favor. The more people know about the life and the work of the coal-miner, the more interest they will take in his battle for life.

Thus, we are in this chapter giving *an alphabetical list of the occupations* in and around the mine, together with a brief description of what every one is doing. But for the benefit of the entirely uninitiated we will first briefly sketch *the lay of the coal-mine and the process of mining*. No two mines look alike, but the following description fits them all in a general way.

The Coal-Mine

Round *the mine shaft*, which is sunk into the ground to a depth of several hundred feet, are clustered the mine buildings: the mine office, the engine house, the machine and repair shops, the sheds and other out-buildings, and sometime the company store. Towering above all these buildings stands the "tipple" or

the tipple-tower, a tall skeleton of structural iron work, covering the mouth of the main mine shaft. Up and down this shaft the workers travel in cages or elevators. All material used in the mine, such as timber, tools, machinery, powder, coal cars, mine locomotives, mules, etc., also go down the same way. And up through this shaft also comes the coal that has been blasted or dug out of the bowels of the earth far below.

The mine itself is a vast system of tunnels, some of them so low that the workers have always to work in a stooping posture. The tunnels lead to the "rooms," at the end of which are the "headings" and the blank, black "face" of the coal-seam where the actual "mining" is done. In those headings you will meet the hand miner or the machine miner, the shot-firer, the loader and his "buddy," trip-riders, car-runners, laborers, timber-men, track-men, foremen, and possibly some others. Through the system of tunnels run great underground electric railways with a low-hanging wire, switching stations, sidings, and main belt-line. All day long large locomotives, weighing perhaps 13 tons, gather the trains from the different tunnels and drag them past the "scale house" at the bottom of the shaft. Here the weigher checks up the weight of the loaded cars to each man's credit. After being weighed the coal cars are dragged to the great pit between the rails at the foot of the hoisting-shaft, where other workers beat open the hopper-bottoms and drop the coal down into waiting bins below. From the bins, with automatic regularity, giant buckets or "skips" lift the coal for hundreds of feet, perhaps, upward to the open air, and then fifty feet more to the top of the tipple-tower, where, like a tumbling torrent, it pours down over the sorting screens into the railroad cars below, to be carried to New York or San Francisco, to Duluth or New Orleans, as the case may be.

There is also another shaft leading down into the mine, entirely separate from the main shaft, and that is *the "airshaft."*

Down into the airshaft, every hour of the day and night, an enormous fan in the "fan-house" at the top of the shaft, pumps air into the mine, and by means of many doors, stoppings and bridges or "over-casts," this strong current of air passes through every mile of tunneling, never crossing its own path and never stopping, until it again reaches the main entry, but this time at the foot of the hoisting shaft, through which—fouled by the gases, the dust and the impurities of the mine—it pours out, a cold blast in summer, and in winter a pillar of misty vapor that ascends far into the structure of the tipple-tower above the shaft-mouth. To keep this current of air from taking the path of the least resistance and "short-circuiting," cutting off whole sections of the mine, there is arranged a system of doors which are opened to allow the trains and the mine-cars to pass, and closed again when they have gone through. As an additional precaution to take care of this life-blood circulation, without which work in the mine

would be impossible, inspectors pass constantly from place to place, testing for pressure of gas with their safety-lamps, and ever measuring the volume and flow of the air current.

Occupations of Coal-Mine Workers

We are now ready to introduce to the reader our fellow workers in the coal-mining industry, of whom some work above ground and some under ground and some work in both places. They are here mixed together and come in their alphabetical order. (From Bulletin No. 279. U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, April, 1921.)

If a definition applies to an inside occupation, the word "inside" follows the name of the occupation. If it applies to outside work, the word "outside" follows the name. If the occupation is found both inside and outside the mine no modifying word is used. By the same method we indicate whether the occupation belongs to "anthracite" or "bituminous" mines.

Ashmen, outside, anthracite.—Remove ashes from beneath the fire-box of boilers, by flushing or by shoveling the ashes into cars.

Blacksmiths.—Do general blacksmithing, nearly all repair work.

Brakemen, inside.—Also known as *trip riders, trailers* and *tailers.* In anthracite mines they are called motor brakemen. They operate or throw switches; couple and uncouple cars; assist motormen in the transportation of loaded coal cars from switches or sidings in the mines to the shaft, and of empty cars from the shaft to the switches or sidings. Loaded cars are hauled by mules from rooms in which coal is mined to the switches, and empty cars from the switches to the rooms.

Bratticemen, inside.—Sometimes also called *airmen.* They usually work under the supervision of the *fire boss,* whose duty it is to see that the mine is prepared for ventilation and for protection against fire. They construct brattices of wood, canvas, stone, brick, or cement. This work is of great importance in mines affected by gas, as such mines must be thoroughly ventilated.

Cagers.—Also called *bottomers* and *dumpers.* They are stationed at the shaft inside the mine and at the top of the shaft outside the mine. Those inside the mine place loaded coal cars in the cage and take empty cars out of it. Those outside the mine take loaded cars from the cage and place empty cars in it.

Carpenters, outside.—Do general carpentry repair work on mine cars and breakers. Breakers are machines used in breaking large lumps of anthracite coal.

Car runners, inside, anthracite.—In some mines cars are run by gravity from rooms or chambers in which coal is mined, to switches or sidings, or to shafts or from switches or shafts to rooms or chambers. Cars so run are in charge of car runners, who control their speed or stop them by brakes or sprags.

Car runners, outside, anthracite.—Transfer empty railroad cars to breaker chutes and loaded cars from chutes over a section of the railroad track where scales are installed for weighing cars.

Door tenders, inside (boys), anthracite.—Also called *trappers.* They open ventilating doors to let cars through them to and from the shaft, and close them as quickly and securely as possible as soon as the cars have passed. In some mines there are no door tenders, as the doors are opened and closed automatically.

Drivers, inside.—Drive mules into and out of rooms in which coal is mined, hauling loaded cars from rooms to switches or sidings where cars are assembled for transportation by motor to the shaft, and empty cars from switches to the rooms. In mines where the distance from the rooms to the shaft is short, the haul is from the room to the shaft and return, no motor being used.

Dumpers, outside, anthracite.—Dump loaded cars at the tipple by hand or by operating mechanical apparatus.

Engineers.—Operate and repair ventilating fans inside the mines and breaker machinery outside the mines. Operate and inspect hoisting machinery which is used in lifting employees and loaded coal cars in cages to the top of the shaft and in lowering employees, empty cars and material from the top of the shaft into the mines.

Firemen, outside.—Keep fires burning under boilers to produce steam by shoveling coal into the fire-box as needed and by keeping the fire-box clear of ashes and clinkers.

Jig runners, outside, anthracite.—Operate a jig, a mechanical contrivance or part of the breaker machine, which cleans coal by removing slate, rock, and waste material.

Laborers.—Do various kinds of unskilled inside and outside work. They push carts, assist trackmen and timbermen, shovel dirt and handle material, and do other necessary unskilled work about the mines. In anthracite mines company miners' laborers and consideration miners' laborers are not included with these laborers, because they are paid a higher wage than is paid to these.

Laborers, company miners', inside, anthracite.—Load cars and assist company miners in drilling holes into stone or coal for explosives. The drilling is done with electric or compressed-air

machines. Company miners seldom mine any coal, it being their duty to remove obstructions and prospect for new chambers or rooms. These laborers are paid a time rate which is a little lower than that of "laborers, consideration miners'."

Laborers, consideration miners', anthracite.—Load cars and assist consideration miners in drilling holes into coal or stone for explosives. The drilling is done with electric or compressed-air coal-mining machines. They become contract miners' laborers when working conditions improve and miners are able to earn on a tonnage basis more than the fixed and specified time rates of consideration miners. They are paid a time rate when working as consideration miners' laborers, the rate being a little higher than that of company miners' laborers, and are paid on a tonnage basis when working as contract miners' laborers.

Laborers, contract miners', inside, anthracite.—Load cars and assist contract miners in operating electric or compressed-air coal-mining machines which are used in drilling holes into coal for explosives. They become consideration miners' laborers when mining or working conditions are abnormal, due to obstructions, such as stone, slate and dirt, and when contract miners are thereby unable to earn on a tonnage basis more than the fixed or specified rate of the consideration miners. They are paid on a tonnage basis when contract miners' laborers and a time rate when consideration miners' laborers. The rate as consideration miners' laborers is a little higher than that of the company miners' laborers.

Loaders, inside, bituminous.—Shoot or blast coal from veins or beds after it has been undercut by machine miners and then load the coal into cars with coal-loading machines. In some mines they do the timbering; that is, set props or timbers to prevent the falling of slate, stone, and earth into the rooms of the mines; also lay tracks in rooms of mines and keep rooms in good working condition.

Loaders, outside, anthracite.—Load coal into railroad cars and refuse into mine cars.

Machinists, anthracite.—Install and repair machines and machinery.

Masons, inside, anthracite.—Construct necessary air bridges and walls to conduct or force air into all parts of the mine.

Miners, company, inside, anthracite.—These employees very seldom mine coal. They operate electric or compressed-air machines, drill holes into coal or stones for explosives, and load cars. They are usually engaged in removing obstructions in the mines and in prospecting for profitable mining chambers. They are paid a time rate, which is a little less than that of the considera-

tion miners and are called company miners to distinguish them from the consideration miners.

Miners, consideration, inside, anthracite.—Operate electric or compressed-air coal-mining machines, drill holes into coal or stone for explosives, and also load coal into cars. These employees are regular *contract miners* who, in consequence of obstructions in their working chambers or rooms, such as stone, slate, dirt, or of bad working conditions, are unable to earn on a tonnage basis an amount equal to or in excess of a certain specified rate per day. They are paid the specified rate, which is a little more than that of company miners, until they are able to earn more on a tonnage basis.

Miners, contract, inside, anthracite.—Operate electric or compressed-air coal-mining machines, drill holes into coal for explosives, and also load coal into cars. They are paid on a tonnage basis. A contract miner becomes a consideration miner when, owing to obstructions in his working chamber or room, such as stone, slate or dirt, he is unable to earn an amount in excess of a fixed or specified rate per day. He then becomes a consideration miner and is paid the fixed rate per day until he is able to earn more on a tonnage basis.

Miners, hand or pick, inside, bituminous.—Undercut coal with pick, cutting some distance from the face of the vein, separate it from veins with pick or explosives, and load the coal into cars.

Miners, machine, inside, bituminous.—Operate electric or compressed-air coal-mining machines, undercutting veins of coal and drilling holes into coal for explosives.

Motormen, inside.—Operate motors which are used in the transportation of loaded cars from switches or sidings in the mines to the shaft and of empty cars from the shaft to the switches or sidings. Loaded and empty cars are hauled to and from the switches by mules.

Motor brakemen, anthracite.—See brakemen, inside, bituminous.

Oilers, outside, anthracite.—Oil and clean machines and engines.

Platemen, outside, anthracite.—Work at the breaker machines and remove large stones from the coal before it enters the conveyors.

Pumpmen, inside.—Operate, repair and look after pumps used in pumping water from the mines.

Repairmen, outside, anthracite.—Repair chutes and breakers and other machinery.

Timber cutters, outside, anthracite.—Cut and load props or timbers into cars for transportation into mines. They also load cars with other supplies for use in mines.

Timbermen, inside.—Cut and set timbers or supports in mines to prevent falls of slate, stone and dirt.

Trackmen.—Lay and repair tracks used in the transportation in and about the mines. At some mines outside trackmen repair tracks on the mine property.

Slaters (boys), outside, anthracite.—Also called pickers. They pick slate from the coal as it passes over the automatic conveyors or down the coal chutes.

Trappers (boys), outside, bituminous.—See door tenders, inside, anthracite.

Importance of Detail Knowledge

The above are the occupations with which the government report of hours and wages is concerned. There are other occupations, such as *weigher, section boss, fire boss, pit boss, mine manager, etc.* The reason why they are not in the government report is probably that they may justly be classed as *slave drivers* rather than actual workers. Further, there is the usual *clerical force,* which is generally subservient to the slave drivers. The government investigators probably were not shown *the secret payroll* of the mine companies, on which they would have found the names of the hired sluggers, murderers, spies, finks, stool pigeons, provocateurs, bullies and all-around dirty work men which most every mine keeps, as well as the names of sheriffs, marshals, judges, editors, labor union leaders and other mercenary politicians. The operators add the expenses of keeping these to the cost of production of coal, rather than paying that considerable sum as increased wages to the miners.

The above list of occupations may appear superfluous in a coal-miners' handbook, but as a matter of fct, it is very useful, for two separate reasons, which we shall mention.

The first reason is that there are a large number of coal-miners who through ignorance of the language or for other reasons, are practically marooned on the desert island of their particular jobs and know little or nothing of coal-mining as an industry. And, furthermore, the miner who stays in one mine all the time, whether it be in an anthracite or bituminous mine, knows little or nothing outside of his immediate surroundings. Thus, a large part of the miners are actually ignorant of the details of their own industry. The number of miners who have a real, general survey of the industry in their minds are easily counted. It is easy to understand that such industrial ignorance weakens them collectively in their fight for a chance to live.

The second reason why we go into such details is that when we begin to conceive of the union as the future organ of production and distribution it becomes necessary for every mine worker to have at least an elementary knowledge of his industry outside his own particular job. For in the same measure that the workers possess detailed knowledge of their whole industry, to the same extent will they be able to grasp control of the mines and, finally, take them over and run them without risking collapse and reaction, as we have already witnessed in Russia, and other countries, where the workers' unions again lost control, due to the inefficiency of the unions as organs of production and distribution. The best method of forestalling such a mishap is to disseminate industrial education to the largest possible extent among the workers, in order that as many as possible shall be able to understand the major questions of their industry, the questions of national, regional or local scope. In fact, every worker ought to acquire so much information of his own industry, that he at any moment will be able to act as a member on the committee which shall have the management of the whole industry in charge. Knowledge means success. Ignorant bungling means disaster.

6. WHO IS WHO IN THE COAL-MINING INDUSTRY?

How Did the "Operators" Get the Coal Lands?

IF WE were to get permission to look over the titles to the coal-fields and coal-mines, the present owners and operators would, no doubt, be able in every single instance to show legal papers attesting to their lawful ownership. But these legal papers would in most cases give little idea of who the persons are who are the real owners, and still less would these legal documents tell us of how these great coal-fields and coal-mines, originally government property all of them, happened to slip out of the hands of the American people.

Most of the original owners are dead now, and the properties are in the hands of stock companies in which the heirs are the principal stockholders or which have gotten into entirely different hands.

As a matter of fact there are few coal-mines or coal-fields in the United States to-day which have been acquired in such a manner that it would stand the light of the day. Nearly all of these natural resources have been stolen from the people and have later, in most cases, been passed over to dummy companies who can show "clear title," much as a rogue in the Wild West would show a receipt certifying that he had really bought and paid for the horse recognized as stolen.

The alienation of the coal lands from the government through swindle and fraud and bribery and collusion cannot be properly studied or understood except in connection with a study of the stealing of practically the whole public domain by abuse of the laws relating to it, such as the preemption law, the commuted homestead law, the deposit act, the stone and timber act, the desert land law, the forest reservation bill, the exchange land law, the cash sales act, the coal land law, and by wholesale fraud in the matter of land grants for canals and railroad purposes.

The staggering story of how the wealth of "our best families" came into existence by a series of crimes of this kind is told in great detail, with innumerable references to public documents, in a work entitled *"History of the Great American Fortunes"* by Gustavus Myers, covering about 1100 pages in 3 volumes. This great work, containing the basic knowledge of American economic history without which the present cannot be properly understood, is sold by the I. W. W. Anyone who wishes to know how "the boss" got his original accumulation and how this accumulation

grew into hundreds of millions and into billions of dollars, had better write for these volumes.

In the short space at our disposal here we will merely give a few brief extracts, in order that the reader may be less apt to be duped by the talk of the operator about "honestly invested capital," "royalties," "retirements," "depletion," "depreciation," etc.

The land grants for railroad building, which from 1850 to 1872 amounted to 155,504,995 acres, did not include the mineral resources, but in most cases the land grant swindlers stole the mineral lands also, quite frequently forgetting to build the railroad, after they had looted the company of the public funds subscribed.

Fraud was so continuous and widespread that we may say it was the rule rather than an exception. "The present system of laws," reported a special Congressional committee, appointed in 1883 to investigate what had become of the once vast public domain, "seems to invite fraud. You cannot turn to a single state paper or public document where the subject is mentioned before the year 1883, from the message of the President to the report of the Commissioner of the Land office, but what statements of 'fraud' in connection with the disposition of public lands are found."

What pretense of innocence! Those laws were made by legislators corrupted by lobbying land grant and railroad sharks.

Just a few instances will be mentioned here from the above mentioned work.

Hardly was the cash sales law of 1876 passed, than the besieging capitalists pounced upon the Southern lands and scooped in 8 millions of acres of *coal,* iron and timber lands, intrinsically worth hundreds of millions of dollars. For $1.25 an acre they could buy as many millions of acres as they wanted. The law was made for their benefit.

Congress and state legislatures were a hotbed of corruption in those days, as public documents without number prove. And judges and officials were largely for sale.

The Coal Land Act was purposely drawn to permit the railroads to appropriate great stretches of coal deposits. "Already," wrote President Roosevelt in a message to Congress urging the repeal of the Stone and Timber Act, the Desert Land Law, the Coal Land Act and similar enactments, "probably one-half of the total area of high-grade coals in the West has passed under private control. Including both lignite and these coal areas, these private holdings aggregate not less than 30,000,000 acres of coalfields." These urgings fell flat on a Congress which included numerous beneficiaries of these frauds as well as their political retinue.

Commissioner Sparks of the General Land Office rendered an amazing report in 1885 of fraud and corruption. "Extensive coal

deposits," he says, "in our Western territory are acquired in mass through expedited surveys, followed by fraudulent preemption and commuted homestead entries."

Commissioner Sparks went on to tell that nearly the whole of the territory of Wyoming and large portions of Montana, had been surveyed under the deposit system, and the lands on the streams fraudulently taken up under the desert land act, to the exclusion of actual settlers. Nearly all of Colorado, the very best cattle-raising portions of New Mexico, the rich timberlands of California, the splendid forest lands of Washington and the principal parts of the extensive pine lands of Minnesota had been fraudulently seized in the same way. In all of the Western States and territories these fraudulent surveys had accomplished the seizure of the best and most valuable lands.

But nothing was done to recover these stolen lands. Perhaps the very mine in which you are working was obtained in this way. Trace the history of your mine far enough back, and perhaps you will find out something interesting to tell the operator, when he says he cannot make enough to pay interest on the original investment.

Going way back in the distant past we also learn some startling facts about the manner of acquiring coal lands which have of late years been conquered by the Vanderbilts and the Morgans. We quote:

"One of the particularly indisputable examples of the glaring fraud by which immense areas of coal fields were originally obtained was that of the disposition of the estate of John Nicholson.

"Dying in December, 1800, Nicholson left an estate embracing land, the extent of which was variously estimated at from 3 to 5 million acres. Nicholson was a leading figure in the Pennsylvania Land Company, which had obtained most of its vast possessions by fraud. The bulk of the land was in Pennsylvania and included extensive regions containing the very richest coal deposits... Different individuals and corporations contrived to get hold of practically the whole estate in dispute. How they did this is told in many legislative documents; the fraud and the theft connected with it were a great scandal in Pennsylvania for forty-five years."

If you want to learn how Vanderbilt and Morgan and other railroad kings later got hold of the coal-mines by methods which take a man's breath away, read the books mentioned. It is too long to tell here. Be it enough to say that it was good luck for them that they controlled both governments and judges. Otherwise they would have spent the rest of their lives in jail.

Speaking of railroad kings, the following quotation may interest the coal miners of Wyoming:

"Gould (the notorious financier) was aware that Government geologists had reported that extensive coal deposits lay in Wyo-

ming and other parts of the West. These deposits would become of incalculable value; and while they were not included in the railroad land grants, some had already been stolen, and it would be easy to get hold of many more by fraud. And that he was not in error in this calculation was shown by the fact that the Union Pacific Railroad and other allied railroads under his control, and under that of his successor, later seized hold of many of these coal deposits by violence and fraud."

To indicate the intimate connection between coal and railroads we again quote:

"The volumes of the Pacific Railway Commission's Report set forth that the frauds of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, under the direction of Gould, Sage and Dillon, were truly gigantic. Millions of acres of public land were stolen outright. Not less than 7 million acres were sold without any patent from the Government. *Coal lands of inestimable value* were fraudulently seized."

A public report by H. H. Schwartz of the Dept. of the Interior showed that in the years 1906-1908 alone, approximately $110,000,000 worth of public lands in states, principally West of the Mississippi River, had been fraudulently acquired by capitalist corporations and individuals.

A controversy, in 1909, bttween Secretary of the Interior Ballinger and Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, brought a great scandal to a head. It was revealed that several powerful syndicates of capitalists had filed fraudulent claims to Alaskan coal lands, the value of which is estimated from $75,000,000 to $1,000,000,000.

And then there are some miners and some politicians who propose that we adopt the Plumb plan and *buy* the mines back from the present owners, paying the full price of their valuations. That is, after the coal and railroad capitalists have taken billions of dollars out of the stolen land, we should gather glowing coals on their heads by offering to pay them the full value of what is left in the ground!! What a generosity of beggars!!

Glaring as these searchlight flashes from the past may be, they give only a faint idea of the prodigious swindle, corruption and other crimes upon which the private ownership of the coalfields and the coal-mines has been built up.

Just as the above is to go to press we learn of the Curry and New bills now before Congress. These would transfer Alaska's forests and waterpower from the Dept. of Agriculture to the Dept. of the Interior, in charge of Senator Fall. It is claimed that in the supporting of these bills the Gaggenheim interests and their allies are bidding for one hundred million cords of pulp-wood and the waterpower necessary to convert into paper, with consequent hundreds of millions of dollars in profits.

The proposed transfer of the forest service to the Interior Dept. is by many looked upon as a forerunner to a repetition of the land office scandals and the giving away to big corporations of the rest of the public domain.

Secretary Fall, as a sheep-grazing magnate of the West, has been fighting the restrictions of the Forest Service. Turning over the Forest Service to the Interior Dept. is, therefore, looked upon as making the goat the overseer of the garden.

Professor Chapman says in the Yale Forest School News: "In the Interior Dept. with a Secretary of "the old school" who has already advocated leasing to stockmen in perpetuity some 200,000,000 million acres of grazing lands at an annual rental not to exceed one cent an acre, the forests would soon go the way of other private timber lands."

The Present "Operators"

Such methods of acquisition, culminating in the forming of *the coal trust* in a complete cloudburst of knavery in regular Morgan style, could not but grate on the finer sensibilities of "our best families." Every time they looked in the eye of that public, of which old Vanderbilt said "the public be damned," a crimson blush spread up over their ears. It became necessary to attempt to expunge from history the facts in the case, such as we have briefly indicated them above. They were only waiting for a favorable moment.

That favorable moment came during the great and memorable anthracite strike of 1902 when Roosevelt was compelled to shake in Morgan's face the "big stick" that he carried behind his back. The "damned public" was terribly incensed against Morgan and Vanderbilt and the rest of the coal barons and openly sympathized with the strikers. There was "revolution" in the air. It was at this time, when the tension was at its height, that the psychological moment came. Never before or since had the land grabbers and stock swindlers stood so face to face with the people, speaking without intermediary. The arrogance of the coal barons felt no bounds. They were in a mood to defy the whole people.

In a burst of supreme impudence, effrontery and blasphemy George F. Baer, President of Philadelphia and Reading Railway, speaking for the coal barons, rebuked the public for their sympathy with the strikers by speaking of *"the Christian men and women to whom God in His infinite wisdom had entrusted the property interests of the country."* Having stolen everything in sight, the robbers now invoked divine sanction of and heavenly blessing upon their plunder. "By the Grace of God" they from now on controlled the coal-mines and the railroads and all other property, much as King George was the king of the British "by the Grace of God," and much as Emperor Billy the Sudden used to rule over the German people.

The ancient Greeks had a god, Mercury, who was worshipped as the god of merchants and thieves. Mr. Baer may have meant that divinity.

That the robbers did not make their impudent claim to heavenly sanction stick, this handbook helps to prove.

That Mythical "Small" Operator

When the workers are coming with wage demands it is customary to trot out as the typical operator the individual owner of a small mine or a stock company operating with borrowed capital upon which it has to pay 6, 7 or 8% interest before any income accrues to the operating individual or company.

By trotting out such an antiquated and almost extinct type of coal mine operator they succeed in building up a fairly plausible case against a wage increase, plausible to the uninitiated public according to the usual petty-bourgeois reasoning common on cracker barrels in back-woods groceries.

As a matter of fact such individual and financially isolated and independent operators have actually ceased to exist. Not only are the coal-mine operators organized into district and national associations for mutual aid and protection, but they are actually one happy financial family in everything but in name. The exceptions are insignificant. The coal-mining industry is organically absorbed into the great industrial organism of the country and retains a separate and independent existence on paper only by tradition, and in order to deceive the public as to the real size and power of the financial octopus controlling everything. Many of the large coal companies owned by notorious financiers hide their identity under innocent-sounding names. There are several hundred dummy mining companies listed in the Commercial Register, but they are nearly all controlled by a handful of large financiers.

On the two "Who-is-who" charts herewith you will find listed the principal coal and railroad properties of the East as well as some of the biggest banks of the country. You see lines drawn from the banks to the railroads and coal-mine properties. Those lines represent interlocking directorates.

As you will notice, the great railroad and coal properties of the country are so interlocked that they can justly be considered merely as different departments of the same concern. As you will also see, these railroads and coal properties are so interlocked with the big financial institutions of the country, the banks, that they cannot be separated from them from a financial viewpoint. If you try to pick up one property, it is like picking up a net with the tip of your fingers. You get the whole net. In fighting one of the coal operators you are fighting the whole network, you are fighting the big railroads and the big banks. You are fighting against the Morgan group of financiers and the Rockefeller group of financiers. These are the ones who prove with figures that the coal industry cannot pay its workers a living. They also tell the railroad workers that the railroads are in such a poor shape financially that they have to reduce the wages still further. They do the same in every industry. They are hogs, brutal beasts without a semblance of compassion toward

the poor miner or railroad worker, their wives and children or toward the workers in general.

Morgan, Rockefeller, Vanderlip, Vanderbilt, Stillman, the Frick estate, and the big banks who are holding in trust the fortunes of our multimillionaires, all of them demand first of all the extravagant running expenses of capitalism paid, by means of which they take care of their hangers-on, the government, etc. This includes taxes with which to pay the government for its war expenses, in order that the government may pay it back to them. Then they demand their usual rent, interest and profit. In the last place come wages. They prove to you with "incontrovertible" figures that your work does not pay, that after all other items are covered there is little or nothing left for wages. But they can do that only while the workers are ignorant of the real state of affairs.

Here is a table which shows the real state of affairs. It is called a table of the "national" wealth of the United States, but it actually is a table of the wealth of the capitalist class of the country. The workers own little or nothing of it. Their share is so small that it is negligible.

Here you see the pile of wealth built up largely by stealing natural resources and robbing the workers out of the product of their toil, as producers and consumers.

"National" Wealth of the United States

(Statistics from World Almanac)

1850	$ 7,135,780,000	1900	$ 88,517,306,775	
1860	16,159,616,000	1904	107,104,211,917	
1870	30,068,518,000	1912	187,739,071,090	
1880	43,642,000,000	1917	220,000,000,000	Unofficial
1890	65,037,091,000	1920	350-400,000,000,000	"
1895	77,000,000,000			

The part of this tremendous sum owned by the workers is so small that it may be ignored. It belongs practically all to the class that is pleading poverty in order to dupe the workers into surrendering the piece of bread they need for themselves, their wives and children.

As you will see from the above table you have been doubling, trebling or quadrupling the "national" wealth every twenty years, and it is the purpose of the capitalist class, the mine owners included, that you shall again treble the national wealth within the next 20 years. That is, they want you to increase it from 400 billions to about 1,200 billions by 1940. *Do you think you can do it? Do you want to try it?* One of the steps taken by the capitalists for that purpose is to reduce the wages of the coal miners, the railroad workers and other workers. By reducing wages there will be more wealth directly available for rent, interest and profit to be added to the pile, which you are killing yourselves to build up.

To such social absurdities we have come by allowing private ownership and control to continue. Unless we rapidly remove all parasitism and take charge of the coal industry and all other industries by means of our unions we shall be crushed under the pile of wealth we have created.

The poverty plea of the dummy operators is nothing but cant and hypocrisy. Hold them jointly responsible with the big financiers on whose lap they sit!

The few small individual operators cannot justly ask 800,000 coal miners to sacrifice themselves, in order to enable them to run coal mines in competition with Morgan and Rockefeller.

Returning to the "Who-Is-Who" maps or diagrams we note that they cover only the Eastern country where all the anthracite mines and a large part of the bituminous mines are located. If we had the time and the resources to work out similar maps for other parts of the country we would be sure to come to similar results. As far as the far West is concerned we need only mention the name of Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. and the Utah Fuel Co. Everybody knows that these properties, stolen from the public domain and so deeply stained with proletarian blood, also are controlled by the interests named on the two interlocking diagrams.

The well known labor crusher, the Anaconda Mining Co. of Montana, is also engaged in coal-mining on a large scale in the West, by which route we again come to the great financial institutions.

The coal-miners of Wyoming are largely controlled by the Union Pacific Railway, again leading us to Wall street. Some Finnish coal-miners in Wyoming some years ago secured the Sampo mine, near Hanna, Wyo., and started a co-operative coal mine. But they soon had to shut down, and the mine is still idle. The Union Pacific Railway refused to furnish cars for hauling the coal. This is a good example of what has happened to the "poor" operator. He does hardly exist any longer. He is a myth, a sawdust-filled dummy with which to catch the sympathy of "the public."

The miners fighting for their very life are up against the whole combined pack of robber barons, hiding behind dummies whose names parade in the financial directories. Just like a disreputable person registers under a false name in hotels. But it is these cowardly, ruthless, bloodthirsty, skulking parasites of high finance just the same who dictate the terms to their dummies who in their turn transmit the general orders to the respective managers or "operators" who have the direct dealings with the workers and their leaders.

The workers are all the time fighting an unseen and intangible enemy which pulls the wires behind the curtain. We are up against organized "haute-finance" or high finance, which

is merely a respectable name for "highway robbery." And our opponents may right now, in the middle of the winter, be cruising round in their yachts in warmer climes, from which they direct the battle against us by wireless telegraphy, or, in the summer, they may be conducting the starvation battle against us from their palatial "cottages" on seashore or their "lodges" on the inland lakes. That's who is who in the coal industry.

It should be plain that only by organizing the working class in overwhelming numbers and practising the most rigid solidarity can we overcome such a subtle, powerful and invisible enemy.

7. COAL PRODUCTION IN THE UNITED STATES

The following table shows the total number of tons of coal produced per year at different periods.

	Anthracite Net Tons	Bituminous Net Tons	Total
1807	55	.....	.....
1820	365	.....	.....
1807–1820	12,000	3,000	15,000
1821	1,322	.....	1,322
1830	215,272	104,800	320,072
1840	967,108	1,102,931	2,070,039
1850	4,138,164	2,280,017	7,018,181
1860	8,115,842	6,494,200	14,610,042
1870	15,664,275	17,371,305	33,035,580
1880	28,649,812	42,831,758	71,481,570
1890	46,408,641	111,302,322	157,770,963
1900	57,367,915	212,316,112	269,684,027
1910	84,485,236	417,111,142	501,596,378
1917	**99,611,811**	551,790,563	651,402,374
1918	98,826,684	**579,385,820**	**678,211,904**
1919	88,092,000	458,063,000	546,155,000
1920	89,100,000	556,563,000	545,663,000

Record production in black figures.

Methods of Mining Bituminous Coal in 1918

Mined by hand	23.8%
Shot from the solid	17.5
Mined by machine	55.9
From steam shovel pits	1.4
Not reported	1.4
	100.0%

Average Realization Value of Coal Per Net Ton Free on Board (F. O. B.) Car at the Mine, in United States

	Anthracite	Bituminous
1880	$1.47	$1.25
1885	2.00	1.13
1890	1.43	.99
1895	1.41	.85
1900	1.49	1.04
1905	1.83	1.06
1910	$1.90	$1.12
1915	2.07	1.13
1916	2.30	1.32
1917	2.85	2.26
1918	3.40	2.59

This f. o. b. car valuation is a stock argument with which to meet all demands for a living wage. These figures are used to substantiate the poverty plea of the operators when they engage in the old game of "passing the buck," when the question comes up of taking care of the workers of the industry who have made them wealthy. The capitalists are cheap dodgers and bluffers when the question of social responsibility is put up to them. They have all the wealth of the country, practically, but they feel under no obligations jointly as a class, or in industrial groups, to care for the producers. They shuffle the responsibility

by pleading poverty. The idea is to prove that labor hardly pays its way in the world. Formerly it was possible to dupe workers with such figures. But nowadays most workers know that labor is the producer of all wealth, rent, interest and profit included.

Any time a capitalist figures out that labor does not pay its way in the world and tries to make the public believe it, he is juggling with the figures. He should take the good with the bad. The workers' needs are the same, no matter what the "f. o. b." price is. And, besides, where are they to go? Can the operators show them a job? Or are they tacitly invited to go and hang themselves? The sooner these questions are answered the better for all concerned.

Number of Coal-Miners by States, Number of Days Worked and Tonnage Produced Per Year and Per Day During 1918

	Days Worked	Average Tonnage Per Year	Average Tonnage Per Day	Total Number of Men Employed
Alabama	278	732	2.63	26,221
Alaska	.....	.....	.....	239
Arkansas	204	560	2.75	3,978
California and Idaho	.....	.....	.....	15
Colorado	255	857	3.36	14,843
Georgia	.....	.....	.....	190
Illinois	238	1,039	4.37	85,965
Indiana	227	1,010	4.45	30,376
Iowa	245	615	2.51	13,328
Kansas	234	709	3.03	10,665
Kentucky	230	804	3.50	39,342
Maryland	261	808	3.10	5,568
Michigan	237	573	2.42	2,558
Missouri	235	591	2.51	9,590
Montana	264	994	3.77	4,559
New Mexico	301	992	3.26	4,095
North Carolina	.....	.....	.....	50
North Dakota	229	869	3.79	828
Ohio	223	946	4.24	48,840
Oklahoma	228	570	2.50	8,415
Oregon (Coos Bay)	.....	.....	.....	40
Pennsylvania, anthracite	293	672	2.29	147,121
Pennsylvania, bituminous	269	1,024	3.81	174,306
South Dakota	.....	.....	.....	21
Tennessee	265	639	2.41	10,694
Texas	262	574	2.19	3,936
Utah	258	1,235	4.79	4,160
Virginia	277	935	3,38	11,004
Washington	275	799	2.91	5,109
West Virginia	238	1,005	4.22	89,530
Wyoming	268	1,249	4.66	7,554

Please note that 1918 was a record year with a production of 678 million tons, bituminous and anthracite. Since that time production has gone down considerably. One of the operators' papers says that while the country absorbed 540 million tons of (bit.) coal in 1920 it did not absorb more than 400 million tons in 1921. As a result the coal industry is "over-manned" and many mines are closed. It is estimated that in the Pittsburgh district in 1921 the workers put in only 40 per cent of full time and had an average yearly income of only $763.00. But the trouble with the coal-mining industry is not that it is overloaded with men or "over-manned." There are just enough men to comfortably

get out the coal. The trouble with the coal industry is that it is overloaded with parasites drawing rent, interest, profit and sky-high salaries.

Coal Produced Per Man Per Day and Per Year 1890-1918. Also Number of Men Employed and Days Worked in the Same Period

	ANTHRACITE				BITUMINOUS			
Year	Number of Men Employed	Days Worked	Average Tonnage Per Man Per Day	Average Tonnage Per Man Per Year	Number of Men Employed	Days Worked	Average Tonnage Per Man Per Day	Average Tonnage Per Man Per Year
1890	126,000	200	1.85	369	192,204	226	2.56	579
1895	142,917	196	2.07	406	239,962	194	2.90	563
1900	144,206	166	2.40	398	304,375	234	2.98	697
1905	165,406	215	2.18	470	460,629	211	3.24	684
1910	169,407	229	2.17	498	555,533	217	3.46	751
1914	179,677	245	2.06	505	583,506	195	3.71	724
1915	176,552	230	2.19	504	557,456	203	3.91	794
1916	159,869	253	2.16	548	561,102	230	3.90	806
1917	154,174	285	2.27	646	603,143	243	3.77	915
1918	147,121	293	2.29	672	615,305	249	3.78	942

What immediately attracts attention in the above table is the intensification of labor as proven by the average tonnage per man and per year in 1890 and 1918. The increase may partly be due to improved machinery and more efficiency from a technical point of view, but the fact remains that about one-third more coal passes through a man's hands per day in the mine today than in 1890. This is fully in accord with the general speeding up of the workers in all lines of industry while at the same time they hang up "safety first" signs in all places reminding him of his mortal existence. What with the speeding and the constant warning, life becomes a terrible strain on the worker. But those who get the benefit of this industrial frenzy take it easy on their lounge in the city, or under the palms on the seashore, where there is neither hustle nor danger.

This intensification of labor becomes still more striking if we turn back to the table which gives the total coal production in the anthracite industry from 1807 to 1918.

From the table given herewith we see that the number of employees in the anthracite industry has decreased since 1914 which was the highest year.

From the production table we see that, in spite of that, production has increased tremendously.

For the sake of comparison we shall put the two tables together for 1890 to 1918.

	Anthracite Production in Net Tons	Number of Workers Employed	Days Worked
1890	46,408,641	126,000	200
1900	57,367,915	144,206	166
1910	84,485,236	169,497	229
1914	90,821,507	179,679	245
1915	88,995,061	176,552	230
1916	87,578,493	159,869	253
1917	99,611,811	154,174	285
1918	98,826,684	147,121	293

The increased number of days is not a sufficient explanation of the fact that there was a record production of anthracite in 1917 in spite of the great decrease in the number of workers. From 1917 to 1918 there was a decrease of about 7,000 men, and the number of days worked increased only 8. In spite of that, production fell off only about 800,000 tons. Such figures point to a methodical and fiendish intensification of labor which is simply terrific.

This intensification accounts in part for the so-called "overmanning" of the industry.

Over 20,000 men have lost their jobs in the anthracite mines since 1914, apparently through intensification of labor.

Number of Employees in the Coal Industry 1917-1918

	Underground	Surface	Total
1917			
Bituminous and lignite	498,185	104,958	603,143
Anthracite	109,989	44,185	154,174
Total for the whole industry			757,317
1918			
Bituminous and lignite	496,252	119,053	615,305
Anthracite	101,678	45,450	147,121
Total for the whole industry			762,426

As there is always a certain percentage unemployed or laid up, we may roughly estimate the number of workers in the coal-mining industry to be 800,000.

Where the Anthracite Coal Comes from

Figures Are for the Record Year of 1917

	Anthracite production in net tons	Number of men employed
Schuylkill region	26,193,?17	44,143
Lehigh region	13,109,330	19,296
Wyoming region	49,157,308	89,894
Sullivan County	478,762	841
Total	99,611,811	151,174

Grades of Anthracite Coal

The following are the commercial grades of anthracite coal:

Lump	0.2% of total production
Broken	6.2% " " "
Egg	13.4% " " "
Stove	17.5% " " "
Chestnut	22.7% " " "
Pea	8.4% " " "
Buckwheat No. 1	14.1% " " "
Buckwheat No. 2	7.0% " " "
Buckwheat No. 3	6.5% " " "
Boiler	2.2 " " "
Other	1.8% " " "

According to this grading and these percentages the miner gets paid, if he has good luck, which has not always been the case. Shortweighing and shuffling with the grades to the miner's disadvantage has been common. The housewife also thinks she is paying according to this grading when she turns

over her 14, 15 or 16 dollars per ton. But some dealers are more good at mixing grades than others. Besides there is something called "Virginia anthracite" which is at least 3 dollars cheaper per ton than the one that comes from Pennsylvania. It sometimes happens that the housewife is paying for Pennsylvania "stove" or "chestnut" when she is getting Virginia coal or something else.

Also the housewife is at a disadvantage because she cannot control the weight of the bags when the coal is delivered. When it comes to weighing, the operator and the dealer have consciences like India rubber. That's why they get so rich.

If the curtain were to be lifted over what happens to the coal between the mine and her cellar, to make it cost 14 to 16 dollars per ton while the cost f. o. b. car at mine is from 2 to 3.50 dollars per ton, society would be shaken to its foundation. It would be like turning over a rock in the woods. Loathsome creatures of all descriptions would be scurrying in all directions, most of them millionaires, but not all.

How American Coal Is Consumed

(The figures for bituminous coal in this table represent in somewhat generalized form the calendar year 1917; those for anthracite, the coal year ended March 31, 1917.)

	Quantity (Net Tons)	Per Cent.
BITUMINOUS COAL:		
Industrial plants	174,600,000	31.7
Public utilities:		
Electric	31,700,000	5.8
Gas	4,960,000	0.9
Railroads	153,700,000	27.9
Domestic consumers	57,100,000	10.3
Power and heat at mines	12,100,000	2.2
Exports	22,900,000	4.1
Bunkers:		
Foreign trade	6,700,000	1.2
Coastwise and Lake trade	3,600,000	.7
Beehive coke	52,240,000	9.5
By-product coke	31,500,000	5.7
	551,100,000	100.0
ANTHRACITE:		
Domestic consumers (domestic sizes)	49,400,000	55.1
Artificial gas plants	1,650,000	1.8
Steam trade (industries, power plants and heating large buildings)	18,450,000	20.5
Railroad fuel	6,400,000	7.1
Power and heat at mines	9,350,000	10.4
Exports	4,600,000	5.1
	89,850,000	100.0

8. COAL-MINE ACCIDENTS

THE so-called "public," that is, the people who do not work in coal-mines, have the impression that, next to working in an ammunition or powder factory, there is no more dangerous calling than that of the coal-miner. And the public is dight. At irregular intervals the whole world is shocked by the reports of mine explosions which have cost from 100 to 1,000 workers their lives. Such mine catastrophes are so common that explosions costing less than 100 lives attract little notice.

And still, fewer coal-miners lose their lives through mine explosions than from other causes.

We will here publish a number of tables pertaining to coal-mine accidents, not in order to gloat over harrowing details, but because these tables are an official indictment, by the U. S. government, against private ownership and control of the coal-mines, against the capitalist class in general, and against the present ruthless exploitation of practically defenseless workers in the coal-mining industry for the sake of profit. After reading these tables you will agree with us that every dollar made out of the hide of the coal-miners is stained with blood. It is customary for the mine owners and officials to blame all accidents on the "carelessness," "neglect," or the "ignorance" of the mine workers, but if such subterfuge is too raw to pass muster before public opinion, they blame it on their "God" or "Providence." However, experience has proven that where strict rules have been adopted and enforced, "carelessness, neglect and ignorance" disappear as if by magic and the death-dealing God or Providence keeps out of the mine. This only goes to show that if the rules and regulations for coal mining were made by honest men without regard for immediate profit, and if they were rigidly enforced, mine accidents could be brought down to the same level as in the most favorable occupations.

At present the coal barons of the U. S. alone sacrifice about 2,000 lives every year, in order to make immediate profit. The accidents that are not fatal run into tens of thousands. The coal barons exact a greater toll of human life every year, in order to satisfy their greed, than the total number of dead and wounded in many of the famous battles of history. The coal barons are also the railroad barons, and in the latter capacity they exact a toll of 6 to 10 thousand lives every year while the injured total about 50 thousand yearly.

But it is not only that about 2,000 men lose their lives every

year in mine accidents, but behind the 800,000 coal-mine workers of this country comes straggling a haggard, ragged, dirty, poverty-stricken horde of scores of thousands of desperate miners' widows and half-wild miners' children who are thus thrown upon a madly struggling world to shift for themselves, without a provider, without a protector.

When the workers themselves take charge of the coal-mines through their unions, they will, first of all, *make coal-mining as safe an occupation as hoeing the garden.* It can be done, and there is no reason why it should not be done.

Classification of Fatal Accidents in Coal-Mines
(U. S. Statistics)

Classification of Causes	Number Killed 1919	1920
UNDERGROUND:		
Falls of roof or face	1,015	1,000
Haulage	355	358
Explosions of gas and coal dust	176	142
Explosives	197	110
Electricity	65	68
Miscellaneous (underground)	122	91
SHAFT	48	50
SURFACE:		
Haulage	83	67
Machinery	20	20
Miscellaneous (surface)	65	82
Total	2,146	1,983

For the sake of comparison we may mention that the number killed under the same circumstances in 1912 was 2,360 and in 1913 2,785.

Some Gruesome Coal-Mine Disasters in European Countries

Year	Number Killed
1894—Albion, Gr. Britain	290
1894—Camphausen, Germany	181
1906—Courrieres, France	1,099
1908—Radbold, Germany	360
1909—West Stanley, Gr. Britain	167
1910—Pretoria, Gr. Britain	344
1913—Universal, Gr. Britain	439

Explosion Disasters in American Coal-Mines in Each of Which the Number of Killed Men Exceeds 100

Year and Date	Number Killed
1839– 3–18—Black Heath, Va. (first on record)	40
1884– 3–13—Pocahontas, W. Va.	114
1891– 1–27—Mammoth, X	109
1891– 2–21—Springhill Mines, Nova Scotia	125
1900– 5– 1—Scofield, Utah	200
1902– 5–19—Coal Creek, Fraterville, Tenn.	184
1902– 5–22—Fernie, B. C.	125
1902– 7–10—Rolling Mill Mine, Johnston, Pa.	112
1903– 6–30—Hanna, Wyo.	169
1904– 1–25—Harwich, Pa.	178
1905– 2–20—Virginia City, Okla.	111
1907–12– 6—Monongahela, W. Va.	358
1907–12–18—Darr, Pa.	239
1908–11–28—Marianna, Pa.	154
1911– 4– 8—Banner Mine, Ala.	128
1913–10–22—Dawson, N. Mex.	258
1914– 4–28—Eccles, W. Va.	181
1914– 6–19—Hillcrest, Alberta	189
1915– 3– 2—Layland, W. Va.	111

Detailed Account of Fatal "Accidents" in 1919 and 1920

The following detailed table of fatal coal-mine accidents may at first glance appear both ghastly and uninteresting, but a closer study will reveal to the reader that in this table the tragedy of the coal-miner's life is passing in review before his eyes as on a film. Maybe after reading these figures he or she will be more apt to stand up for the miner's rights. The table may also serve to give the miner himself a better general view of the dangers of the mine. It may some day be the direct cause of saving his life, by having called attention to the different kinds of dangers. It will also be helpful to the miner in formulating the details of his demands for increased safety in the mines.

Number of Killed in Coal-Mines in the United States During the 11 Months Ending Nov. 30 in the Years of 1919 and 1920 Respectively

NUMBER KILLED UNDERGROUND

	1919	1920
1. Falls of Roof (Coal, Rock, Etc.)		
(a) At working face	607	504
(b) In room or chamber	107	188
(c) On road, entry or gangway	152	167
(d) On slope	11	10
2. Falls of Face or Pillar Coal		
(a) At working face	116	104
(b) On road, entry or gangway	22	27
3. Mine Cars and Locomotives		
(a) Switching and spragging	10	7
(b) Coupling cars	4	11
(c) Falling from trips	17	28
(d) Run over by car or motor	139	137
(e) Caught between car and rib	100	89
(f) Caught between car and roof while riding	22	15
(g) Runaway car or trip	37	33
(h) Miscellaneous	26	33
4. Gas Explosions and Burning Gas		
(a) Due to open light	63	59
(b) Due to defective safety lamps	22	7
(c) Due to electric arc	19	10
(d) Due to shot	6	11
(e) Due to explosions of powder	2	11
(f) Miscellaneous	28	18
5. Coal Dust Explosions (including gas and dust combined)		
(a) Due to open light	22	3
(b) Due to defective safety lamps	....	....
(c) Due to electric arc	....	....
(d) Due to shot	6	11
(e) Due to explosions of powder	2	11
(f) Miscellaneous	28	18
6. Explosives		
(a) Transportation	96	5
(b) Charging	14	6
(c) Suffocation	3	4
(d) Drilling into old holes	....	3
(e) Striking in loose rock or coal	....	....
(f) Thawing	....	....
(g) Caps, detonators, etc	3	4
(h) Unguarded shots	2	2
(i) Returned too soon	5	8
(j) Premature shot	49	47
(k) Sparks from match, lamp or candle	7	7
(l) Delayed blast	2	9
(m) Shot breaking through rib or pillar	6	1
(n) Miscellaneous	10	14

7.	Suffocation from Mine Gases	11	16
8.	Electricity		
	(a) Direct contact with trolley wire	37	26
	(b) Bar or tool striking trolley wire	2	3
	(c) Contact with mining machine	4	11
	(d) Contact with machine wire	12	9
	(e) Contact with haulage motor	2	3
	(f) Miscellaneous	8	16
9.	Animals	2	5
10.	Mining Machines (other than 8 c)	25	36
11.	Mine Fires (burned, suffocated, etc.)	22	1
12.	Other Causes		
	(a) Fall of person	4	2
	(b) Machinery (other than 10)	3	2
	(c) Rush of coal or gob	14	7
	(d) Falling timber	20	7
	(e) Suffocation in chutes	3	5
	(f) Hand tools, axes, bars, etc	....	....
	(g) Nails, splinters	1	....
	(h) Miscellaneous	18	10
	NUMBER KILLED IN SHAFT		
13.	Falling Down Shafts or Slopes	20	23
14.	Objects Falling Down Shaft or Slope	6	8
15.	Cage, Skip or Bucket		
	(a) Runway	8	7
	(b) Riding with rock or coal	1	2
	(c) Riding with timber or tools	2	....
	(d) Struck by	4	4
	(e) Miscellaneous	5	2
16.	Other Causes		
	(a) Overwinding	....	....
	(b) Breaking of cables	....	....
	(c) Miscellaneous	2	4
	NUMBER KILLED ON SURFACE YARDS, SHOPS, ETC. STRIP PITS		
17.	Mine Cars and Mine Locomotives	64	17
18.	Electricity	10	17
19.	Machinery	20	20
20.	Boiler Explosions or Bursting Steam Pipes	5	4
21.	Railway Cars and Locomotives	19	20
22.	Other Causes		
	(a) Explosives	1	12
	(b) Fall of person	15	12
	(c) Falling objects (derricks, booms)	7	7
	(d) Suffocation in chute, bin or culm	3	5
	(e) Falls of slides of rock or coal	10	5
	(f) Steam shovels	1	....
	(g) Hand tools	1	....
	(h) Miscellaneous	12	20
	Grand Total	2,146	1,983

Some of these "accidents" may be due to the defective mentality of the workers, but most of them are directly traceable to the psychology of the profit-mongers. Accidents credited to carelessness, neglect and ignorance of the workers should be "credited" to the profit-monger. They have no business sending inexperienced or defective or ignorant men down in dangerous places. To do is downright murder. Coal-miners should be subjected to the now usual mental tests to ascertain the power of their senses, their quickness of perception, their capacity of

judgment, etc. If they pass that examination, they should then be sent to a mining school at public expense to learn the theoretical part of mining in a place where nobody can get hurt, instead of experimenting with death in the dark bowels of the earth. That is what we will do when we, the organized workers, take charge of the mines. This will reduce to a minimum the accidents now charged to "carelessness," etc. But the coal capitalists, like all other capitalists, are intent on doubling, trebling or quadrupling their wealth every 20 years or so, and to accomplish that, they are willing to sacrifice 2,000 miners a year and cripple other thousands, at the same time leaving tens of thousands of women and children unprovided for every year. How long shall we put up with it?

Old and experienced miners are discharged when they begin to organize and ignorant and inexperienced foreigners, sometimes half-savage, are sent down in the mines, a danger to themselves and to others. Who is then the guilty party, the gaping peasant boy from the Balkans, the half-wild Mexican, or the wily millionaire who hired them?

The Babel of tongues spoken in the mines is just as dangerous there as it is on board the ship where inexperienced paint-scrubbers of a dozen nationalities, called seamen, understand neither one another nor their officers. But who is at fault? The poor fellow who takes any kind of job, in order to get a morsel to eat, or the fellow who hires him because he can get him cheaper than the experienced man?

Instead of striving to get an intelligent and enlightened crew in the mine the operator trafficks in the ignorance and the poverty of his slaves. The more ignorant they are, the less they are able to control illegalities in the operation of the mine, the less they are able to know their rights and to defend them, and the poorer they are, the greater chances they will take in order to live and get bread for their families.

The whole mode of operation should be revolutionized. Each and every cause of accident enumerated above could be obviated. This is not the place, however, to enter into the technical details. We will only say that if we were able to put overalls on the operators and the technical help and the managers and the government officials concerned in mining, and send them down to work daily in the mine, together with their sons, they would very soon revolutionize the mode of operation, so as to reduce the number of accidents to practically nothing.

But the workers will in due time solve these questions of safety to their own satisfaction. When it is no longer a question of digging coal for profit but for the satisfying of a public need, coal-mining will be made as safe an occupation as any other.

If human life were valued more and profit less, there would

be no falling roofs, for there would be no defective timbering. There would be no haulage accidents, for there would be more manways, non-haulage roads, greater clearance on one side of haulage ways, shelter holes at regular intervals. There would be no electrocutions, for the trolley and feed wires would be properly guarded. There would also be better brakes and better blocking. And there would be systematic rules for signals, etc.

The accidents in handling explosives could all be avoided if the men handling them were not driven by the unseen power of poverty and fear of discharge for slowness, to disregard certain details which may cost them their lives. Further, if only *permissible* explosives are supplied, and if more energy and genius were expended on making the explosives safe, there would be still less chance of mishap. But crowding the mine with ignorant and inexperienced men who cannot talk to one another—all for the sake of profit—will make the most "permissible" explosive as dangerous as naked T N T.

Every *fire-damp explosion* or coal-dust explosion is a crime. There never yet was an explosion in a coal-mine that was an accident.

The inflammable gas, chiefly methane (CHETAOETAOIN (CH^4) or mashgas is found in nearly all coal-mines, except the shallow ones. This is the deadly fire-damp. If it is allowed to accumulate enywhere in the mine, and if it happens to be ignited by a flame or a spark, there is an ezplosion. But there is absolutely no excuse for allowing such accumulations of the inflamable gas to take place. When they do take place, it is because the operator is seeking to get rich quick by saving money on ventilation and inspection.

The same applies to *coal-dust explosions*. There are dozens of well-known methods of decreasing the rate of accumulation of coal-dust, f. i. by having tight cars and never loading the cars higher than the side boards. There are numerous methods of making the dust harmless by wetting it or mixing it with non-inflammable materials. There are also methods of lessening the danger of ignition by the use of safety lamps, permissible explosives and barriers. If all these known methods were lived up to by the operators, and if only properly trained and instructed workers were sent down in the mines, the "accidents" would stop as if by magic.

But the fatalities will continue to hover around the 2,000 mark until the workers take matters into their own hands and run the mines themselves through their union. For where is the worker who would willingly and knowingly neglect to take steps to save his own life, as well as the lives of his fellows, if only given a semblance of a fair chance? But as long as the mines continue to be operated for profit they will remain death-traps.

9. CAN THE COAL-MINERS OF THE UNITED STATES GET JUSTICE THROUGH POLITICAL ACTION?

JUST as the American seamen have their "Seaman's Bill" (or Seaman's *pill*, as it is usually called) and have spent $40,000.00 up to date in a vain attempt to have its questionable benefits enforced, according to the financial reports of their decaying craft union, so the coal-miners also have their *"coal-miners' bills,"* which also deserve the name of pills, bitter rather than sweet. There are such laws as the 8-hour law, the anti-script law, the company store law, the mine-sprinkling law, the check-weighman law, etc. And just as with the sailors, the union of the mine workers is spending a good deal of its time and money in a more or less fruitless attempt to have these and other similar laws or "pills" enforced and administered.

These and many other laws would undeniably confer some small benefits on the miners, if it were possible to enforce them, which in the main it is not. But even *if every one of them were enforced to the last letter, the miners' lot would not be made endurable.* Eight hours a day in a coal-mine is entirely too much. And the average income of the coal-miner is not sufficient to keep him in decent food, clothing and shelter, let alone wife, children and other dependents.

From these undeniable facts the adherents of political action only draw the conclusion that the coal-miners have either not used the right kind of political action, or that they have not used it to a sufficient extent. Republicans and democrats, union labor and socialist politicians, are all after the coal-miners to vote for them more solidly, and things will be set right. They all try to make the miners forget the fact that the laws mentioned have all come into existence on acccount of the pressure exerted by the miners through their union, through their strikes, through their protests, —in short, through their direct action on the economic field, or from fear of more strikes, and not by voting for "friends of labor." *Those laws merely register in the legal codes the slow and painful progress made by the miners through their organization,* slow and painful because they have not organized right, because they have not adopted the right principles, methods and tactics, and because they have allowed their union, partially, to slip under the control of their employers' tools and hirelings or into the hands of ignorant, ultra-conservative and unprogressive leaders who lack the courage and the ability to lead them to victory. Fre-

quently the law put on the statute books, instead of conferring an advantage upon the miners, is put there for the purpose of acting as a stopper with which to check more advanced demands. When the miners come with more far-reaching demands than those permitted according to these "labor laws" it is pointed to as illegal. Thus, the pretended labor laws are mostly a delusion and a snare with which to dupe the workers into inactivity. They do not deserve the name "labor laws," but, like all other laws, they are *capitalist laws*. The Industrial Court Law of Kansas is another good sample of them. There are a great number of official government reports, covering thousands of pages, which are actual "mines" from which one could dig out scores of instances with which to verify the above assertions about these so-called labor laws. We repeat the statement, that where such laws are not directly acting as a damper on union activities and as a false alarm by which to attract the miners' attention to the political field, they are at best ineffective even if enforced—which they seldom are.

But even if they were enforced and were effective, such laws should not be allowed to raise any false hopes in the minds of the miners that they will be able to achieve anything worth while through legislation, or cause them to slacken up in their efforts at organizing, and organizing right.

The miners might try the political way as much as they please, they have no show of capturing political power locally or influencing legislation in state and nation to any appreciable extent. To tell the miners to vote, and vote, and vote is to deceive them.

Anyone who knows anything about the coal-miners, also knows that *the great majority of them have no vote, which also applies to most wage workers.* Comparatively few of them are white Americans. The majority are *foreigners or Negroes.* The foreigners largely come from south-eastern Europe, Mexico or other countries where illiteracy and ignorance are dense. Few of these speak English enough to become citizens. As for the Negroes in the Eastern and Southern mines, their right to vote is illusory. The Ku-Klux-Klan and their friends have the civil rights of the Negro in their vest pockets.

In short, there are comparatively few miners who have a vote, and of those who have a vote, a great number lose it by having to frequently move from one mining camp to another, which makes it impossible for them to fill the residence qualifications prescribed by law.

As to the chances of the remaining voters to exert any appreciable political influence in their own favor, we will say that they are very slim.

On this subject allow us to quote at length from *a decision of The Supreme Court of Colorado.* The quotation is borrowed

from the postscript in Upton Sinclair's book "King Coal," which was written soon after the great coal strike in 1913-1914. In addition to throwing light on political action, this supreme court decision gives us the finest possible picture of the industrial feudalism prevailing in the United States and the serfdom of the workers. We quote:

"In the elections of November, 1914, in Huerfano County, Colorado, J. B. Farr, Republican candidate for re-election as sheriff, a person known throughout the coal country as 'the king of Huerfano County,' was returned as elected by a majority of 329 votes. His rival, the Democratic candidate, contested the election, alleging 'malconduct, fraud and corruption.' The district court found in Farr's favor, and the case was appealed on error to the Supreme Court of the state. On June 21, 1916, *after Farr had served nearly the whole term of his office,* the Supreme Court handed down a decision which unseated him and the entire ticket elected with him, finding in favor of the opposition ticket in all cases and upon all grounds charged.

"The decision is long—about ten thousand words, and its legal technicalities would not interest the reader. It will suffice to reprint the essential paragraphs. The justices say: 'We find no such example of fraud within the books, and must seek the letter and spirit of the law in a free government, as a scale in which to weigh such conduct.' And let it be noted, this 'crime without a name' was not a crime of passion but of policy; it was a crime deliberately planned and carried out by profit-seeking corporations of enormous power. Let the reader imagine the psychology of the men of great wealth, who ordered this crime as a means of keeping and increasing their wealth!

"The court decision first gives an outline of the case, using for the most part the statements of the counsel for the defendant, Farr; so that for practical purposes the following may be taken as the coal company's own account of their domain:

Supreme Court Decision

"Round the shaft of each mine are clustered the tipple, the mine office, the shops, sheds and outbuildings; and huddled close by, within a stone's throw, cottages of the miners built on the land of, and owned by, the mining company. All the dwellers in the camp are employees of the mine. There is no other industry. This is 'the camp.' Of the *eight 'closed camps'* it appears that practically the same conditions existed in all of them, and those conditions were in general that members of the United Mine Workers of America, their organizers or agitators, were prevented from coming into the camps, so far as it was possible to keep them out, and to this end guards were stationed about them. Of the eight 'closed camps' one of them, Walsen, was, and at the time of the trial still was, enclosed by a fence erected at the beginning

of the strike in October, 1913. Rouse and Cameron were partly, but never entirely, enclosed by fences. It is admitted that all persons entering these camps and precincts were required by the companies to have passes, and it is contended that this was 'an industrial necessity.'

"The court then goes on as follows:

" 'The federal troops entered the district in May of 1914, and the testimony is in agreement that no serious acts of violence occurred thereafter, and that order was preserved up to and subsequent to the election, and to the time of this trial.'

" 'It was under this condition that in July, 1914, the Board of County Commissioners *changed certain of the election precincts so as to constitute each of such camps an election precinct,* and with but one exception where a few ranches were included, *these precincts were made to conform to the fences and lines around each camp, protected by fences in some instances and with armed guards in all cases.* Thus each election precinct by this unparalleled act of the commissioners was placed exclusively within and upon the private grounds and under the private control of a coal corporation, which autocratically declared who should and who should not enter upon the territory of this political entity of the state, so purposely bounded by the county commissioners.'

" 'With but one exception all the lands and buildings within each of these election precincts as so created, were owned or controlled by the coal corporations; every person resident within such precincts was an employee of these private corporations or their allied companies with the single exception; *every judge, clerk or officer of election with the exception of a saloon keeper, and partner of the defendant, was an employee of the coal companies.*'

" 'The polling places were upon the grounds, and in the buildings of these companies, *the registration lists were kept within the private offices or buildings of such companies, and used and treated as their private property.*'

" 'Thus were the public election districts and *the public election machinery turned over to the absolute domination and imperial control of private coal corporations,* and used by them as absolutely and privately as were their mines, to and for their own private purposes, and upon which public territory no man might enter for either public or private purpose, save and except by the express permission of these private corporations.'

" 'This right to determine who should enter such so-called election precincts, appears from the records to have been exercised as against all classes; merchants, tradesmen and what not, and whether the business of such person was public or private. Indeed, it appears that in one instance *the governor and adjutant general of the state, while on official business, were denied admission to one of these closed camps.* And that on the day of

election, the Democratic watchers and challengers for Walsen mine precinct, one of which was Neelley, the Democratic candidate for sheriff, were forced to seek and secure a detail of Federal soldiers to escort them into the precinct and to the polls, and that such soldiers remained as such guard during the day and part of the night...'

"'But if there was any doubt concerning the condition of the closed camps and precincts, and the exclusion of representatives of the Democratic Party from discussing the issues of the campaign within the precincts comprising the closed camps, it is entirely removed by the testimony of *the Witness Weitzel,* for Contestee Farr. He testified that he was a resident of Pueblo, and was *manager of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company*; that Rouse, Lester, Ideal, Cameron, Walsen, Pictou and McNally are camps under his jurisdiction. That he had general charge of the camps and that there was no company official in Colorado superior to him in this respect, except the president; that the superintendent and other employees are under his supervision; that the federal troops came about 1st of May, 1914, and continued until January, 1915. That *in all those camps he tried to keep out the people that were antagonistic to the company's interests*; that it was private property and so treated by his company; that through him the company and its officials assumed to exercise authority as to who might or might not enter; that if persons could assure and satisfy the man at the gate, or the superintendent that they were not connected with the United Mine Workers, or in their employ as agitators, they were let into the camp. That "no one we were fighting against got in for social intercourse or any other"; that he and officials under him assumed to pass upon the question of whether or not any person coming there came for the purpose of agitation. That Mr. Mitchell, the chairman of the Democratic Committee as he recalled it, was identified with the agitators, ran a newspaper and was connected either directly or indirectly with the United Mine Workers; that Mr. Neeley, Democratic candidate for sheric, was identified with the strikers, and that he would be considered as an objectionable character..... That the company did not permit men to come into the camp to discuss with the employers certain principles, or to carry on arguments with them or to appeal to their reason, or to discuss with them things along reasonable lines, because it was known from experience that if they were allowed to come in they would resort to threats of violence. They might not resort to any violence at the time, but it might result in the people becoming frightened and leaving, and they were anxious to hold their employees....

"'There was *but one attempt to hold a political meeting* in the closed precincts. Joseph Patterson, who attempted to hold this meeting, testifies concerning it as follows: "Was at a political meeting at Oakview..... Jones, the superintendent, stated that witness should come to the office that night, before he went

to the school house, for the purpose of the meeting; when witness arrived at the meeting there were about 6 or 8 English-speaking people and 12 to 14 Mexicans. The superintendent, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Price, were outside of the door most of the time. Witness noticed that the first few fellows that came toward the school house, the superintendent stopped and talked with them and they turned back to the camp. This happened several times. As soon as they talked with Morgan they turned back. After he saw that, witness went into the school house and said that it was no use to hold any meeting; that it seemed that *nobody was allowed to come.* This meeting was supposed to be in a public school house on company property. Had to get permission from the superintendent of the Oakview Mining Company to hold said political meeting."

" 'It appears from the testimony that in these closed precincts many of those who voted were unable to speak or read the English language, and that in numerous instances, *the election judges assisted such, by marking the ballots for them,* in violation of the law.... Such voters were not choosing candidates, but, *under the direction of the companies,* were simply placing the cross where they found the particular letter R on the ballot, so that the ballot was not an expression of opinion or judgment, not an intelligent exercise of suffrage, but plainly *a dictated coal company vote,* as much so as if the agents of these companies had marked the ballots without the intervention of the voters. No more fraudulent and infamous prostitution of the ballot is conceivable.'

" 'The plain purpose of the formation of the new precincts was that the coal companies might have opportunity to conduct and control the elections therein, just as such elections were conducted. The irresistible conclusion is that these closed precincts were so formed by the county commissioners with the connivance of the representatives of the coal companies, if not by their express command.'

" 'There can be no free, open and fair election as contemplated by the constitution, where private industrial corporations so throttle public opinion, deny the free exercise of choice by sovereign electors, dictate and control all election officers, prohibit public discussion of public questions, and imperially command what citizens may and what citizens may not, peacefully and for lawful purposes enter upon election on public territory.'

" '.... This bold denial (of the right of peaceful assemblage) was an inexcusable and corrupt violation of the natural and inalienable rights of the citizens.... A careful reading of the record discloses the rejection by the district court of so much palpably pertinent and competent testimony offered by the contestors, as to force the conclusion that the trial judge was influenced by bias and prejudice....'

" '*For the foregoing reasons the judgment of the court in each case before us is reversed...*' " etc.

So far the decision of the Supreme Court of Colorado.

"What a triumph for justice and democracy!" our politicians will exclaim. But that is cant and hypocrisy, as we all know. The reversal of this election leaves no more trace behind than the customary raids on bootleggers. The practice of browbeating the miners continues everywhere, in one form or another.

Upton Sinclair, who has studied the situation thoroughly, has this to say on the subject:

"The defeat of 'the king of Huerfano County' is but one step in a long road which the miners of Colorado have to travel if they ever are to be free men. *The industrial power of the great corporations remains untouched by this decision*; and this power is greater than any political power ever wielded by the government of Huerfano County, or even of the state of Colorado. This industrial power is a deep, far-spreading root; and so long as it is allowed to thrive, it will send up again and again the poisonous plant of political 'malconduct, fraud and corruption.' The citizens and workers of such industrial communities, whether in Colorado, West Virginia, Alabama, Michigan or Minnesota, in the Chicago Stockyards, the steel mills of Pittsburgh, the woolen mills of Lawrence or the silk mills of Paterson, will find that they *have neither peace nor freedom, until they have abolished the system of production for profit* and established in the field of industry what they are supposed to have already in the field of politics—a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

And so says the I. W. W. We must have *an industrial administration and industrial democracy.* The coal-miners have nothing to hope for from political action. What little they have gained they have taken through their unions, either directly by forcing concessions from the coal companies, or indirectly by exerting such pressure on those in power that they have been compelled to record their demands and their gains in the law books, in order to put an official brake on the further efforts of the miners.

Besides, even if the workers had complete political control, it could not abolish wage slavery and make them their own masters. This they can do only by means of their unions, which must be made the basic unit of society.

Every mine should be a branch of the Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W. Every person working in or around a coal-mine should belong to such an industrial union, no matter what his occupation in or around the mine.

By sticking solidly together in that manner we shall be able to force further concessions from the bosses, and the politicians will fall all over themselves trying to keep up with us in recording and reflecting our gains in the law books. From day to day we shall, through our union, wring the control of the mines and of coal production and distribution out of the hands of the coal capitalists, until we one day shall be ready to take over the whole industry, in behalf of the people, and separate the coupon clippers and their hired slave drivers from control and ownership.

10. THE STRUGGLE TOWARDS ORGANIZATION AMONG THE COAL-MINE WORKERS

NO GREATER MISTAKE could be made than to consider the United Mine Workers of America as an artificial product, gotten together by orders from A. F. of L. headquarters or from United Mine Workers headquarters. The coal-mine workers' organization, as it stands today, is no artificial product but an organic growth, which has attained its present formidable size and become one of the largest unions of the whole world by the very fact that it has really sprung naturally from economic conditions, watered and fertilized by oppression and injustice such as human history has hardly ever witnessed before. The sufferings of the coal-mine workers during the last hundred years are so appalling, that a study of the history of the industry is bound to make a flaming rebel of any fair-minded man or woman. Only the lowest spirits of hell—greed, brutal selfishness, heartless callousness to suffering, cant, hypocrisy, dishonesty—seem to have ruled the owners and operators of the coal-mines in their dealings with the workers. Out of this terrible class struggle the miners' organizations were slowly and painfully born, seemingly not by conscious and voluntary effort but only under the direst compulsion, when the sufferings of the workers screamed to high heaven, and all hope was about gone. Never have men fought more bravely for a desperate cause than the coal-miners of the U. S. A., only to see the fruits of their labor torn from their hands many a time. For no sooner had an organization been formed before the mine operators took advantage of their position of economic power to discharge the old miners and replace them with foreign workers, who frequently were too ignorant of language and customs to know what they were doing, and when they in their turn "got on to the ropes" and began to organize, they were replaced with some other nationality. The operators have always trafficked in defenseless beings and enslaved them.

The early coal-miners were native American, English, Welsh, Irish, Scotch, Canadian and German, but, beginning with 1875, the Italians and the Slavs began to sweep into the mine regions, bringing with them a group of races wholly foreign to those already dominant there, not only from a racial point of view, but also in habits, customs, language and institutions. The Pole, the Slovak, the Ruthenian, the Bohemian, the Magyar, the Lithuanian, the Italian, the Greek, the Mexican, and other nationalities

crowded into the mining settlements, putting into operation among the mine workers the great law of competition, which resulted in driving the English-speaking nationalities away from the mines and the mining regions.

The census reports of the U. S. Government show that in the eight hard-coal producing counties immigrants from Poland, Austria, Russia, Hungary and Italy increased from 1,925 in the year 1880 to 43,007 in 1890, to 89,328 in 1900, and to 110,000 in 1905. At the same time the English-speaking foreign-born decreased from 123,636 in 1890 to 100,269 in 1900. It is easy to understand how difficult it was under such circumstances to build up an organization. The history of unionism in the coal industry in the '70's, '80's and '90's, and later, reflects this condition in a most clear manner.

The English-speaking coal-miners were the originators of the unions in their industry. They suffered a long and disastrous set-back for decades through immigration, but through it all they retained control of what union movement there was and continue to do so today—which is another disaster. They built up a machine in the last 20 to 30 years, by means of which they controlled the policies of the union almost absolutely until recently, and held it down to out-of-date ideals and traditions form the latter part of the 19th century, preventing the real will of the membership from coming to expression in a manner which would benefit the mine workers. But we will return to that later. For the present we shall briefly review the almost century-long struggle of the coal-miner towards the light and describe the roots by which the tall tree of the United Mine Workers of America is drawing its spiritual nourishment from the far distant past.

The Early Beginnings of Organization.—The Roots of the U. M. W. of A.—Covering the Time Up to 1890

Coal-mining became of importance in the United States first after the war with England, 1812-1815, when America was thrown upon its own resources for industrial fuel. In another chapter we have described how improved transportation facilities made it profitable and possible to mine coal.

Due to the relative scarcity of labor in the early days, the conditions of the coal-mine workers were relatively good. In 1828, skilled miners were paid $1.10 per day, while their helpers received 80 cents. The "good" wages (good for those days, when the dollar bought many times what it buys today) attracted more workers, and with increased competition, without organization, the wages came down, so that in the forties they were 87½ and 70 cents respectively. Besides, the companies had already then begun to systematically use the company store or "truck store," as it was then called, for squeezing the last penny from their workers.

Conditions grew steadily worse, while at the same time the annual output increased, in order to keep step with industrial development, particularly of the iron and steel industry.

The first recorded instance of a stand being made by the workers against the insufferable conditions, especially the "pluck-me stores," is a local union in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania, organized in 1849 by one *John Bates,* a coal-miner whose name deserves to be immortalized. This union called a strike covering six mines. Of this strike the writer of the "History of the United Mine Workers" says: "This strike for rights was unquestionably due, but proved to be a serious mistake in judgment that caused the union spirit to lie dormant for a time in the hard-coal field."

It is true that the organization spirit lay dormant during the '50's and did not wake up again until during the civil war, but we cannot allow these almost introductory words to the "History of the United Mine Workers" to pass unnoticed. They are so characteristic of the whole policy of the United Mine Workers. Not only do they want to govern everything with senile cautiousness and conservatism in the present, but their venerable leaders stretch out their withered hands way back in the past, to throw a belated discouragement over the spontaneous revolt of suffering workers against intolerable conditions half a century back. These Anglo-Irish-Scotch-Welsh-American leaders put their main faith in political action, conciliation and arbitration, and if strikes broke out it was because they could not prevent it. For that reason it stung their eye to have it in the annals of their industry that the first recorded organization should have immediately gone on strike and burst up upon the rocks of it.

While the worker with a rebel heart bares his head and sheds a tear of gratitude at the mention of John Bates and his striking fellow workers of 75 years ago, no matter what the result of their strike was, it comes so naturally for the spirit of the United Mine Workers to remove the imaginary wreath we put on the imaginary grave-stone of John Bates, as an undeserved honor to a dangerous and rebellious agitator, preaching dangerous doctrines.

Local unions, independent of one another, gradually sprang up both in the anthracite field of Pennsylvania and the bituminous field, and toward the close of the year 1860 the mine workers of southern Illinois on the Belleville tract became active participants in the interest of a national union. Two big names come down to us from those days as pioneers of a national organization of coal-mine workers, namely Thomas Lloyd and Daniel Weaver.

For the sake of clearness we shall here give a list, without comments, of the large number of organizations which rose and fell in the coal industry, from which list it will plainly appear that the United Mine Workers of America is merely the culmination of the efforts beginning in the '40's, '50's and '60's, and car-

ried on through the 70's and 80's, until the different currents, finally, came together in the United Mine Workers in the year 1890.

It is to be noted that organization began separately in the anthracite and the bituminous field, starting with independent local unions, which gradually melted together into district, state and national organizations.

List of Organizations and Events in Their Lives

1849.—*Local union organized by John Bates* in the anthracite field of Pennsylvania. Union died within a year.

1860.—*Local unions (bituminous) of the Belleville tract, Ill.,* started move for a national union. In their call for a convention they say: "In laying before you, therefore, the objects of this association, we desire it to be understood that our objects are not merely pecuniary, but to *mutually instruct and improve each other in knowledge, which is power*: to study the laws of life, the relation of labor to capital; politics, municipal affairs, literature, science, or any other subject relating to the general welfare of our class." This was in 1860. No such clarion tones have since that time been heard in any proclamation calling coal miners to action, until the I. W. W. entered the field.

1861.—*The American Miners' Association.* The first national
1869. union of miners in the United States. Formed at a convention in St. Louis, Mo., 1861, as per above mentioned call, by delegates from the bituminous fields of Illinois and Missouri. Thomas Lloyd, first president; Dan Weaver, first secretary. Published the "Weekly Miner." Through disastrous strikes and internal dissensions this national union lost its foothold in 1867-68 and ceased to exist in 1869. The union died, but the idea of unionism had been greatly advanced. In the meantime the anthracite miners had not been inactive.

1860 —*Local unions* were organized in the mines of the Forest-
1864. ville Improvement Company, in the Pennsylvania anthracite regions.

1863.—In the Blossburg district of Pennsylvania organized miners raised the pay from 35 cents per ton to $1.10 per ton.

1864.—*Workingmen's Benevolent Society of Carbon County* was organized in the Schuylkill region.

1867.—Through union action the 8-hour day for coal-miners was legally enacted in Pennsylvania.

1868.—*Workingmen's Benevolent Association of Schuylkill County, Pa.,* was organized, with John Siney as president.

1869.—General strike of coal-miners from May 5 to June 16. Some gains.

1870—*Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association* was organ-
1875. ized as a national union in 1872, in the bituminous fields of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Ohio, Kentucky, West Virginia and Michigan. Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association was crushed in 1875 after a six-months' strike.

1871.—*Illinois Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association.*

1872.—*Miners' Benevolent and Protective Association.* Developed out of the previous one and aimed at being a national union. Included miners in Indiana, Illinois and Missouri.

1873—*Miners' National Association of the U. S. A.*, formed in
1876. Youngstown, O., October 13, 1873; John Siney, president. Aimed at becoming a national union. Spread over the Central states. Had 35,000 members. Was powerful and influential. Contemplated undertaking co-operative coal mining on an extensive scale and bought a large tract of coal land in Tennessee. Panic of 1873, glutted markets, falling prices, unemployment, unsuccessful strikes against wage reductions, internal dissensions, broke up the union. Expired 1876. In 1874 its leaders, John Siney and Xingo Parks, were arrested for "conspiracy." Siney was acquitted but Parks was sentenced to one year.

1873—*Trades Assembly No.* 135, *Knights of Labor.* This was
1894. the name of the miners' branch of K. of L. Grew slowly at first, but survived the effects of the panic of 1873. After 1879 numerous assemblies were formed. In their halls, with their libraries, discussions and debates, many of the later labor leaders were trained. David R. Jones ruled over them as a dictator from Pittsburgh in the early 80's, and the unions were for a time in flourishing condition. But there was a dual union, namely

1882—*Ohio Miners' Amalgamated Association.* At the head of
1889. this union was John McBride.

1883.—*Amalgamated Association of Miners of the U. S. A.* Grew out of the above. Formed at convention in Pittsburgh 1883 by delegates from Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Illinois. Aspired to become a national union, but suffered a set-back, mainly due to a disastrous strike in the Hocking Valley district of Ohio in 1884. The demand for national unity grew, and a national convention was convened in Indianapolis in September, 1885, where the next national union was formed.

1885.—*National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers.* Formed in Indianapolis by delegates from Ohio, West Virginia, Iowa, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Kansas. The names of John McBride and Chris. Evans are prominent in all these attempts at forming national organizations. There was increasing friction between the above union and the Knights of Labor. "History of U. M. W. of A." says:

"The continuance of rivalry between the members of both miners' national organizations caused repeated activity of wrong-doing of the one toward the other, and accusations of imposition practiced were numerous, almost reaching the extreme." Finally, the General Executive Board of Trades Assembly 135, K. of L., issued (in 1887) an ultimatum, thus: "We now assert our intention to resist any and all encroachments on the rights of our members, whether by the Miners' Amalgamated Association (of Ohio) or the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers." The friction developed into mutual hatred, to the injury of all concerned, and steps were again taken to form *one national union.*

1888.—*The National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers* was organized at a joint convention of the National Federation of Miners and Trades Assembly No. 135, K. of L., in Columbus, Ohio, December, 1888. This union divided the coal regions into 20 districts, which form the basis of the present district organization. It also affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. But the National Progressive Union did not unite the warring factions, and for that reason a new joint convention was arranged in January, 1890. There, finally, amalgamation was accomplished between the National Progressive Union of Miners and Mine Laborers and Trades Assembly No. 135, Knights of Labor, and the name given the new organization was

1890.—*The United Mine Workers of America.*
The history of the United Mine Workers will be made a separate chapter.

1900.—*The Western Federation of Miners.* At one time this organization included a number of coal-miners, but ceded them later to U. M. W. of A.

1905.—*The Western Labor Union* had some coal-miners organized, but went out of existence 1905.

1919.—*The One Big Union of Canada* had temporary control of District 18, U. M. W. of A.

1905.—*The Industrial Workers of the World.* Ever since its inception in 1905 the I. W. W. has had members and adherents in the coal-mines of this continent. It took over quite a number of them when the Western Federation of Miners joined the I. W. W. in 1905. Only occasionally have they since then formed branches of *Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union of the I. W. W.,* due partly to the fact that these members and adherents of our principles have been relatively few, and due to the general persecution of our members and those who profess our principles, and finally to the fact that the United Mine Workers seek to take the bread away from those miners

who carry an I. W. W. card. On this subject the "United Mine Workers Journal" of February 1, 1922, says editorially: *"Members of the I. W. W. are outlawed by the United Mine Workers of America. The constitution of this union says that no member of the I. W. W. can be a member of the United Mine Workers. The two organizations are deadly enemies.... The constitution of the United Mine Workers of America ought to say that no person who gives encouragement or aid to the I. W. W. can be a member of this union."*

But there is a great rebellion in the making inside the United Mine Workers of America. Thousands of their own members are vigorously calling for the I. W. W. to step in and organize the coal-mine workers according to the principles of the I. W. W. *The Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, I. W. W., is not a foreign itnruder or a dual union. It is a new tree, sprouting from the same roots as the decayed and crumbling United Mine Workers.* We shall return to the subject in another chapter.

11. THE UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA

THE COMPROMISE effected between the National Progressive Union and Trades Assembly No. 135 of the Knights of Labor at Indianapolis on January 25, 1890, when the United Mine Workers of America was formed, did not awaken the American coal-miners to a sense of national unity. The intelligence of the world's workers had not yet been sufficiently leavened by socialist and syndicalist agitation and education. The two elements of the union kept nagging one another for several years, until the Trades Assembly finally was entirely discontinued as a constituent part of the United Mine Workers in 1894. For many years the membership kept declining, and the union seemed on the verge of destruction year after year, but managed to survive.

The history of the United Mine Workers is truly reflected in the size of their membership. For that reason we will here give a table showing number of members each year from the beginning until the present day.

United Mine Workers of America Membership

1890	20,912	1906	230,667
1891	17,044	1907	260,740
1892	19,376	1908	253,018
1893	14,344	1909	265,274
1894	17,628	1910	231,392
1895	10,871	1911	256,256
1896	9,617	1912	289,269
1897	3,973½	1913	377,682
1898	32,902	1914	333,333
1899	61,887	1915	311,786
1900	115,321	1916	322,911
1901	198,024	1917	367,381
1902	175,367	1918	409,844
1903	247,240	1919	391,339
1904	251,006	1920	375,447
1905	264,950	1920, Dec.	553,295
		1921	442,057

The treasurer of the union states that December, 1920, shows the maximum so far. With the 50,000 members exonerated from dues in that month, the total membership was about 600,000, or three-fourths of the number of coal-mine workers in the United States, which are estimated at 800,000. This makes it the largest union in the country and one of the largest in the world.

The great bituminous strike of 1897, when the union was about done for, became the turning point in its history. The great anthracite strike of 1900 and of 1902 caused another swing upward, and, finally, the great strike of 1919 seems to have been a deciding factor in the life of the union. We shall here give a list of strikes in the coal-mining industry. The figures, of course, include both organized and unorganized strikers.

Summary of Strikes in the Coal-Mining Industry of United States 1899-1819

Year	Number of Men on Strike	Total Number of Working Days Lost	Average Number of Days Lost Per Man	
1899	45,981	2,124,154	46	
1900	131,975	4,878,102	37	
1901	20,593	733,802	35	
1902	200,452	16,672,217	83	(the big anthracite strike)
1903	47,481	1,341,031	28	
1904	77,661	3,382,830	44	
1905	37,542	796,735	21	
1906	372,343	19,201,348	51.5	
1907	32,540	462,392	14	bituminous only
1908	145,145	5,449,938	38	bituminous only
1909	24,763	723,634	29	bituminous only
1910	218,493	19,250,524	88	
1911	41,413	983,737	24	
1912	311,056	12,527,305	40	
1913	135,395	3,049,412	22.5	
1914	161,720	11,013,667	68	
1915	67,190	2,467,431	37	
1916	170,633	3,344,586	20	
1917	160,240	2,348,399	15	
1918	79,395	508,526	6	the war period
1919	450,000?	16,000,000?	"six weeks"?	

The figure for 1919 is estimated and is probably too high, as the whole number did not stay out the full six weeks, nor did the whole number strike at the same time.

The above record deserves to be framed in gold. It is one great offering to the divinity of progress, one long, continuous sacrifice for the welfare of humanity. It does not signify a battle for dollars and cents for the coal-miners only. It has been the inspiration of battles all along the working class front in the class struggle. Without this battle the workers in general would still be where they were 20 or 30 years ago. The miners may not yet be able to keep the wolf from their own door, but they have helped immensely to secure unity of working class thought, spirit and action, such as it is. As pioneers of progress we of the I. W. W. scoff at the A. F. of L. for their slowness and their great mistakes, but we are not blind to the slow intellectual and spiritual mass advancement gained by the battle fought by the miners.

But just as we are advised to hammer our swords into plowshares, changing them from fighting instruments into productive tools, so the unions should be changed from fighting organs into productive organs, after we have driven the coupon clippers away who force us to use it as a fighting machine.

Recent Events

In November, 1917, wages, hours and conditions of labor were regulated by a contract made in Washington, D. C., which was to last to March 31, 1920, or until the expiration of the war.

On September 23, 1919, the United Mine Workers' convention declared that this contract had expired because of the virtual

ending of the war on Armistice Day, November 11, 1918. The convention on the same day adopted a resolution demanding an increase of 60 per cent in wages, a six-hour day, a five-day week, and authorizing the international officers to call a strike, effective November 1, 1919, if a satisfactory agreement had not been negotiated by that date.

Negotiations were futile, and President Wilson issued a statement on October 25, demanding the recall of the coal-mine strike order and declaring that "a strike under those circumstances is not only unjustified but unlawful." On petition of the Government, U. S. Judge Anderson on October 31, 1919, issued a temporary restraining order to prevent miners' officials from doing anything in furtherance of a strike. On November 8, 1919, a temporary injunction was granted, and mandatory order issued requiring the rescinding of the strike order. In the meantime the bituminous miners walked out and production in all union mines ceased.

Secretary of Labor Wilson called the miners and operators to Washington and on November 21 offered as a compromise that an increase of 31 per cent be granted the miners. A few days later, after this had been considered by the cabinet, Fuel Administrator Garfield proposed an increase of 14 per cent, without any increase of price of the coal to the public. This was rejected by the mine workers.

The U. M. W. of A. officials conferred on December 6 with the Attorney General of the U. S. and it was later announced that an agreement had been reached, based on the proposal of President Wilson on December 5.

Under this plan the miners were to return to work at once and were to receive a 14 per cent increase in wages. After the resumption of work the President would appoint a commission of three, one operator, one miner, and one representative of the public, to investigate and determine, if possible, within 60 days, a basis for a new wage agreement.

The miners' representatives, after several days' discussion, accepted the proposal on December 9, 1919, and on the same day the strike was called off.

Further reference to the award and the agreement will be found in the chapter on wages, bringing the history of the organization up to date.

We have mentioned all these details about the government officials merely in order *to show how nervous the representatives of the State become when the coal-miners go on strike.* We saw the same thing in 1902, when President Roosevelt appointed the Anthracite Coal Commission. The coal-miners have a tremendous power if they want to use it. If they stand together and do not back down, or let their officials back down for them, they can,

under favorable circumstances, get most anything they want under capitalism except freedom from wage slavery, especially if they thoroughly co-operate with the transportation workers.

Principles, Objects and Methods of the United Mine Workers

The principles and objects of the United Mine Workers of America are expressed in the preamble to their constitution, adopted in Indianapolis on January 25, 1890.

Here follows their preamble, which we reprint in full as it briefly reflects and enumerates the chief petty grievances of the coal-mine workers of the U. S. A. The big grievance—wage slavery—is accepted as a finality.

U. M. W. OF A. PREAMBLE

"There is no fact more generally known, nor more widely believed than that without coal there would not have been any such grand achievements, privileges and blessings as those which characterize the nineteenth century civilization, and believing, as we do, that those whose lot it is to daily toil in the recesses of the earth, are entitled to a fair and equitable share of the same. Therefore we have formed the United Mine Workers of America for the purpose of the more readily securing the object sought, by educating all mine workers in America to realize the necessity of unity of action and purpose, in demanding and securing, by lawful means, the just fruits of our toil. And we hereby declare to the world that our objects are:

1. *To secure an earning fully compatible with the dangers of our calling and the labor performed.*

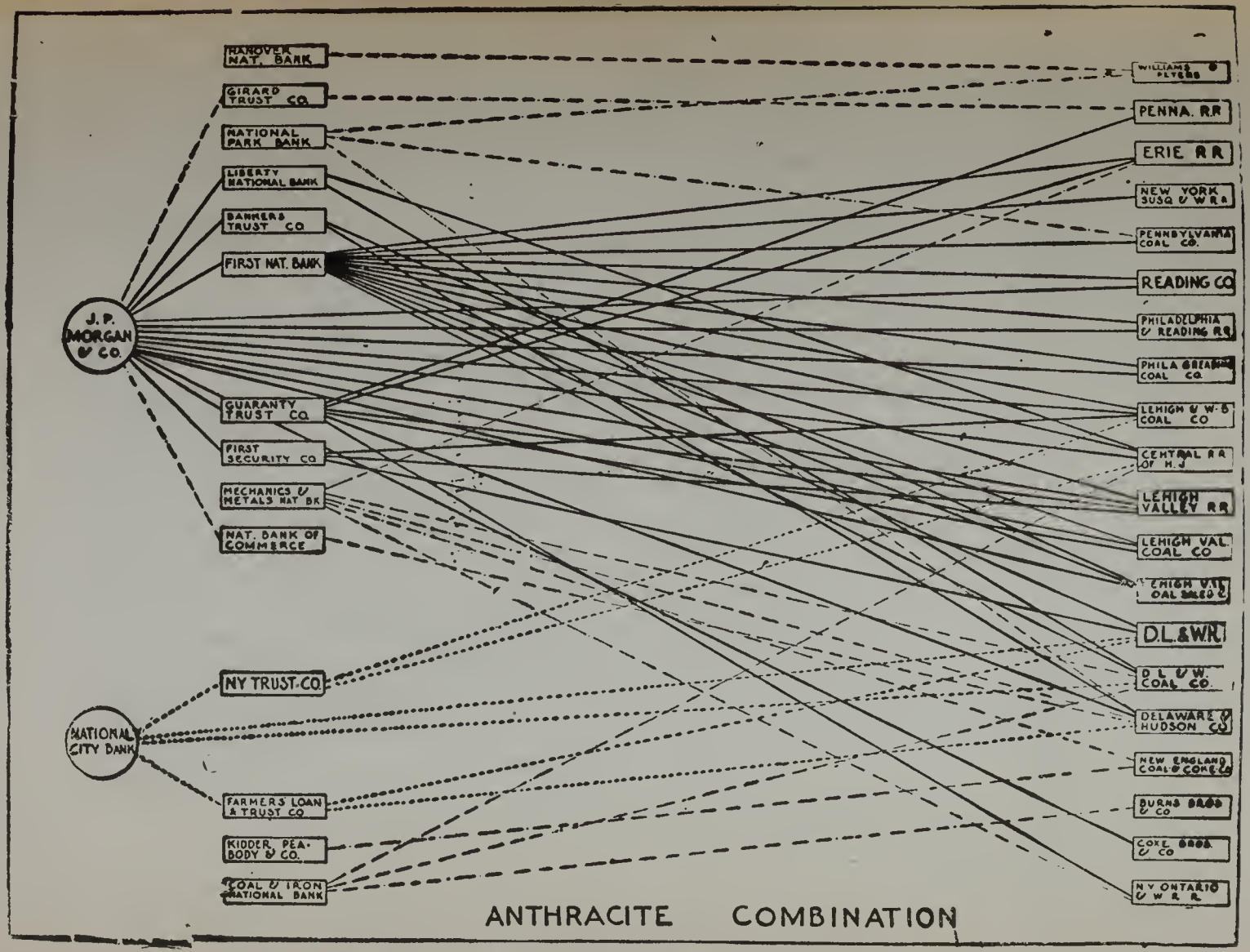
2. *To establish as speedily as possible, and forever, our right to receive pay, for labor performed, in lawful money, and to rid ourselves from the iniquitous system of spending our money wherever our employers see fit to designate.*

3. *To secure the introduction of any and all well-defined and established appliances for the preservation of life, health and limbs of all mine employees.*

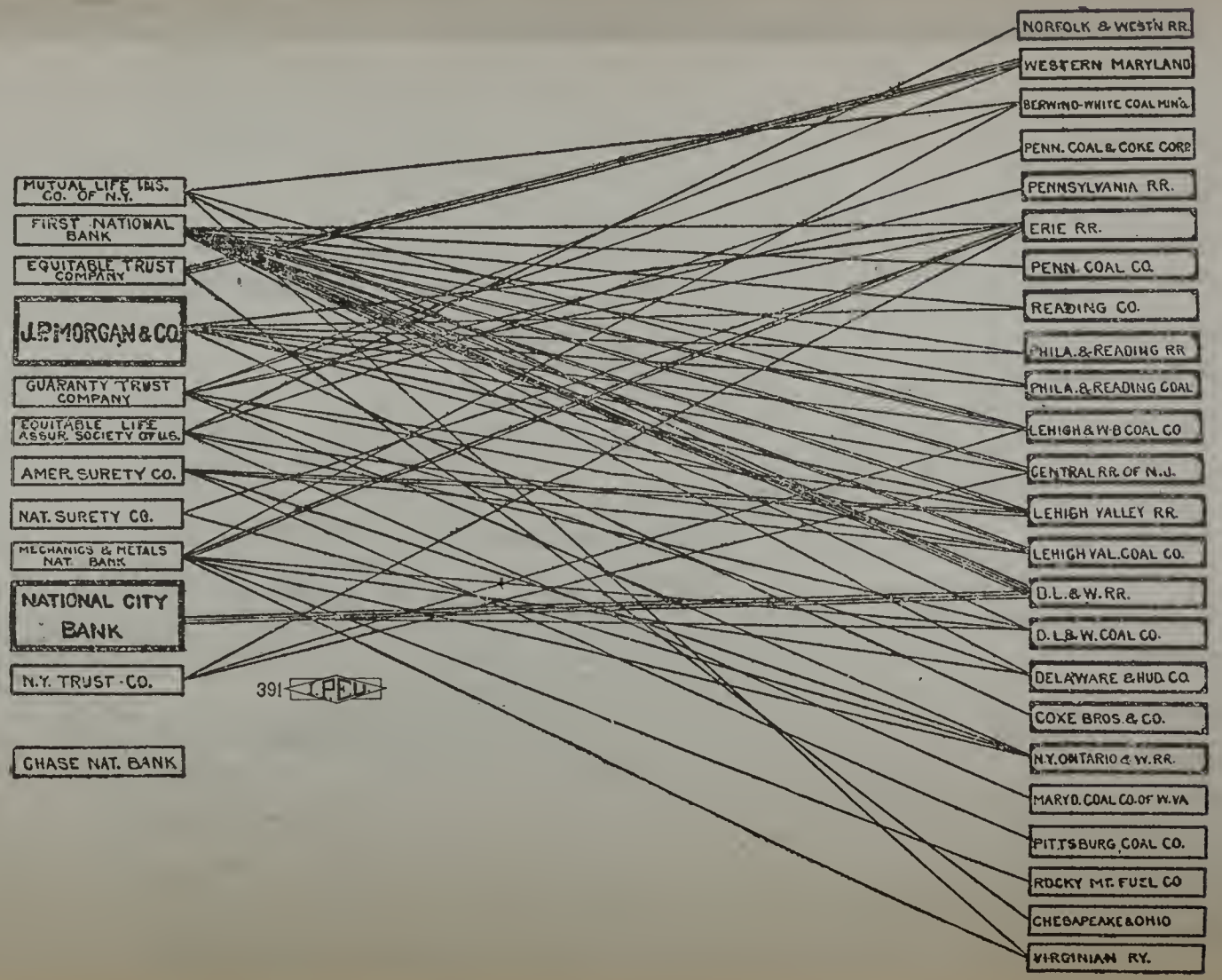
4. *To reduce to the lowest possible minimum the awful catastrophes which have been sweeping our fellow-craftsmen to untimely graves by the thousands, by securing legislation looking to the most perfect system of ventilation, drainage, etc.*

5. *To enforce existing laws; and where none exist, enact and enforce them; calling for a plentiful supply of suitable timber for supporting the roof, pillars, etc., and to have all working places rendered as free from water and impure air and poisonous gases as possible.*

6. *To uncompromisingly demand that 8 hours shall constitute a day's work, and that not more than 8 hours shall be*



What Is What in the Coal-Mining Industry?


MUTUAL LIFE INS. CO. OF N.Y.
FIRST NATIONAL BANK
EQUITABLE TRUST COMPANY
J.P. MORGAN & CO.
GUARANTY TRUST COMPANY
EQUITABLE LIFE ASSUR. SOCIETY OF U.S.
AMER. SURETY CO.
NAT. SURETY CO.
MECHANICS & METALS NAT. BANK
NATIONAL CITY BANK
N.Y. TRUST CO.
CHASE NAT. BANK
391
I.P.E.U.
NORFOLK & WEST'N RR.
WESTERN MARYLAND
BERWIND-WHITE COAL MIN'G.
PENN. COAL & COKE CORP.
PENNSYLVANIA RR.
ERIE RR.
PENN. COAL CO.
READING CO.
PHILA. & READING RR
PHILA. & READING COAL
LEHIGH & W-B COAL CO
CENTRAL RR. OF N.J.
LEHIGH VALLEY RR.
LEHIGH VAL. COAL CO.
D.L. & W. RR.
D. L. & W. COAL CO.
DELAWARE & HUD. CO.
COXE BROS. & CO.
N.Y. ONTARIO & W. RR.
MARYD. COAL CO. OF W. VA
PITTSBURG COAL CO.
ROCKY MT. FUEL CO
CHESAPEAKE & OHIO
VIRGINIAN RY.

worked in any one day by any mine worker. The very nature of our employment, shut out from the sunlight and the pure air, working by the aid of artificial light (in no instance to exceed one candle-power), would, in itself, strongly indicate that of all men a coal-miner has the most righteous claim to an 8-hour day.

7. *To provide for the education of our children by lawfully prohibiting their employment until they have attained a reasonably satisfactory education, and in every case until they have attained* 14 *years of age.*

8. *To abrogate all laws which enable coal operators to cheat the miners, and to substitute laws which will enable the miner, under the protection and majesty of the State, to have his coal properly weighed or measured, as the case may be.*

9. *To secure, by legislation, weekly payments in lawful money.*

10. *To render it impossible, by legislative enactment in every state (as is now the case in the state of Ohio) for coal operators or corporations to employ Pinkerton detectives or guards, or other forces (except the ordinary forces of the State), to take armed possession of the mines in cases of strikes or lock-outs.*

11. *To use all honorable means to maintain peace between ourselves and employers; adjusting all differences, as far as possible, by arbitration or conciliation, that strikes may become unnecessary.*

This is the whole preamble, outlining *principles and objects.*

The methods of the union are briefly indicated in the following paragraph from the constitution: "The objects of this union are to unite mine employees and ameliorate their condition by *methods of conciliation, arbitration or strikes.*"

The above was a pretty good trade union preamble for 31 years ago. For the present day it is obsolete. One looks in vain in this preamble for a ray of hope of ever abolishing wage slavery and making the mine worker his own master. Vainly one looks for the idea that the union, so bravely fought for, could be used for anything but reforms in the existence of a wage slave. All through its lines we note an unqualified acceptance of the master-and-slave system, and reading it aloud we can hear the chains clanking, as if for eternity, on humble and submissive slaves in old, torn, black working clothes, greasy with oil dripped from the pit lamp and hanging on their gaunt frames like rags on a scare-crow.

At this point it would be well for the reader to turn to the I. W. W. preamble on the cover of this book, in order to drive away the feeling of hopelessness created by the reading of this preamble.

The United Mine Workers is a voice from the past, a co-

lossus on clay feet, ready to pass into history. The I. W. W. is the union of the present and future.

In regard to the methods we will say that both conciliation and arbitration and strikes have been used, but we think the members of the union can, as well as we, interpret the membership list given above. And it shows that it is the *three or four biggest strikes in their history which made the union grow and which really resulted in some gains. A study of their history will also show that these gains have been lost and dissipated through conciliation and arbitration, necessitating periodical strikes to catch up again. We maintain that it is the sacred contract which has kept the workers down and their direct action which has lifted them up.*

Considering the large membership of their union we must say that they have accomplished comparatively little. For they are today very little better off than many years ago, with the exception that they have the 8-hour day, which is admittedly a great gain. But after all the battles the mining communities are still a dismal sight of poverty and misery and squalor, hardly equalled in any other industry, and in many of them starvation is right now pinching men, women and children.

The U. M. W. of A. has in its 32 years of life enrolled three-fourths of the coal-miners, largely with the aid of *the check-off system,* which consists in an agreement with the operator to deduct the union dues from the miners' pay. Instead of organizing the men they have organized the operators, and immediately the whole working force is dues-paying. If a man wants to work in a union mine he has to pay dues to the U. M. W. officials whether he approves of them or not. Thus a large part of the members belong to the union merely for the sake of the job, while the large body of so-called radicals pay dues with the understanding that they are going to overthrow the conservative machine at the top as quickly as possible.

The machine has thus gathered a large membership by methods which are more or less terroristic and questionable. In many cases in the past the relations between the employers and the union officials have been downright scandalous, and large numbers of the members have placed the union official as a parasite and an evil in the same class with the pluck-me store and the short-weighing scales. We have no space here for muck-raking, but details will be furnished on application from the office of Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, I. W. W.

The bond that unites the large membership is rather brittle. It is more or less of the same kind as the bond which unites the soldiers of a conscripted army. There is little unity of spirit, except in times of strike, when the officials are temporarily swept aside, and there is still less unity of ideas and ideals. On the eve of the expected big strike of the spring of 1922 the members are exhorting one another to hold together, but the big union is crack-

ing in many places in spite of them. District 14, Kansas, is in open rebellion against headquarters. District 12, Illinois, the largest district, is supporting the rebellious Kansas miners. District 10, Washington, is kept in line with relief remittances. The leader of the Kansas rebellion, Howat, received 132,416 votes at the last election of officers as against 175,064 for the one elected. District 14 was expelled by the machine in office, but the machine was upheld by only a small majority (2,073-1,952), and the opposition claims that the officers had to stuff the convention to get that small majority. There is, besides, *a very large element inside the U. M. W. of A. who approve of the principles of the I. W. W.* and wish to change its principles, objects and methods to conform with those of the I. W. W. That element was outlawed at the convention of 1919, and have been compelled to lie a little bit low in some places fos the sake of their jobs and their bread, and for the sake of their wives and children. But that element is responsible for the writing, printing and circulating of this handbook. We will tell more of this element in the chapter about the I. W. W. It is about to come to the surface and throw off the insult of being "outlawed."

We will now briefly consider the form of organization of the U. M. W. of A.

The U. M. W. of A. an Industrial Union

The United Mine Workers of America is an industrial union. It is not a craft union as are nearly all other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. It includes all the workers employed in and around the mines, except bosses and managers, irrespective of their occupations. As will be seen from the list of occupations elsewhere in this handbook, it includes not only miners and laborers but also engineers, blacksmiths, electricians, firemen, carpenters, etc. Had it been a craft union, these occupations would have each belonged to separate craft unions. The United Mine Workers do not tolerate such craft unions in their industry, and that is to their eternal credit. But the U. M. W. of A. is by no means a perfect industrial union, as we shall see later.

The National organization (or International, as it calls itself, being that it aspires to include also Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada and British Columbia) consists of more than 3,000 local unions, grouped into districts, which are largely on political lines instead of industrial.

The districts are as follows. For the sake of comparison we have given the paid-up membership of August 1, 1919, when the union was in a flourishing condition.

District Organization in the U. M. W. of A.

		Paid Up Members, August 1, 1919
District	1, Pennsylvania	14,184½
"	2, Pennsylvania	40,842
"	5, Pennsylvania	31,888
"	6, Ohio	42,025½
"	7, Pennsylvania	10,631
"	8, Indiana Block	1,157½
"	9, Pennsylvania	30,630
"	10, Washington	5,202
"	11, Indiana	24,021
"	12, Illinois	90,899½
"	13, Iowa	16,285
"	14, Kansas	10,889
"	15, Colorado	2,621
"	16, Maryland	4,916½
"	17, W. Virginia	24,790
"	18, Canada	7,998½
"	19, Tennessee	8,592
"	20, Alabama	8,162
"	21, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas	14,579
"	22, Wyoming	8,190
"	23, Kentucky	6,677
"	24, Michigan	1,802
"	25, Missouri	8,617½
"	26, Nova Scotia, Feb. 19	11,453½
"	27, Montana	5,497
"	28, Vancouver, B. C.	264
"	29, W. Virginia	5,091
"	30, Kentucky	.....
Total August 1, 1919		426,516½

The local unions are industrial insofar as they include all the mine workers irrespective of occupation. If called upon to take over and run the coal-mines they would probably have to make some local changes, but on the whole they are ready for the task, formally. All they need is the idea. The kettle is there. It now only remains to fill it. The I. W. W. is trying to do that by propagating the idea of using such local industrial unions as organs of production in the future, when the operators shall have given up the attempt to run the industry.

In a locality where there are several mines the workers of each mine would have to form a branch in order to run that mine. The branches would elect a local council. Otherwise we would have to make few structural changes, adding only what job committees and local and district councils would be required.

The present district organization of the U. M. W. of A. has nothing to do with industrial organization. It is largely a political tape-worm without any plausible industrial reason for its existence. The existence of the districts connects with political traditions and activities. The present district is frequently a source of weakness rather than of strength, as, in most places, it does not correspond to any real industrial need. It divides up the workers with artificial fences rather than unites them. The districts are also frequently a cause of friction, as f. i. now in Kansas, Illinois and Washington. But it serves the leaders well. It is out of the political tape-worm that the machine is built up that controls the industrial organizations. It is another case of the political controlling the economic. *The local unions are job organizations.* The districts are office organizations. The two of them have different principles, objects and methods. The *job organization* is radical, generous, spontaneous, impulsive and always ready to fight to the last ditch. That is the part that has fought and won the great strikes. And that part is heard from in the conventions, though these also are mostly dominated by the machine. *The office organization,* the district machine, is conservative, sedentary, fond of parliamentarism and politics, joint conferences and arbitration boards, and likes to see the river

of "check-off" dues coming in, calm, deep and broad as the Mississippi River, unruffled by stormy strikes. They are mainly the ones who write the sacred contracts.

While the job organizations feel drawn to one another with a bond of real solidarity and are always ready to assist other unions with assessments, the districts frequently manifest a surprising disregard of other districts or states, and one district is frequently found to be scabbing on another district under the pretense that they produce a different grade of coal. There are many deals between operators and district officers, as well as national officers, in the past which look peculiar, to say the least.

However, as we are not in the business of muck-raking, but are out for the purpose of uniting the workers under our banner, we will leave it to the members themselves to recollect such shady deals and instances of organized scabbery.

The I. W. W. would have absolutely no use for these state or district organizations. They are as expensive as they are useless, at least most of them. We will organize districts with industrial boundaries as the need arises, the fewer of them the better.

The United Mine Workers did not succeed in becoming an industrial organization without a battle. Separate organizations of blacksmiths, engineers, carpenters and firemen were forming in one or more of the three anthracite fields of Pennsylvania prior to the strikes of 1900 and 1902. In its onward sweep the United Mine Workers drove these craft unions out of the field and forced the craftsmen to join or go. The same thing happened to the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers in Illinois. This case as well as the case of the Stationary Engineers' Association, was appealed to the A. F. of L., which was compelled to deny the craft principle and recognize the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers over these crafts. It is not craft unionism that Gompers is ready to defend to his last breath, but wage slavery. If he shows any predilection for craft unions it is because they are better disrupters of labor and more effectively hold the workers down in wage slavery. The idea of turning industry over to the workers and making the union the basis of society—that is what makes Gompers wild.

Recent Events

In their reconvened convention in Indianapolis, February 14-18, 1922, the miners' delegates took the bit in their own mouth and adopted measures which are contrary to the conciliatory policy of the machine ruling the union.

Thus the delegates revived the demand of their 1919 convention for a six-hour day and a five-day week, and will require such a clause in their wage agreements, effective April 1, 1922. The idea is that the six-hour day will make work more continuous and alleviate unemployment.

This demand has been opposed by the union leaders, including the district presidents, who consider it "indefensible" and "suicidal."

As for wages the demand is for retention of the present scale in the bituminous mines and for certain increases (about 20%) in the anthracite mines, with the alternative of a general strike.

The strike and wage proposals were adopted by an overwhelming majority, but the question of a general strike was to be submitted to a referendum vote of the union membership, before any walk-out is ordered by the officials.

Among other demands of the convention we note: Removal of inequitable differentials in wages, which would result in increased wages in some fields; pay and one-half for overtime work; double pay on Sunday and holiday work; elimination of the anthracite penalty clause providing for fining miners or operators for violation of contracts; all new contracts to obtain for two years.

12. THE INTERNATIONAL MINERS' FEDERATION

THERE is in existence an International Miners' Federation which has, so far, held twenty-five international congresses. The last one was held in Geneva, Switzerland, August 2-6, 1921. The United Mine Workers of America belong to that Federation and were represented by one delegate in Geneva.

Representation at this congress was as follows:

	Number of members	Number of delegates
America	500,000	1
Austria	22,000	1
Belgium	123,540	10
Czecho-Slovakia	123,000	6
France	130,000	23
Germany	768,675	37
Great Britain	900,000	65
Holland	4,000	1
Hungary	25,000	1
Jugo-Slavia	10,000	1
Poland	.....	1
Luxemburg	.....	1

The principles, objects and methods of this International Miners' Federation are reflected in the following *Proposed New Rules*:

Membership. The Federation is made up of the central or national miners' organizations of all countries or nationalities—in Europe and the United States of America, etc.—who join after having first of all agreed to adhere to the present rules. This adherence carries with it an honorable and formal agreement to accept the international charter as set out below.

Objects and Constitution. The object to be pursued is to unite all the forces of Miners' Trades Unions throughout the world, so as to secure adequate means for the efficacious protection of the workers in the organization, and particularly obtain

(a) The limitation of the hours of labor to a maximum of 8 hours during 24, including both winding times.

(b) A minimum wage corresponding to the cost of living, in order that the miners and their families may be assured a comfortable physical and intellectual existence.

(c) The appointment of workingmen inspectors, paid by the State, but elected by ballot vote of all the members of 21 years and upward.

(d) The adoption by special legislation of regulations for hygiene as well as baths, clinics, etc.

(e) The establishment of pensions sufficiently high to provide for the comfort of our aged miners and compensation for accidents or illness.

(f) The nationalization of all mines and minerals in the interest of the community, to be administered by a council, representing the miners, the consumers and the State.

(g) The refusal of any further concessions to private capitalism, whilst waiting for nationalization, and to reasonably reward those investors and pioneers, whose labors have resulted in discovery of new fields and seams of coal.

Methods. As to methods the International Federation adopts the following:

(a) Parliamentary action in the various governments.

(b) General public demonstrations by means of the referendum, and if needs be, by a general strike of the affiliated members.

Revenue. Each national organization to pay a yearly subscription of 5d. (about 10 cents) per affiliated member.

General strike. In the event of the International Congress being faced with a general strike to secure any of its objects, the national organization of each country must consult their constituents in the manner provided for them in their own rules, and send their decisions on to the international authority for co-ordination. In the event of a two-thirds majority in favor of a strike, the executive committee will authorize the strike to take place upon a date to be fixed by the committee.

The following are the main points in an *anti-war resolution* adopted by the congress: "In view of the importance of the question of war and peace, . . . and seeing that if an international miners' strike had been put into force, the terrible war of 1914 would have been avoided, for this reason and to avoid the repetition of such a crime, which was a disgrace to humanity, this conference declares in favor of the principle that an international miners' general strike should be declared in the event of war, regardless of the government which is responsible for the war, or proceed by way of a boycott of those countries, calling upon other organizations for their assistance if necessary."

What an International Union Should Be

This resolution was carried unanimously amid a scene of great enthusiasm, the delegates rising from their seats with cries of "Down with war!", and the French singing the "International."

We have no doubt that the membership of the United Mine Workers of America fully and enthusiastically endorse such beaut-

iful sentiments and are ready to back those sentiments up with action, but we question whether the 100 per cent American machine in control of their union would go so far in disrespect for a government controlled by their long-time friends, the operators and the other capitalists. We suspect that if the operators put the kept press to work and get up another war hysteria, the 100 per cent American machine in question will prostrate itself in the dust, betray the workers of other countries, and offer their lives and their money to the operators for the war, just as they did in 1917. "We cannot fight against our government" was their slogan in the strike of 1919, even if it is a government of, by and for the operators, which rides rough-shod over the rank and file of the miners.

As the reader will note, there is in the program of this International no sign of an understanding of the ideas propagated by the I. W. W. and the Syndicalists of Europe, namely that the workers shall take over the industry themselves and run it, using the union as their organ. On the contrary, this International gives to their own unions a subordinate role and looks up to the *state*, the arch enemy of the worker, for protection. It disapproves of private ownership and control of the industry, but would replace it with governmental control of one kind or another, partial or complete, in spite of the discouraging experiences next door, in Russia, in Austria, in Germany and other countries with partial or complete government control. It is strange, to say the least, that the workers keep on sending such fossils to national and international congresses to concoct industrial straitjackets for the workers, with the capitalists and bureaucrats jointly controlling the strings of the jacket. The organ nearest to them, the very union they represent, seems to be too close to their noses for them to see it. They cannot see the forest for the trees that stand in the road. Besides, many of them have personal, political ambitions. They would like to become presidents and cabinet ministers or get some other high office before they die. And they think they will get to the top quicker by the political route, via the state, than via the union.

The proper function of an International Union of Coal Miners should be to take steps to organize coal production and distribution on a world basis, in order to introduce a rational system into industry; eliminate waste of coal and labor; to disseminate international education to their constituents, in order that as many as possible of the workers may become fitted and prepared to assume joint control and operation of the industry on a world basis. That is what the International Miners' Federation will do after the membership of the various countries have more thoroughly imbibed the principles of the I. W. W. and of the Syndicalist movements of Europe.

It should also be the function of an International Union in

this industry to get together with the workers of other fuel industries with a view to conserving the fuel supply for coming ages. Both coal and oil will comparatively soon be exhausted—oil within 10 to 20 years, it is said. The question of running power stations with volcanic steam, as is now being done in Italy, and the full utilization of all available water power, are two of the measures that should be urged by a Coal Miners' International Union, with a sense of responsibility to posterity. Also it should urge the building of great central power stations at the coal mines, to save transportation.

13. RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF UNION AND NON-UNION FIELDS

THE FOLLOWING table was prepared by the U. S. Geological Survey, at the request of the operators. It was compiled for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of the miners' union in the 1919 strike. As will be seen, union coal is 71.6 per cent of the whole, while non-union coal is 28.4 per cent. These figures agree pretty closely with the estimate that about three-fourths of the 800,000 coal miners are organized, while the unorganized would be one-fourth or about 200,000. By dividing the number of tons in each district by 875, we will be able to ascertain the approximate number of organized or unorganized workers in each field. The table also helps us to locate the unorganized workers for organization purposes. It is said that some of the non-union fields in the East, which are of strategic importance for steel production and other key industries, such as the Connellsville district, are so closely guarded by hired gunmen and spies that the workers are living in a permanent state of terror, and organizers cannot get near them.

Maybe the I. W. W. will be the St. George that will kill that dragon, figuratively speaking, of course, and liberate the workers, by serving as the medium of organizing them.

Some of the figures in this table are estimates.

Union and Non-Union Fields

District	Maximum per cent of district capacity closed during 1919 strike	District Production in 1918	Apparent Maximum Annual Output of Union fields	Apparent Maximum Annual Output of Non-unionfields
Central Pennsylvania		Net tons	Net tons	
Section A. (P. R. R. and connections)..	67	25,000,000	16,750,000	8,250,000
Section B. (N. Y. C. and connections..	99	16,000,000	15,840,000	1,260,000
Section C. (B. R. & P. and other roads)	91	20,629,000	18,772,000	1,857,000
Northern Pennsylvania	100	8,051,000	8,051,000	.....
Pittsburgh, Pa.	100	48,299,000	48,299,000	.....
West Virginia Panhandle	61	3,255,000	1,986,000	1,269,000
Westmoreland, Latrobe, Greensburg and Ligonier	5	17,701,000	885,000	16,816,000
Connellsville	....	35,677,000	.....	35,677,000
Somerset	6	7,194,000	432,000	6,762,000
Cumberland, Piedmont	98	7,073,000	6,932,000	141,000
Fairmont, W. Va.	90	20,104,000	18,094,000	2,010,000
Northern Ohio	100	30,287,000	30,287,000	.....
Michigan	100	1,465,000	1,465,000	.....

Southern Ohio	100	15,768,000	15,768,000	.....
Northeastern Kentucky	70	7,109,000	4,976,000	2,133,000
Hazard, Kentucky	—	2,364,000	1,173,000	1,191,000
Kanawha	88	13,324,000	11,725,000	1,599,000
Kenova Thacker, W. Va.	....	7,024,000	.....	7,024,000
Logan, W. Va.	....	10,307,000	.....	10,307,000
New River, W. Va.	....	9,292,000	9,106,000	186,000
Winding Gulf, W. Va.	....	5,156,000	.....	5,156,000
Pocahontas and Tug River	....	23,128,000	.....	23,128,000
Southwestern Virginia	8	9,041,000	723,000	8,318,000
Southern Appalachian	100	11,712,000	11,712,000	.....
Harlan, Ky.	60	3,202,000	1,925,000	1,277,000
Alabama and Georgia	48	19,252,000	9,241,000	10,011,000
Western Kentucky	58	10,833,000	6,283,000	4,550,000
Indiana	100	30,679,000	30,679,000	.....
Illinois	100	89,291,000	89,291,000	.....
Iowa	100	8,192,000	8,192,000	.....
Missouri	99	5,668,000	5,611,000	57,000
Kansas	99	7,562,000	7,486,000	76,000
Arkansas	100	2,227,000	2,227,000	.....
Oklahoma	100	4,813,000	4,813,000	.....
Texas	50	2,261,000	1,131,000	1,130,000
North Dakota	30	720,000	216,000	504,000
Montana	90	4,533,000	4,079,000	454,000
Colorado	55	12,408,000	6,824,000	5,584,000
Utah	....	5,137,000	.....	5,137,000
New Mexico	15	4,023,000	603,000	3,420,000
Washington	100	4,082,000	4,082,000	.....
Wyoming	95	9,438,000	8,966,000	472,000
		579,281,000	414,625,000	164,656,000
			0.716 %	0.284 %

Please note that these figures are for 1919. Naturally there are some changes since that time, but we cannot discuss them here for lack of space. The New River district, W. Va., is now largely non-union, for instance.

14. HOW IS THE PRODUCT OF THE COAL-MINE WORKERS DIVIDED?

Rent, Interest, Profit and Wages—The Hours and Days Worked

ACCORDING to Bulletin No. 279, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the hours of work in the coal-mining industry are as follows: The regular hours were 48 per week or 8 per day, 6 days a week, for approximately 98 per cent of the employees of the *anthracite mines* for inside work in 1919 and 1920, and 89 per cent for outside work in 1919 and 85 per cent in 1920. In the *bituminous mines* the regular hours were 48 per week, or 8 per day, 6 days a week, for approximately 95 per cent of the employees for inside work and for 79 per cent for outside work in 1919.

Coal-mines are not, and cannot be operated every working day in the year. According to official report from union sources the average number of days worked in the six-year period 1913-1918 was 206½ days. Some of the causes for closing the mines are lack of orders, lack of materials, strikes, lock-outs and "vacations," and seasonal conditions.

According to Bulletin No. 279, the average number of days worked in the different states were as follows for report periods in the years 1918, 1919, 1920:

Number of Days Worked

	Year ending	Average in operation Number of days
Anthracite		
Pennsylvania	Jan. 31, 1919	293.8
	Mar. 31, 1920	266
Bituminous		
Alabama	Dec. 31, 1918	294.4
Colorado	Apr. 30, 1919	253.1
Illinois	Feb. 15, 1919	256.5
Indiana	Feb. 28, 1919	251.4
Iowa	Mar. 31, 1919	251.2
Kansas	Apr. 15, 1919	249.9
Kentucky	Dec. 30, 1918	249.9
Maryland	Dec. 30, 1919	255
Missouri	Mar. 15, 1919	264.4
New Mexico	Dec. 31, 1918	308.2
Ohio	Dec. 31, 1919	233.7
Oklahoma	Dec. 31, 1919	253
Pennsylvania	Dec. 31, 1919	285
Tennessee	Dec. 31, 1919	290
Utah	Apr. 30, 1919	251.7
Virginia	Dec. 31, 1918	296.3
W. Virginia	Dec. 31, 1918	252
Wyoming	Dec. 31, 1918	253.8

For earlier statistics see Chapter 7.

The period 1918-1920 was the record period of coal production, and still there must have been a number of mines where the workers had employment only about two-thirds or three-fourths of the time, in order to get the above averages. But a worker cannot live on averages. Those that have a chance to work full time may be able to get along, but the corresponding number who are far below the average must with necessity suffer, unless the wages are sufficient to tide them over the slack periods, which they are not.

This rush period of 1918-1920 has now been followed by a period of collapse. If figures were available for 1921, they would show a staggeringly low average of days worked. The U. S. Government report of unemployment for August 12, 1921, states that the number of unemployed in the mining industry is 250,000. This would include all sorts of mining. Of this figure the president of the United Mine Workers of America says in his report to the 1921 convention:

"This is without doubt a most conservative estimate, and in my judgment fails to reveal the true situation. *Hundreds of thousands* of mine workers are idle through lack of opportunity for employment and are living under conditions which in many instances are tragic. Scores of thousands of our people are living in communities where the mines have not worked since last December and where there are no other means of employment. Sad, indeed, is their lot...."

When looking at the wage tables to follow, therefore, do not multiply the daily wage with 300 to get the yearly income. Hardly anywhere are the mines working to full capacity. In most places it is perhaps half-time work, and in some places the mine workers have no income at all.

The average of days worked is by union officials estimated at two per week (1921-1922).

The Wages of the Coal-Miners

The number of coal-mine workers in the United States is estimated at 800,000. Of these the United Mine Workers claimed to have a maximum of 600,000, that is, three-fourths of the total, enrolled in the union in December, 1920, leaving 200,000 unorganized. The organized coal-mine workers are at present working under an *award made by the Bituminous Coal Commission* and an *agreement between the operators and the miners,* based on said award. The agreement is dated March 31, 1920, and expires March 31, 1922. The wages paid in the unorganized mines are considered to be less than in organized ones.

The situation during the latter part of 1921 and the beginning of 1922 is this, that the operators do not want to live up to their "sacred contract," which, of course, to the workers is not

worth the paper it is written on. To begin with, the operators of the state of Washington (District 10) tried during February, 1921, to prevail upon the union officials to accept a wage reduction, "in order to make possible profitable operation of the mines." Failing to do so they closed the mines on March 15. The U. M. W. of A. officials agreed to call it a lock-out, a violation of the sacred contract, sponsored by the Bituminous Coal Commission, which functioned under government control and under the official patronage of the President himself. This proves again that the capitalists will live up to their sacred contracts only as long as it suits them.

In another state, Kansas (District 14) the officials of the United Mine Workers of America are trying to force the members to live up to the award and agreement. The Kansas miners struck against the Industrial Court Law, regardless of the sacred contract above mentioned, and the head officials of the union furnished strike-breakers.

At the same time the organized miners of Illinois (District 12) assessed themselves to support the striking miners of Kansas, that is, they assessed themselves to fight their own national officers, who also declared the assessment illegal.

But the main point is that the organized operators are guilty of bad faith by operating the non-union mines and shutting down union mines by the wholesale or limiting their output.

Thus we see that the joint agreement of March 31, 1920, is operative only "with some modification." In fact, the "sacred contract" is a joke on the miners.

Demands for wage reductions have been made by the operators of District 2, Pennsylvania, District 10, Washington, District 13, Iowa, District 14, Kansas, District 15, Colorado, District 17, West Virginia, District 19, Kentucky and Tennessee, District 20, Alabama, District 21, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas, District 25, Missouri, and District v0, Kentucky, and many others.

But if we consider the shutdown in Washington a lock-out, we might as well consider the shutdowns in other districts as lock-outs also, or, in other words, a wholesale violation of contract by the operators. As a matter of fact, the mines have an 800-million ton capacity with only a 400-million ton demand at present, and the operators limit the output at the workers' expense.

Under these circumstances it seems rather strange that the headquarters of the U. M. W. of A. should have been so strict in the enforcement of the "sacred" contract in Kansas as to send strike-breakers to break the strike.

The moral of the present lesson is this: There is no use making any contracts with the operators. They break the contracts at will by shutting down the mines, and there is no redress

for the miners. The only solution is to take the mines away from them.

However, to quite some extent the agreement is operative, and it is the boast of the union officials that "the mine workers are at present enjoying the highest wage *scale* in the history of the coal industry." We suppose they mean that those who are not getting any wages at all for some time past will anyhow enjoy the high scale to which the bosses signed their name on the sacred contract. But workers cannot eat the wage scale. In order to eat they must have wages.

The tonnage scale in the Danville, Ill., district was 61c. in 1914, whereas the scale now is $1.08, which is equal to an increase of 77 per cent. But it does not mean anything, or but very little. The cost of living July 1, 1921, still showed an increase over July 1, 1914, of 61 per cent. In 1914 a driver received $2.84. In 1921 he is to receive $7.50, which is an increase of 164 per cent. But this is an exception.

In the six-year period 1913-1918 the average annual earnings of the 200,000 mine workers employed in and around the bituminous mines of the Central Competitive field was $873.85. Since 1918 there has been a wage increase of 27 per cent, which would raise the above average to $1,120.78—less than $100 per month—less than $22 per week the year round. The wage rate in the same field is now $7.50 per day. If the mines were in operation every working day, which they never are, it would mean a maximum income of $2,330 per year, but those fortunate enough to be employed do not average more than about one-third of that sum at present.

Professor W. F. Ogburn of Columbia University, formerly government expert and adviser, prepared in 1919 a budget of annual expenses for the average American family of five persons, and his budget showed that it required $2,243.94 to maintain a family on an American standard of decency, health and comfort. Even if the employed miner worked 300 days a year at the present wage he would not have any too much. As it is, he has not half enough. Those who are unemployed have to suffer absolute privation.

The miner should not be held responsible for the high retail price of coal. In Indiana and Illinois the miner gets only $1.08 per ton for pick mining. That is only an insignificant part of the price the consumer has to pay. The few cents that could be pared off his wages would hardly bring down the retail price appreciably. Yes, even if he were to dig the coal for nothing, it would only reduce the price per ton with a paltry dollar, and it is doubtful whether the consumer would get the benefit of it.

Consider further the danger of the calling and the unsteadiness of employment, and it will be plain that the miner, even at

the top of the wage curve, is miserably underpaid. To reduce his wages is like stealing candy from a baby. It is a shame.

The force back of the award, the agreement and the wage scale is *the big coal strike of* 1919. The United Mine Workers carried on the strike for six weeks. 450,000 miners were out on strike during those six weeks. They had the country at their mercy. The government was alarmed. It threw itself with all the forces at its command against the miners. The miners' officials gave in and accepted the offer of government mediation and ordered the men back to work. They got the sacred contract, which the operators did not intend to keep, as later events have shown. The miners were duped with a fine wage scale, which does not mean much just now. But the revolutionary cloud was blown away for the moment. The government and the operators ask for nothing better than to tie the miners down with contracts. The machine in power in the union helps them. They will try to write more contracts in the spring of 1922.

If the miners asserted their organized power at every moment instead of signing contracts they might be able to make a living. The union activities must hang like a Damocles-sword over the operators at all times, or the wolf will enter the miner's cabin.

And a supreme effort must be made to organize every coal-mine worker. There must not be any unorganized mines.

The latest detailed wage scale available is the one published by Washington State Coal Commission in their report dated June 30, 1921, on the coal situation in the state of Washington.

This commission, created by the U. S. Department of Labor and Industry, consisted of two operators, two representatives of the Washington Mine Workers and a fifth member, Mr. Allport, an "expert" and president of the Central Coal Producers' Association, who has written the report.

The State of Washington Wage Scale

	1919 scale	Present scale
Inside mines		
Miners	5.89	8.25
Timbermen	5.89	8.25
Timbermen's helpers	5.20	7.55
Tracklayers	5.89	8.25
Tracklayers' helpers	5.20	7.55
Motormen	5.40	7.75
Drivers	5.40	7.75
Parting boys	3.50	4.82
Parting boys	4.00	5.32
Greasers	3.45	4.77
Trappers	3.20	4.52
Rope riders	5.40	7.75
Locomotive engineers	5.40	7.75
Hoistmen on development work	5.20	7.55
Cagers	5.40	7.75
Cagers' helpers	5.20	7.55
Pumpmen	5.20	7.55
Inside labor, not specified	5.20	7.55
Boys working on hoist except on main slope and auxiliary slopes	4.10	5.42
Outside mines—Engineers		
Main hoisting engineers	5.65	8.00
Power plant engineers	5.50	7.85
Compressor engineers	5.45	7.80
Development engineers	5.15	7.50

Electricians		
First class in and around mine	5.70	8.05
Second class in and around mine	5.40	7.75
Mechanics		
First class in and around mine	5.70	8.05
Second class in and around mine	5.40	7.75
Electricians' and mechanics' helpers in and around mine	4.90	7.25
Firemen	5.05	7.40
Cagers	5.15	7.50
Cagers' helpers	4.75	7.10
Teamsters	4.90	7.25
Greasers	3.05	4.37
Couplers	3.20	4.52
Dumpers, cross-over	4.75	7.10
Blacksmiths, first	5.70	8.05
" second	5.40	7.75
Blacksmiths' helpers	4.90	7.25
Carpenters, first	5.70	8.05
" second	5.20	7.55
Car-repairers	4.90	7.25
Choppers	4.90	7.25
Screeners, men	4.40	6.75
" boys	3.40	4.72
Moving picking table, men	4.40	6.75
" " " boys	3.40	4.72
Outside labor	4.65	7.00
Lampmen, first class	.....	7.55
Lampmen, second class	.....	7.00
Bunker machinery tenders where washers are operating	.....	7.55
Washery men, first class	.....	7.40
" " second class	.....	7.20
Jig and table tenders	.....	7.00

This is fundamentally the agreement and the wage scale written into the agreement with the operators, that "sacred contract" which the operators have broken through a wholesale shutting down of the mines, which is equal to a lock-out. That contract expires March 31, 1922. The operators do not wish to renew the agreement but want a wage reduction, while the mine workers on their side cannot and will not accept any such reduction. The usual joint conference for fixing a new wage scale has not taken place. The future is pregnant with possibilities.

As noted in another chapter, the convention held in February, 1922, decided to maintain the above wage scale for the bituminous miners, while an increase of 20% is demanded for the anthracite miners. At the same time the convention demanded that a six-hour day and a five-day week shall be written into future wage agreements.

15. THE FALSE ARGUMENT OF THE OPERATORS

THE FALSE and hypocritical argument indulged in by the "operators" of the coal-mines, as well as of other capitalists, is well typified by the argument put up in favor of wage reduction in the report of the Washington State Coal Commission of June 30, 1921. This is written by the government "expert," who incidentally also is president of a coal operators' association. For that reason it is not at all surprising that the report truly reflects the mind of the coal operator and the capitalist in general, inhuman to the point of fiendish brutality, steeped in the sweet honey of unimpeachable righteousness, apparently incontrovertible in its mathematical exactness, and redolent and resplendent with "practical" business suggestions and common sense, and withal, *rotten to the core,* false, lying, hypocritical, swindling—a confidence trick on the people. There were two of the mine workers' representatives on that commission, and, of course, they were not able to see through the sleight-of-hand game of the operators. Their minds are trained in the school of the American Federation of Labor and the United Mine Workers of America. That training is essentially capitalistic. Even with their empty stomachs screaming the truth to them, they retain would-be capitalist heads on their emanciated proletarian bodies.

Here is the situation. Due to the tremendous industrial crisis we are passing through, the demand for coal is greatly diminished. Some of the mines cannot find a market for their coal or they are being crowded out by competitors who are producing more cheaply. Sooner or later it becomes desirable, from a "business" point of view, to shut down some of the mines, and the ones to shut down first are, naturally, those who have a high average cost of production per ton and who are farthest from the big markets.

For geological and other reasons the mines of the state of Washington are at a disadvantage, and from a commercial viewpoint they cannot hold their own inside the state in competition with the mines of Utah and Vancouver Island. The only way the operators could run the Washington mines at a profit, they claim, would be to lower the cost of production by cutting deeply into the wages, so that they could produce as cheaply as the operators. It was a good opportunity to try to force a wage reduction. Failing to persuade the miners to accept a reduction, they closed the mines or locked out the miners. The United Mine Workers refused to accept a reduction, because it was contrary to the

sacred contract with the operators and because it would be the entering wedge which would bring the wages tumbling all along the line.

In the meantime the organized operators supply the state of Washington with the cheaper non-union coal of Utah and Vancouver Island.

This is how the government expert proves the case for the operators:

Exhibits of Costs and Earnings

	Five mo. May-Sept. 1920	Five mo. Oct., 1920-Feb. 1921
Tons of coal produced	605,539	534,910
Total cost f. o. b. cars at mine	$2,976,475.00	$3,027.164.00
Total income f. o. b. cars at mine	2,886.489.00	2,888,612.00
Total loss	89,986.00	138,552.00
Total investment on properties	10,566,725.00	10,566,725.00
Annual loss on investment	2.04%	3.15%
Cost per ton for labor at mine	3.10	3.55
Cost per ton for supplies	.88	1.01
Cost per ton for royalty, taxes, insurance and general expenses	.55	.61
Cost per ton selling expenses	.12	.18
Depreciation, depletion and retirements per ton	.27	.31
Total cost per ton f. o. b. car at mine	$4.92	$5.96
Average income per ton f. o. b. car at mine	4.77	5.40
Loss per ton f. o. b. car at mine	.15	.26

There you are. The operators have proven that for some time past they had been selling coal at a sacrifice.

Alongside of this table the report has another table summing up the "earnings" of the workers. Here it is:

Earnings of the Workers in Washington Coal Mines

	1914-16	1919	May to Sept. 1920	Oct. 1920 to Feb. 1921
Average daily wage received by day workers	.....	$5.28	$6.15	$7.65
Average daily wage received by contract miners	.....	7.92	9.89	10.49
Average daily wage received by all mine workers	$3.90	6.31	7.01	8.33

The range of wages earned September, 1920, to February, 1921, is as follows:

Under Ground:
Contract miners, from $7.00 to peaks exceeding $25.00 per day.
Day scale men, $8.25 per day.
Laborers, $7.55 per day.
Boys, $5.00 per day.

Above Ground:
Day scale men, $8.00 per day.
Laborers, $7.00 per day.
Boys, $4.50 per day.

The case is made out. The report of the commission sheds tears over the collapse of one of the great industries of the state of Washington, and comes to the conclusion that the way to save that industry is to take from the wealthy miners, laborers and boys and give to the poverty-stricken operators. It is all so simple.

The report recommends that the cost of production be decreased to such an extent that at least from 50 cents to $1.00 per ton on steam grades and from $1.00 to $2.50 per ton on

Western Washington domestic grades can be taken off the present selling price.

We have given the details of this case as it is typical of the claims of the operators in all parts of the country. They all have the same excuse, more or less, and *they all have the same remedy: to take from those who have hardly shirts on their bodies and give to those who have everything.*

Tht report proposes to divide that reduction in cost among the operator, the worker and the retailer. The main thing for them is, naturally, to get the wages down. After that they will forget about the operator and the retailer. It is so easy to find explanations for high prices.

The proposed reduction in wages would bring down the cost per ton with 50 cents to $1.00. The balance of the required decrease it will be necessary for the operators to bring about through "an equitable reduction in their supervising, management, sales and other expenses, and through the practice of the utmost economy in mining, marketing and sales methods."

As you will see there is no suggestion that the owners and operators surrender rent, interest and profit. On the contrary, all suggestions aim at reducing *costs*, expenses, principally wages, in order that rent, interest and profit may not be endangered. That the workers, their wives and their children are crushed in the process, that is naively ignored. The only thing considered is the continued profitable operation of the mines. That is where the brutal inhumanity comes in. Nor is the fact taken into account that the people of Washington need the fuel. Thousands are freezing or put to inconvenience because there is no coal produced. On the one end are about 6,500 mine workers and employees, with their dependents numbering about 30,000 people, who must starve and suffer because the mines are closed, and on the other end are hundreds of thousands of people who would like to have the coal. But between them stand a handful of mine owners and defy the whole population, spreading misery and social dissolution through their wantonness and greed.

Any set of figures, official or unofficial, which try to prove that the operators are right and the working people wrong, are nothing but a criminal imposition, a fraud and a swindle, no matter how subtly plausible the debit and credit side may make the operators' contention.

The subtle trick in all such figures is the circumstance that they go out from the supposition that rent, interest and profit must come first, as if ordained by "God," and be as big as possible, while wages always should come last and be as small as possible.

In the above cost table everybody gets his, everybody is provided for, as a matter of course, except the worker. He gets what is left after the others have taken what they want. He is the

dog at the table, who gets the bones if there happen to be any. And they prove with incontrovertible figures that there are no bones. With the meat the worker has nothing to do, of course.

In the cost of-labor are, no doubt, included the grand "salaries" which the operators have arbitrarily fixed for themselves or their kin, in the cases where they themselves are running the mines, or the high sums paid to ruthless, unscrupulous, hired slave drivers, who without compunction will short-weigh the coal cars, bully the workers and rob them in the company store or boarding house. The mansions, the automobiles, the servants, the wine, the vamps, the riotous living of the masters are somehow hidden in that "total cost f. o. b. car at mine."

In the "cost" is also included the great additional expense of keeping "guards," that is, spies, bullies, sluggers and murderers, which most operators keep, in order to beat down the workers.

One of the reasons why the "cost" per ton is so high is that there are too many parasites in the coal business. If the mines were put on a bona fide business basis and high-priced parasites replaced with efficient men from the ranks of the workers, and if all the criminal expenses were cut out, it would bring down the cost the required amount.

Take the next item, the cost of supplies. In that cost is another "nigger in the wood pile," or rather the coal pile. Like the "cost of labor" is padded and stuffed with the mansions, automobiles, wines and vamps and the dicks and sluggers of the operators, so the "cost of supplies" is padded and stuffed with the rent, interest and profit, the mansions, the automobiles, the wines, the vamps, the dicks and the sluggers and other criminal expense of the material manufacturers and dealers. And they have, of course, to get theirs first, before the workers get their wages.

The next item, "royalty, taxes, insurance and general expense," is also padded and stuffed. And they have all got to have theirs, before the worker is taken into consideration. The people of Washington want the coal, and the miners want to make their bread. The royalty is generally paid to the original land-swindler or to some one who bought his fraudulent claim for speculation. The taxes are largely due to the criminal waste and thieving by the same capitalists in connection with the war. They are now going through the farce of paying themselves for the amounts stolen and wasted. Very little of the taxes goes for socially useful and legitimate purposes. Their friends, the politicians, see to that. But they have all got to have theirs before the worker gets his bread. The insurance millionaires have also got to have their toll of the product of the miner's labor, before he can get anything. So we can go from item to item on the list, and they have all got to have theirs

first, but very little goes for actual labor added to the coal on its way from the heading in the mine to the cellar of the housewife or the bunkers of a steamer. The coal does not eat, drink or smoke, but it runs up a terrible bill from the time it leaves the miner.

There are four other gentlemen on the list, who have all got to have theirs before the poor miner gets his. They are Mr. Salesman, Mr. Depreciation, Mr. Deflation and Mr. Retirement. Pet child has many names. Not only does the capitalist want his rent, interest and profit, his mansions, his wine and his vamps, but he also wants his capital back safe and sound before the worker comes into consideration. And the investment is mostly exaggerated, having been watered through stock and bond juggling.

The financial rubes, the sheep of Wall Street, who have played the "investment" game and put their sacred "savings" into this watered stock are, of course, frantic with excitement and are the worst bawlers in the money-mad mob who want to crucify the mine worker. They would take his shirt away.

It is the product of labor that is being divided. The coal, when bought f. o. b. the car at the mine, brings $5.40, after somebody (the wholesaler or large industrial magnate) has already figured out his profit on the deal, to cover his rent, interest, profit, mansion, wine, etc. The difference between the basic $1.08 per ton paid to the miner and the additional bona fide cost for bona fide labor, embodied in the coal, on the one side, and the $5.96, on the other side, is given many different names, as we have seen above, but no matter what name it gets, most of it is the stolen wealth, the unpaid labor, which together forms the tremendous pile we misname the "national" wealth of the country. (See table in chapter 6.)

That figure $5.96 f. o. b. car at mine does not bear investigation. It hides the fraudulent claims to life of a great number of parasites who are ashamed to show their faces.

But we will return to the coal. We should not drop the subject before we have explained how it comes that the coal, for which the miner gets the basic $1.08 per ton, comes to cost the desperate housewife 10, 12, 14, 16 dollars per ton. We have seen how the operators managed to slap on an f. o. b. price at the mine of $5.96, and we know by this time what a lot of robbery and iniquity that sum hides under plausible names. But there is still a long jump to the price paid by the housewife. Who slaps on the balance? How does a poor ton of coal manage to absorb enough labor between the car at the mine and the cellar of the city to cover the difference between $5.96 and 10, 12, 14 and 16 dollars?

First, there is the transportation from the mine to the city. Perhaps it amounts to a dollar. Perhaps more, perhaps less. But

the poor ton of coal has not absorbed that much labor in transit. The underpaid railroad workers will tell you that. The fact is that the poor ton of coal has charged up to it the rent, interest, profit, depreciation, retirement, mansions, wines, vamps, sluggers and dicks, etc., etc., of the railroad capitalists, who are also pleading poverty and financial collapse. They have all got to get theirs before the railroad workers can get what they must have in order to live. Thus the railroad worker and the coal-miner are in the same boat.

The owners of the railroads also want to cut down the wages, for they also have set their minds on increasing the "national" wealth, that is, their wealth to 1,200 billions by 1940. To do that the workers would have to starve themselves and their families and accept a lower standard of living besides working themselves nearly to death. And still it would hardly be possible to repeat the performance of trebling the wealth in the next 20 years, as we have done before.

The poor ton of coal is now in debt over its ears, and still it has gotten no further than the railroad yard of the city.

Now the *coal dealer* comes to its "rescue," much as the shanghaier comes to the rescue of down-and-out seamen.

The Washington Coal Commission report describes the adventures of a ton of coal in Seattle in the following manner:

"In addition to the price paid for the coal at the mine and for railroad transportation cost, the retail coal dealer receives $1.55 per ton gross margin to cover handling, shrinkage and profit and receives for delivery from $1.60 to $2.80 per ton, dependent upon the distance to which delivered. The average delivery charge is about $1.55 per ton. The dealer therefore receives for coal sold an average of about $3.40 per ton for retailing and delivery. The cost of retailing and delivery varies considerably, dependent upon the tonnage handled by the retail operation. It ranges from $2.40 per ton in the largest yards to $3.45 in the smaller yards. *The dealer's profit therefore ranges from nothing to* $1.00 *per ton.* It should be stated here that with one or two exceptions the dealers are in what may be termed the smaller class, with *profits ranging from* 10 *to* 50 *cents per ton.* The packing charge, in which the dealer does not participate (the full charge made by the dealer being paid to the packer), ranges from 75 cents to $2.50 per ton, dependent upon the distance and difficulties of packing. The average charge for packing is about $1.00 per ton."

There we are again. Now the ton of coal, swaggering spendthrift as it is, is in debt to the amount of 10, 12, 14 and 16 dollars, and the housewife comes to its rescue and gives it a home in her cellar.

This is what we call juggling with figures: The coal-mine operator loses money, the railroad loses money, and the dealer

get about 10 cents! And the price of coal is as high as ever. How do they do it?

The person writing the report for the Government is a president of a large Coal Operators' Association, but he has a heart as big as a pumpkin. Note how touchingly he slaps on that $3.40 per ton which goes to the dealer. The profit of the dealer *"ranges from nothing* to $1.00" per ton, and is "generally from 10 cents to 50 cents" per ton. Note how cleverly the President of the Coal Operators' Association and Representative of the Government slips over the $3.30 and hangs it all on the last ten cents—a thin, poor dime of profit to the poor dealer. After reading this report the housewife looks out through the window, sees the poor express nag hanging its hoary head over the gutter, while a sooty and ragged husky lifts the sacks off the wagon. The poor thing almost blushes with shame over her heartlessness; how could she ever get so worked up over a thin, poor dime of profit to the poor dealer doing business almost on a charity basis, if not at an actual loss. She hands over the $10, $12, $14, $16, as the case may be, without counting the bags or without scrutinizing the grade of coal she is getting. She remembers how she never was any good at arithmetic in school and promises herself never to growl at the coal dealer again.

And still, that $3.40, which the dealer slaps onto the ton of coal, is just as padded and stuffed with parasitism as the items we have before examined. The deal is "put over." The confidence game was a success. The ton of coal has been sold to the customer almost at "charity price." The shameless miner hoards his wealth, and the capitalists get a—thin dime. That is actually what the official report implies. It is nothing but operators' propaganda masked in official statistics.

In fact, with the knowledge we have of the character of operators and dealers, we unhesitatingly charge them with intentional misrepresentation. They have neither honor nor shame. Their figures are false. Were we to make a house-to-house canvass in Seattle, we would find out that they have lied. The leopard does not change its spots. Nor do the land thieves and stock swindlers change their habits.

Thus it goes with every article we make and use. Before the miner can get a ton of coal home to his own house it has added to it the burden of rent, interest, profit, depreciation, retirement, mansions, servants, wines, vamps, dicks, etc. So it is with the shoes and clothing, etc. The actual cost of labor and material may be less than a dollar, but we have to pay from 5 to 10 dollars a pair of shoes. The same with everything else. It is thus that the workers are kept penniless while the "national" wealth has grown into 400 billions.

We hope that after reading the above the coal-miners will be less apt to fall for the poverty plea of the operators. May

and children! But still more we hope that the mine workers will see the necessity of adopting new principles as an organization, in order to shake off the wily parasites which have fastened themselves on production and distribution and are exacting a toll on everything. The union shall not only be an organ for fighting with the boss about hours, wages and conditions. The union should be conceived of and developed into an organ of production, distribution, administration and defense. The "operators" and all their kind are superfluous. They operate nothing. They only steal the product of the workers' toil. But we cannot get rid of them until we are ready to mine and distribute the coal ourselves, through our union.

16. THE PROPOSED NATIONALIZATION OF THE COAL-MINES

AT THE LAST two conventions of the United Mine Workers of America (1919-1921) some so-called radical resolutions have been adopted, in favor of recognizing free Russia and free Ireland, the repeal of the espionage law, the release of political prisoners, etc. These resolutions are allowed to pass without much friction, being that they mean so little in fact but such a lot to the "radicals." It is the method adopted, in order to allow the radicals to "blow off steam," so they will not after that interfere with the practical work of the convention. Neither of the above mentioned resolutions have attracted more than momentary notice, and those in power have ignored them (with the exception of "free Ireland," which was endorsed by the U. S. Senate), as they always do with working class resolutions.

But there is one resolution of some importance adopted at both the conventions in 1919 and 1921 of the United Mine Workers, and that is the resolution calling for *nationalization of the coal-mines.*

As we have said before, we do not think it is sincerely meant by the leaders to solve the question of life for the miners, but rather to make the operators a little nervous. It is an agitational trump in their little game with the operators, as we have said before.

In order that the mine workers may not be deceived by this quasi-radical lure, we will look a little closer into this new-fangled substitute for capitalism, calculated to disguise the old institution of wage slavery.

Here are some extracts of the resolution in question, adopted 1921:

"We hold that the coal supply of our nation should be owned by the commonwealth and operated in the interest of and for the use and comfort of all the people of the commonwealth. Countless generations of men and women will doubtless follow us, and the American people of this generation owe a solemn duty to them in protecting with jealous care and conserving with wise administration those great treasures that a bounteous nature has bestowed upon us in such generous measure.

"Our coal resources are the birth-right of the American people for all time to come, and we hold it is the immediate duty of the American people to prevent the profligate waste that is taking place under the private ownership of these resources, by having the Government take such steps as may be necessary providing for the nationalization of the coal mining industry of the United States.

"Under private ownership, where production is conducted for private gain, the spirit of the times seems to be 'after us the deluge.' This must be supplanted by a system where production will be for use and for the common good and economic waste will give way to the conservation of the nation's heritage in the interest of posterity.

"We, the United Mine Workers of America, in international convention assembled, representing the workers who have their lives and the welfare of their dependents invested in the coal-mines of our country, do therefore resolve:

"That we demand the immediate nationalization of the coal-mining industry of the United States. That we instruct our international officers and the International Executive Board to have a bill prepared for submission to congress, containing the following provisions:

"1. That the Government, through act of congress, acquire title to all coal properties within the United States now owned by private interests, by purchasing said properties at a figure representing the actual valuation of said properties, as determined upon investigation by accredited agents of the federal government.

"2. That the coal mining industry be operated by the federal government and that the mine workers be given equal representation upon such councils or commissions as may be delegated the authority to administer the affairs of the coal-mining industry; or the authority to act upon the question of wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment or adjudication of disputes and grievances within the industry.

"We herewith further instruct our international officers to use their every influence to bring our demand for nationalization to the attention of the American people and to endeavor to secure co-operation and support of every progressive force and every liberal individual with a regard for our duty to posterity and the belief in the principle of common ownership of our natural resources to the accomplishment of this end.

"We further instruct our representatives to urge in a common conference with the representatives of the railroad workers' unions a working alliance for the purpose of securing the adoption of the Plumb plan for nationalization of railroads as the initial step in the fight for the principle of nationalization with the understanding that such alliance will continue to press the issue with unabated vigor until the principle of nationalization has been extended to embrace the coal-mining industry of the nation; and be it further

"Resolved, that our organization for the reasons stated above carry its fight for nationalization of mines into the Dominion of Canada and throw its influence wherever possible behind our members in Canada to the accomplishment of that end."

This action has since been endorsed and enlarged upon by the A. F. of L. convention which convened in Denver, Colo., June 31, 1921.

As the reader will note, this nationalization plan for the coal-mines provides as little for the abolition of wage slavery as does the Plumb plan for the railroads. Both of them mean government ownership and control of nearly the same kind as we had during the war in the railroad administration and the fuel administration or, as we have had for decades, in European countries of railroads, telegraphs and telephones. The only appreciable difference is that the European governments have not paid a cent for the nationalized property, but have built it up themselves, which is much better than buying it. A further difference

is that a few representatives of the workers, presumably elected through the machinery of the safe and sane unions and guaranteed to be free from progressive ideas, shall sit on the board of directors. Wage slavery remains untouched, and there is no provision for democratic control by the workers except empty phrases. In short, it is merely a shuffling of the outward form of ownership and control. The nationalization proposed is for all practical purposes of the same kind as the disastrous nationalization undertaken by the bolsheviks in Russia, with dictatorial *control from the top* by a board of directors, the dictatorship being thinly disguised by means of a minority representation coming from the ranks of the workers. We do not oppose the experiment. As long as we cannot abolish capitalism and anchor control and ownership in the ranks of the workers, we do not care what forms capitalism takes, whether it be trust capitalism or state capitalism. The difference is insignificant. But we do not want the miners to put their faith in such experiments or invest the state with more power over the individual than it already has. It is dangerous to liberty. We want them to retain faith in themselves alone, and prepare to take control without buying the mines or the railroads, through their unions, without interference by politicians and other elements aspiring to rule over the workers.

And why, in the name of reason, should we buy the mines back? Most of them were originally stolen from the people, and those who bought them have gotten their price back and much more besides. If they have not, it is none of our business. Let the capitalists and stock-holders settle their claims among themselves. We have nothing to do with them. The mines belong to the people.

Besides, if the people are to pay for coal-mines and railroads, we presume they are to pay for the other industries also. In fact, we should have to buy back the largest part of the "national" wealth, amounting to close to 400 billions. Where will we take the money? We should have to give "notes" or bonds for it. Are the bonds to draw interest? If so, we will keep doubling or trebling the "national" wealth in the capitalist hands every 20 years as before. What are they to do with this giltedged paper-wealth, which they have no chance to invest? The whole Plumb plan is plumb-crazy. It is logically and mathematically absolutely untenable and absurd. It is a gigantic "Ponzi-scheme," just like capitalism, which will land its votaries in the bug-nouse if they seriously attempt to draw the consequences.

And what is more—perhaps the capitalist class does not want to sell out! What then?—Pooh—Bah!!

The I. W. W. plan is the only sane solution of the social problem before the world to-day.

The only thing that now separates the workers from control over and ownership of the railroads and the coal-mines is their

industrial ignorance, with the resultant lack of unity of purpose and action, not only among coal-miners and railroad workers but also among all other workers.

The working class as a whole has yet to be awakened to the great role it is destined to play in the future. The more we work for the education of the workers along such lines, the sooner we will reach our goal.

What the I. W. W. aspires to is an industrial administration built up entirely from the place of work, such administration to take the place of the obsolete and incompetent political administration of today. The One Big Union shall not only be the future organ of production and distribution, but also the organ of local, district and national administration and defense.

By this method the whole people will actively participate in all public affairs. We will have true industrial democracy and industrial communism. The whole world organized in unions, and the whole society built on the unions, that is the aim of the I. W. W. The nationalization program of the U. M. W. leaves the union hanging in the air with no function to fill except to elect some directors. If such nationalization were adopted, the unions would go out of business as fighting organs and merely become government organs of election. How long would they last at that rate?

The same would happen to the railway unions. Having no function to fill after nationalization they would go out of business.

But the I. W. W. unions will become the only organs of the new society.

17. THE PRINCIPLES AND METHODS OF THE I. W. W.

A Brief Review

IN THE preceding pages we have repeatedly drawn conclusions and made comments to the tables and facts compiled, conclusions and comments reflecting the general philosophy of the I. W. W., and our viewpoint on the subject here before us, and leading up to our program. For that reason we need not here make any lengthy exposition of that program. For more detailed information on that point we refer to our press, our pamphlets and books, announced elsewhere. Here we shall only briefly state the principles, objects and methods of the I. W. W.

First of all we refer the reader to our preamble, a document as short and as simple as it is famous. From this document it appears that the I. W. W., in contradistinction to the machine controlling the U. M. W. of A., does not recognize any community of interest between the working class and the employing class. These are the words:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system."

In another chapter we have printed the old preamble of the United Mine Workers. The reader will note the difference. While our declaration of principles recognizes the incompatibility of the interests of the two classes and calls for the absolute annihilation of the capitalist class as a social factor, the declaration of principles of the U. M. W. of A. apparently accepts capitalism and wage slavery as an inescapable finality. It also recommends conciliation and arbitration in order to escape the conflicts which we declare as natural and inescapable as the antipathy between fire and water.

Furthermore, it would try to save the life of the capitalist class by buying the mines from them, paying them the full price, presumably with the intention of paying interest on that capital ever afterwards.

The fact that the history of the U. M. W., in spite of this conciliatory attitude towards the capitalist class, is a history of giant battles, proves that our contention is right and theirs wrong. The further historic fact that the union, after 30 years of conciliation and joint conferences, is on the verge of destruction while the membership is in a desperate position, in some places fighting a losing battle for life, shows that we are right when we say that "there can be no peace between those two classes."

Our position must be an offensive position from start to finish. To make treaties of peace and sign contracts with the employers we consider useless. We know that they will keep no contract which is favorable to the workers and unfavorable to them. History proves it. But there is no necessity to argue this point, as we are now confronted with a wholesale violation of "sacred" contracts and of the agreement covering 1920-1922 in the coal industry. *They have broken against the spirit of the contract by shutting down the union mines and running the unorganized mines.* For it is the same people who control both. We all know that the operators are organized into district and national organizations, and whatever they do, they do as an organized body with joint responsibility. Those who signed the contract have a secret understanding with those who did not. For further proof of the intimate relations among and the joint responsibility of the whole capitalist class in this matter we refer to the charts accompanying the text: "Who Is Who in the Coal-Mining Industry." We think that we have conclusively proven the correctness of the initial statement of our preamble, even as far as the coal industry is concerned.

The I. W. W. will sign no contracts with any employer which would bind our hands while the operator would feel bound by them only as long as they are more profitable to him than no contract at all. We fight for the largest concessions that we are able to force upon the employers, but when we have attained our temporary object we sign no articles of peace, but immediately get ready for the next battle, openly acknowledging that it is only a breathing spell before the next battle. We want no peace with them. It is a battle to the finish for control of the world.

We pay no attention to the hypocritical plea of the employers that they cannot afford to grant further concessions, that they are making no profit, that the cost of production exceeds the selling price, etc. We know that such talk is all "bunk," a downright fraud perpetrated upon the workers, and we have proved it on these pages.

With the facts in mind which are so clearly illustrated on the "Who-Is-Who" maps and by the table of "national" wealth, we point out that the capitalist class have got all the wealth there is, that they are all organized together into one economic network, that they are jointly responsible, one for all and all for one,

for the economic welfare of the workers, whether it be the coal industry or any other industry. We will not consider their separate pleas of poverty. We know that that is only shuffling the responsibility, in order that nobody shall be held responsible. When the dummy operator of a coal-mine tries to prove with his books that the miner is asking too much when he asks for enough to live on, and that he will "go broke" by conceding a living, we prove to his workers that he is trying to fool them. There may be a few single mines operated on the one-horse plan outside of the general capitalist combine illustrated on our map, but they are few. For the sake of these left-over industrial stragglers we cannot sacrifice our claim to a living. If those operators cannot exploit their mines and give the workers a chance to live, they really ought to shut down. They have no right to try to carry on with a starving crew, any more than a person has a right to drive a half-starved mule or a horse. If the business does not give enough to feed the horse, it is a sign to quit business, and not to cut wages. As for the other operators or employers we point out that they and their partners own and control nearly everything in sight, that they have practically unlimited resources, and that they have actually pooled all their interests, and that they are jointly responsible for the welfare of the coal-miners and all other workers, and that they have to take care of them the year round, from year to year, whether they have any employment for them or not, and that it is their business to look out for our living as long as they hold us off with guns from running society the way we want to run it. Just as the farmer feeds his horse well the year round, whether he is busy or not, so we, the workers, demand a living the whole year round whether we have work or not. To turn the workers out in industrially slack times to shift for themselves is criminal, as long as there is little or no chance of making a living outside of the network outlined on our "Who-Is-Who" map.

They will have to settle among themselves from what part of the pile of "national" or, rather, capitalist wealth our living is going to come. That is no concern of ours, as long as we are not running society. It will be different when we take charge through our union. Then we will also take the responsibility for our living. Seeing that all the important coal companies and banks are combined through interlocking directorates as per map, we fling the operators' poverty plea back in their face. The whole pile of wealth is theirs, and the poverty plea is a lie.

We make no secret of the fact that we consider that pile as the accumulation of unpaid wages, or, in other words, as stolen wealth, and that we propose to take it back as soon as we have educated the workers to the idea of organizing for that purpose.

From this class struggle philosophy of ours you will understand what position we take in the present battle fought by the

miners. *Not only do the I. W. W. in the coal-mining industry back up the most far-reaching demands,* but the whole organization, the agricultural workers, the construction workers, the lumber workers, the metal miners, the textile workers, the marine transport workers, the railway workers of the I. W. W., consider your battle as their own. Your victory is their victory. Your defeat is their defeat. We will help fight for the wage scale demanded. We will help fight for the six-hour day and the five-day week.

One of the fundamental principles of the I. W. W. is that *an injury to one is an injury to all.* This is what we call *class solidarity.*

The I. W. W. differs in this regard from both the U. M. W. of A. and the A. F. of L. In the A. F. of L. it is no infrequent happening that one craft union "scabs" it on another craft union in the same industry. On the contrary, it is the order of the day in past and present. The A. F. of L. knows nothing but craft solidarity. Industrial solidarity is what the I. W. W. demands.

On this point let us again quote our preamble:

"We find that the centering of the management of the industries (see "Who-Is-Who" map) **into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.**

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the workers upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or a lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

The first one of these paragraphs does not apply to the United Mine Workers of America, as that union has already fought clear of the craft unions of the A. F. of L. and organized the mine workers industrially, that is, all the workers in and around a mine belong to the same union, irrespective of their occupations. So far, so good.

But while we in the A. F. of L. have what is called craft scabbery, we have in the United Mine Workers of America what is called *"district scabbery."* It frequently happens that one district goes out on strike, while the others, or most of them, remain at work and supply the employers with the coal they need. Such scabbery is in no way part of the industrial organization program, and is condemned by the I. W. W.

But there is another factor, which puts at naught the industrial form of organization, and that is the *lack of cohesion among the different industries* organized by the A. F. of L. It has been the rule so far for the railroad workers to haul the coal mined by strike breakers or to keep transporting the coal in stock, thus helping the operators to defeat the miners. Not only that, but union firemen and union engineers in other industries fail to show their solidarity when a fight is on, except possibly by a meaningless financial contribution. Such action helps to break the strike. One industrial union standing alone may be a bit better than a craft union, but it will get practically nowhere unless it is firmly linked up with other industrial unions for mutual aid in offense and defense. In order to be able to conquer over the One Big Union of capital as illustrated on the "Who-Is-Who" maps, we must have a One Big Union of the workers. If, as we have seen, the coal and railroad capitalists are interlocked financially, the coal-mine workers and the railroad workers must also be interlocked. If the coal and railroad industries are merely the tentacles of the large capitalist octopus, headed by a handful of great banks, the workers must also organize the coal-mine and railroad workers as the tentacles of a still more formidable labor octopus, the One Big Union, or will succumb. Just as superiority in naval warfare has hitherto belonged to the power which had the most and the biggest super-dreadnoughts, so victory in the class war belongs to the side which has the biggest and the strongest One Big Union super-dreadnought.

The Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 of the I. W. W. is not to be a solitary dreadnought like the United Mine Workers. It is to be one out of 29 similar dreadnoughts, whose fighting crews comprise all the workers of the world.

Such a flotilla of industrial dreadnoughts will ram and sink capitalism.

But the One Big Union of the I. W. W. is not merely a fighting organization. It is a constructive force with a world program, proposing to solve the whole social question, as indicated by the next lines of our preamble.

The preamble continues:

"Instead of the conservative motto: 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watch-word: 'Abolition of the wage system'."

We do not add the Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 to our forces merely to secure a living for the present. We realize that as long as capitalism exists there will be no permanent solution of the social problem that is acceptable to the workers. The employers will never cease to harass us and oppress us and exploit us. As long as rent, interest and profit continue to exist, so long will there be no peace or security or well-being for the workers. For that reason *we propose to abolish the wage*

system, in order to secure the full product of our toil. In the place of the old organs of production and distribution, that is, the private owner, the stock company, the trust, the combination of trusts, industrial and financial, as illustrated in this book, we propose to create new organs of production and distribution. And these new organs are the job branches, the industrial unions, the industrial departments, the industrial councils, shop committees, and whatever other organs we may need to make it a One Big Union. Through the branches of Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 we propose to take over and run the single mines. Through the whole industrial union we propose to take over and run the whole industry, nationally and, finally, internationally. Thus we shall do away with rent, interest and profit. The coal-mine workers shall receive the full value of their toil, just as the workers in other industries shall receive the full value of theirs.

This is what our preamble says on that point:

"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalism, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The United Mine Workers also seem to have realized the futility of any longer maintaining private capitalism, which their leaders have so strenuously been upholding all these years. Failing to make any appreciable headway against the operators and failing to materially and decisively improve the coal-miners' lot and create any security for their future, they have brought up the question of "nationalization," but mostly as a trump in the game they are playing with the operators. But we have considered that in a separate chapter.

Such nationalization under a political government is something entirely different from what we have in view. We propose to make the coal-miners their own masters through the union. Nationalization would simply replace the old master with a new one. It would not abolish wage slavery, as provided for in the I. W. W. preamble.

What the I. W. W. proposes is socialization, not nationalization. Socialization by means of an industrial administration.

The union becomes part of the organic structure of the new society.

18. WHY THE COAL-MINERS SHOULD JOIN COAL-MINE WORKERS' INDUSTRIAL UNION NO. 220 OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

AT THE 1919 convention of the United Mine Workers of America an amendment to their constitution was adopted, which "outlawed" the I. W. W. and all other dual unions. The amendment reads as follows: "Any member of the United Mine Workers of America accepting membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, The Working Class Union, or The One Big Union, or any other dual organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, or membership in the National Chamber of Commerce, shall be expelled from the U. M. W. and is permanently disbarred from holding office in the U. M. W. of A., and no members of any such organization shall be permitted to have membership in our union unless they forfeit their membership in their dual organization upon securing membership in the U. M. W. of A. Any member of the United Mine Workers who accepts office in any dual organization shall be permanently expelled from the U. M. W. of A., unless reinstated by the International Executive Board."

The discussion preceding the adoption of this constitutional amendment, as reported in the convention proceedings, was anything but intelligent. The amendment is one of those artificial props by which the machine inside the union seeks to protect an impossible and untenable position. It is like the broom with which the old woman tried to sweep out the ocean. It is an attempt to stamp out new ideas and ideals by taking the bread away from those who do not want to sell their souls.

The plans of the machine have not succeeded. The United Mine Workers is honeycombed with I. W. W. ideas and secret or open I. W. W. members. In most places the members refuse to pay any attention to the ridiculous amendment. The members refuse to be gagged and decline to gag others. The I. W. W. ideas are being openly propagated everywhere. We take the "outlawing" more as a joke, as a clumsy tactical move of the reactionaries rather than as a slap in the face by the membership. We want to be a re-enforcement and a help to the members in the critical time now ahead of them and will help them, both inside and outside their union, to win their battle, if possible.

Thus we will organize job branches of Coal-Mine Workers'

Industrial Union No. 220, I. W. W., in every unorganized or organized camp where we are able to do it. Where the United Mine Workers are strongly entrenched and where there is little or no understanding of our ideals, our delegates will continue to spread our literature and carry on their propaganda until the proper time comes for forming a branch of our union. But in no case will we seek conflict with the already organized mine workers or try to weaken their power of offense and defense. Whatever course we take, we will continue to fight shoulder to shoulder with them for victory. That is how much we care about the "outlaw" amendment. This organization move of ours is to be considered as the I. W. W. answer to the "outlaw" amendment. It is part of our general plan to organize all industries.

We therefore make the following appeal to the coal-mine workers:

Appeal to the Coal-Mine Workers of North America

The Industrial Workers of the World is an international industrial organization, composed of industrial unions in various industries. There are 29 such industrial unions in our plan of organization. While we have members in all of them, our present organized strength is chiefly in the following industries: Agriculture, Lumbering, General Construction, Metal Mining, Metal and Machinery Manufacture, and Marine Transportation. As you will see, this list includes the basic industries of the country. Up to the present time we have not made any great efforts to organize the coal-mine workers on a large scale, but we are herewith entering this field in earnest. The initiative does not come from the top but it comes from the bottom. There are tens of thousands of coal-miners of all nationalities who clamor for the "outlaw" I. W. W. to come to their aid and rescue. They tell us they are suffocating mentally and spiritually under the incompetent and autocratic rule of the machine that still controls their union, as well as being led to defeat by it, without any hope for the future. They tell our office and our editors that the field is ripe for us, that we need no longer hold back for fear of weakening the fighting strength of the coal-miners; they ask us to supply them with the literature that is needed for the enlightenment of the membership and to outline the plan of organization and set the machinery in motion for building up the new organization locally, nationally and internationally.

The demand for membership cards in C. M. W. I. U. No. 220 has been steadily increasing and so has the demand for delegates' credentials. Numerous delegates are already at work all over the country scattering our leaflets and papers in several languages among the miners and signing up new members. We have decided that the time has come for action on a large scale.

At present the affairs of the *Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No.* 220 are conducted from the office of the Metal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210, 318 *No. Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.,* which serves as headquarters for this organization move until further notice.

If you are interested in the I. W. W. program and would like to see the coal-miners organized into an industrial union under its banner, put yourself immediately in touch with the above headquarters of the miners, or with the General Headquarters of the I. W. W. at 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Get a supply of our literature with which to prepare the ground and with which to secure a mutual understanding, unity of thought, unity of purpose, and thus, unity of action. There are numerous leaflets and there are papers in many languages, which will contain special articles on coal-mining and on the question of organizing the coal-miners into the I. W. W. And there is this handbook, which will prove a great help in gathering the coal-miners on a common program of education and organization.

Distribute this literature in every camp, arrange for meetings and discussions, arousing the miners out of the aimless stupor in which the old organization keeps them, and show them that the road to victory lies in themselves and not in their chosen officials. Show them that they must strike out in a new direction or they will go under. You will be surprised to find what a hearty response you will meet from the men, including those "ignorant foreigners." You will find that instead of meeting with resistance it will, in most cases, be as easy as rolling off a log. You try it! It is just what they are waiting for. They are waiting for organized initiative from somewhere.

Organize a branch of the Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220 *whenever and wherever possible.* It does not matter if the branch is small at first. It will grow bigger soon. If the pressure from the operators' side is too great to organize openly, do it "on the quiet." If you cannot do that, get a delegate's credential yourself, to transact business for the I. W. W., and locate some more capable and trustworthy fellow workers to help you by also taking out such credentials. The more delegates on the job, the quicker will be the success.

In the meantime do what you can as an "outlaw" inside the old union. We do not want you to lose your bread, as the leaders intended you should when they adopted the "outlaw" amendment. The bread is not very big at this time, anyhow, and what little there is, is bitter, but if you lose your job at the mine, your usefulness as a delegate and organizer is at an end. Proceed prudently and stay by it. You have two enemies from the start, the operators and the reactionary union leaders. You have got to make friends right under their noses. Do not spoil your chances

by brass band tactics. But you are the best judge yourself what tactics are best in your locality.

The idea is to try to get the miners to accept our principles and discard their old leadership. New ideas and principles should be adopted, new methods put into operation for solving the whole social problem. When that work is done, the two unions, the old and the new, will come together naturally, much as the Missouri joins the Mississippi, and with irresistible power march onward and take possession of the mines and run them without paying any tribute to a parasite class.

This handbook is to be limited to a certain number of pages for the sake of convenience. We cannot tell everything in these few pages. We have to refer the reader to our other literature announced elsewhere on these pages.

Get our literature and our papers.

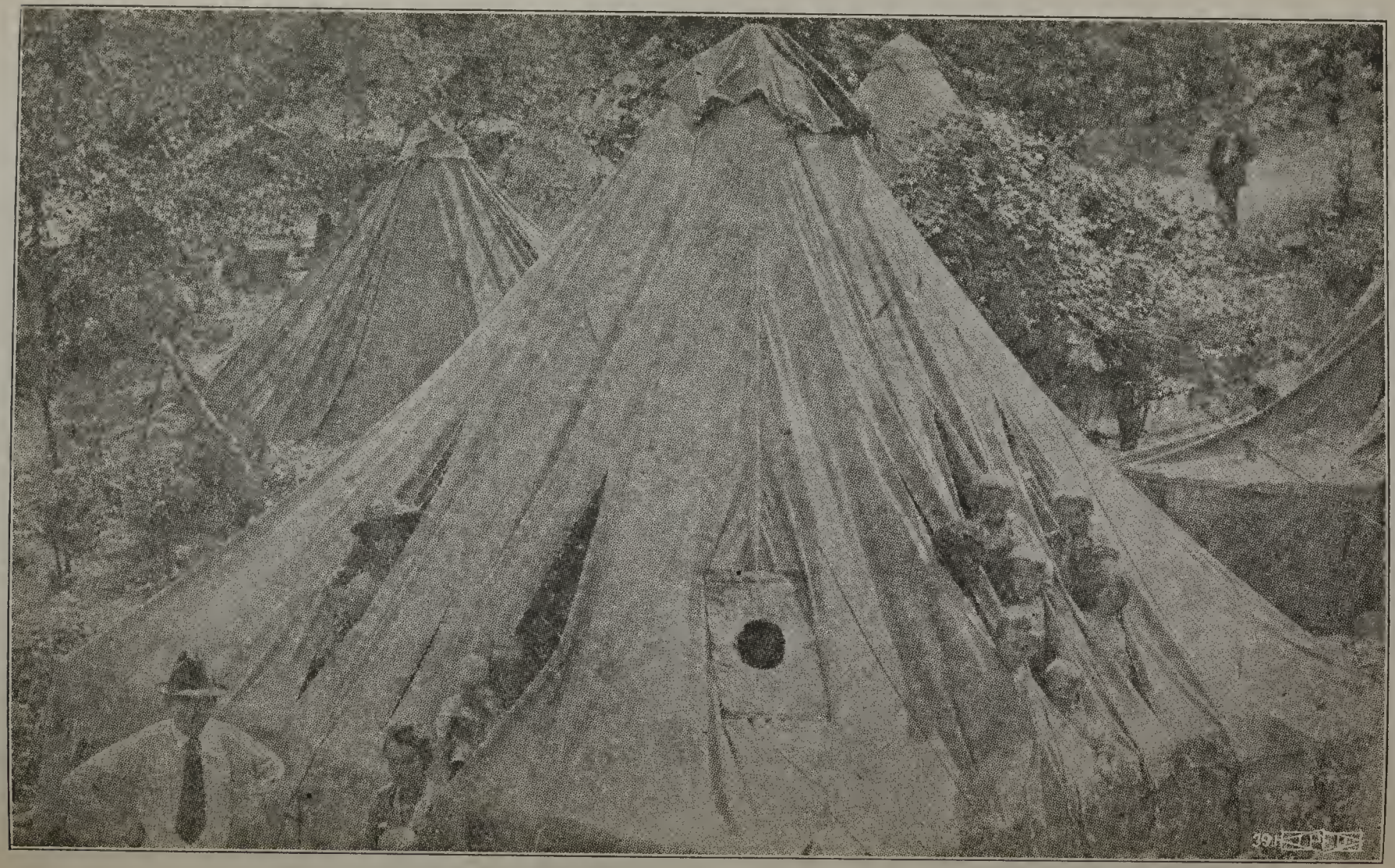
Spread this coal-miners' handbook by the tens of thousands.

Write to our office in Butte, Mont., for delegate's credentials.

Organize a branch of Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, I. W. W.

Get ready to take over the mines and run them through our union. The time is fast approaching, when you will be called upon to do it. Capitalism is breaking down.

Coal-Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220, I. W. W.,
318 North Wyoming St., Butte, Mont.



Miners wives and children peeping through cuts made by State Militia at tent colony Lick Creek, W. Va.

To Be Posted....

ON CURRENT LABOR NEWS,

ESPECIALLY I. W. W. NEWS,

Read Industrial Solidarity

Published by the I. W. W., 1001 W. Madison St.,

Chicago, Ill.,

1 Year, $2.00; 6 months, $1.00; 3 months 50c.

Subscribe now. Do it now.

Correspondence from all parts of the world.

Special articles on economics and all phases of working class activity and education.

The contents of this book originally appeared in serial form in Industrial Solidarity.

You can't be without it.

Send for a free copy.

Five cents a copy; five or more copies, 3c. each.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Authorized by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

ENGLISH

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857, Seattle, Wash. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENIKA
(The Voice of the Laborer)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Once a week; $5.00 per year; 6 months, $2.75; 3 months, $1.50; 5 cents per copy. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS
(Emancipation)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $3.00 per year; six months, $1.50. Weekly.

ITALIAN

IL PROLETARIO
(The Proletarian)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

SPANISH

SOLIDARIDAD

Semi-Monthly, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 26 issues $2.00; 5 cents per copy.

BULGARIAN

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL
(Workers' Thought)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

ROUMANIAN

MUNCITORUL
(The Worker)

Twice a month, $2.00 per year (26 issues). 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

CROATIAN

SNAGA RADNIKA
(Power of Labor)

Twice monthly. $2.00 per year. Single copy, 5 cents. 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

CZECHO-SLOVAK

JEDNA VELKA UNIE
(One Big Union)

Monthly. $1.00 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Bundle orders 7 cents per copy.

FINNISH

TIE VAPAUTEEN
(Road to Freedom)

Finnish Monthly. 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Single copies, 25 cents. One year, $2.00. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

Industrial Union Papers

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI
(The Industrialist)

Box 464, Duluth, Minn., Daily.

Working Class Education Demands That You Subscribe NOW!

Subscribe for the

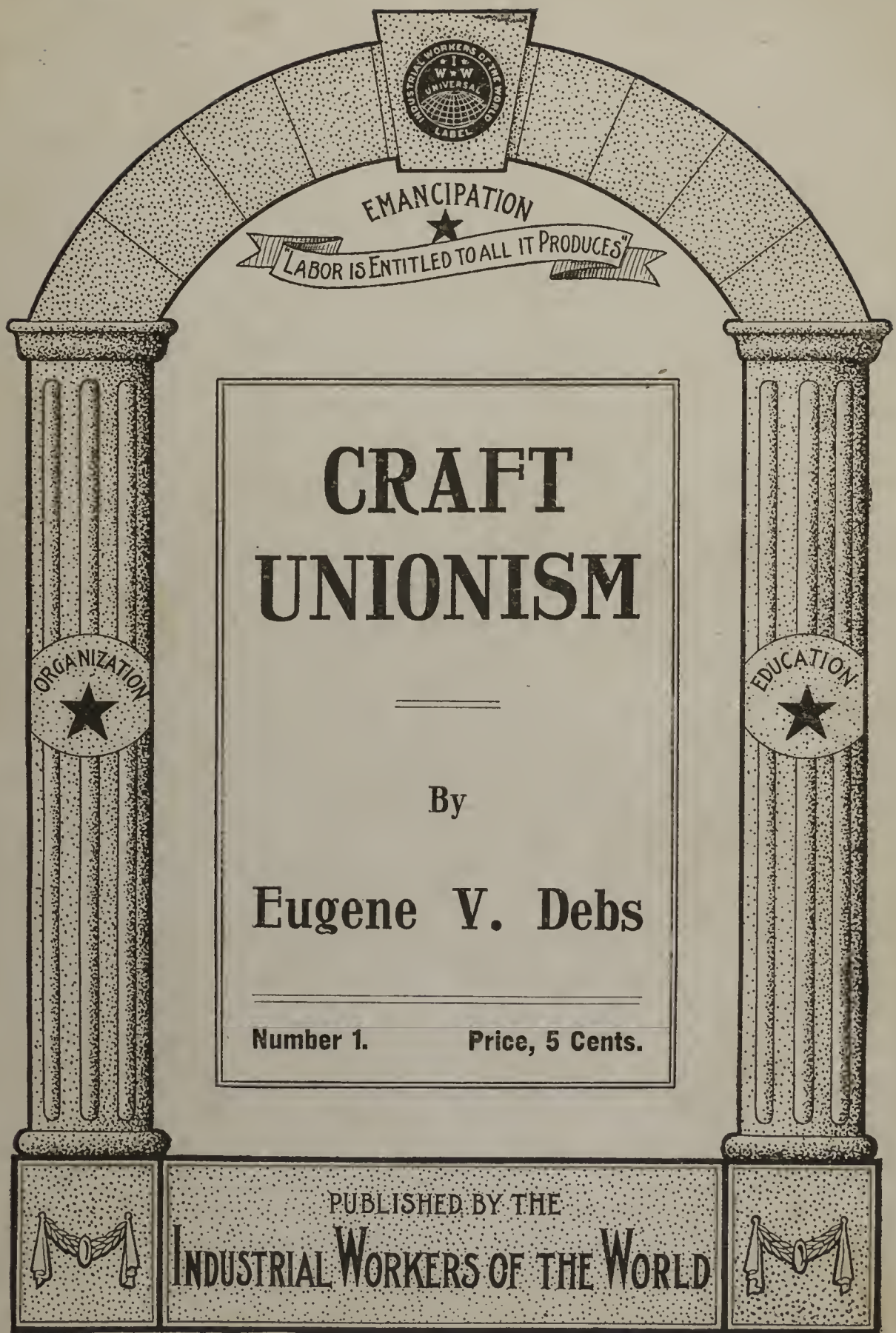
INDUSTRIAL WORKER

A live weekly Industrial Union paper published by the Western Branches of the Industrial Workers of the World

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

$2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Bundle orders, 3 cents a copy. Single copies, 5 cents.

MAIL ADDRESS: BOX 1857, SEATTLE, WASH.



CRAFT UNIONISM

By

Eugene V. Debs

Number 1. Price, 5 Cents.

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
CHICAGO

Craft Unionism

Speech by Eugene V. Debs, at Chicago, November 23, 1905.

We have met under the auspices and in the interests of the Industrial Workers of the World. Organized here in Chicago, less than five months ago, the Industrial Workers already number almost, if not quite, a hundred thousand workingmen and women, enrolled as dues-paying members, in a revolutionary, economic organization of the working class.

Why has this new organization been instituted? Why will not the old trade unions that already occupy the field serve the purpose? Why a new organization? These are questions that are up for consideration; that address themselves to all the workers of the country, whether they favor or oppose the new organization.

For many years I have been connected with one and another of the old trade unions. Indeed, since February, 1875, when I first joined the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, I have been an active member of a trade union; and during that time I have had some experience by virtue of which I trust I have profited sufficiently to enable me to determine whether a trade union is organized for the purpose of serving the working class or not.

At the very threshold of this discussion I aver that the old form of trade unionism no longer meets the demands of the working class. I aver that the old trade union has not only fulfilled its mission and outlived its usefulness, but that it is now positively reactionary, and is maintained, not in the interests of the workers who support it, but in the interests of the capitalist class who exploit the workers who support it.

Let me cite an instance or two for illustration. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has been organized about forty years. It professes to be a trade union, an organization of and for the working class. This or-

ganization has the favor and support of practically every railroad corporation in the United States. The late P. M. Arthur was its grand chief for many years. In the beginning of his official career he was true to the working class. As the organization developed in numbers and in power, and became a menace to the corporations, they realized the necessity of securing control of that organization. And how did they go about it? By making certain nominal concessions to that so-called brotherhood, by flattering its grand chief, by declaring that they had no objection to a labor organization such as this brotherhood, especially while under the supervision of so conservative a leader as Mr. Arthur. Every time the corporations made a concession to the engineers, it was at the expense of poorly paid employes in other departments who were unorganized; and when the men in these departments protested and when finally they went out on strike, the engineers have invariably been used by the corporation to defeat their fellow-workers, who were in revolt against degrading economic conditions.

Mr. Arthur was, therefore, a prime favorite with the railroad corporations. They granted him annual passes over their lines; and when the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in convention, their delegates were provided with special trains to transport them to and from the convention, free of charge, as evidence that the corporation appreciated the value of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Since the engineers were organized, the firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, telegraphers and trackmen have also been organized, and several other departments have been partially organized, and they all have practically the same form of organization. They are all conservative. They all operate within the bounds set and approved by the railroad corporations. Are they, can they be true to the men who pay the dues, to the workingmen who support them? I answer that they cannot. Not only are they not true to the wage-workers who support them, but they are pressed into service, politically and otherwise, when occasion demands it, in the interest of these corporations, and to the detriment of their own.

Only the other day, since this much-discussed matter of rate legislation has been pending, the grand chiefs of

these various brotherhoods have been convened. By whom? By the railroad corporations. For what purpose? This will appear as I proceed.

Just after the grand chiefs of these labor unions met with the railroad officials, another meeting took place. Of whom? Of the representatives of the principal of these several organizations, who, acting under the advice of their grand officers, proceeded to the city of Washington, held a conference with President Roosevelt, and protested that the labor unions they represented, consisting of the railway workers of the country, were opposed to any sort of legislation that would have a tendency to reduce railroad rates in the United States. The announcement also went forth at the same time that these brotherhoods would make their political power felt in the interests of the railroad corporations; that is to say, against the common people, the toiling millions of the land.

What a picture, indeed!

One glance proves beyond the shadow of a doubt, that these unions are exceedingly useful to the corporations; and to the extent that they serve the economic and political purposes of the corporations, they are the foes —and not the friends—of the working class.

The United Mine Workers, in point of numbers a powerful labor organization, embraces a large majority of the coal miners of the country. Is this organization of any real benefit to coal miners? What has it actually done for them during the last few years? What have the miners, who have paid millions of dollars from their scant earnings in support of the organization, what have they to show in return?

These miners are well organized. They have the numbers. They ought to have real economic power. But they lack it. And why? For the simple reason that they are not organized upon the basis of the class struggle. Their union principles are not right; and it is for this reason that their organization has the hearty support of the coal operators of the country, who, by the way, are in session in Chicago at this very time, for the purpose of uniting, for the purpose of dealing with the miners, not through the rank and file of their union, but, as they themselves declare, **through their national board.**

And this is a very important point for the union miners to take into consideration. These operators, these exploiters, who are conscious of their class interests, propose to deal, not with the union at large, not with the great body of the miners, not with the rank and file, not with the common herd, not with the black beasts of burden, but with their National Executive Board. They will fix things that are out of joint and settle matters generally. They will arrive at mutually satisfactory conclusions. They will harmonize beautifully. And when they do harmonize, it will be in the interests, not of the miners who do the work, who dig the coal, who produce the wealth, but in the interests of the operators who own the mines and exploit the slaves of the pits.

Why, the most zealous supporter of the United Mine Workers is the coal operator himself. The simple fact that the coal operator collects the union dues, and discharges the miner who refuses to pay his dues, is sufficient evidence of this fact.

The coal operator does not collect the dues from the man who happens to belong to the Industrial Workers. He knows enough to know what is good for him; and he knows that the miners, organized as they are at present, can do him little harm, but can do him great good. And this is why he wants the miners organized in the pure and simple old-fashioned way. He knows that if they were totally unorganized, they would spontaneously go out on strike. But they cannot strike as they are now organized without securing the sanction of their national, district and local officers; and so the operator keeps a friendly eye upon the union which fortifies and facilitates the exploitation of the coal diggers in his mines.

At stated periods the operators and representatives of the miners meet; and sometimes the sessions are very spirited, the miners insisting upon an increase, and the operators upon a decrease of wages, as was the case at the last inter-state conference, when the union officials declared that under no circumstances would they accept a reduction, and the delegates voted by practically a unanimous vote not to accept any reduction, and for a while there was every indication of a strike. But the national officers met with the operators, and a reduction

of wages was agreed to, and then the union officers went out among the rank and file and told them that if they were foolish enough to go out on strike, they would certainly be defeated, and that the best thing they could do was to accept the reduction. So these union officials, backed by the operators, virtually forced the reduction upon the miners.

The operator can well afford to support that kind of a labor union.

The United Mine Workers, under its present policy, denies and seeks to obscure the class struggle. President Mitchell used to be quoted as saying that the interests of the miners and the operators were identical. He made an address the other day in which he claimed that he had been misquoted; he had not said that their interests were identical, but that they were reciprocal. I would like to have Mr. Mitchell show in what way the operator who fleeces the miner, reciprocates to that miner. The simple fact is that the operator—and I don't know why he is called that, he doesn't operate anything—the operator takes from the miner what the miner produces. He serves him in that capacity, and no other.

The miners' union denies, in effect, the class struggle, and vainly seeks to harmonize the economic interests of these two antagonistic classes—the exploiting masters and the exploited wage-slaves; the robbers and the robbed. It cannot be done; not permanently at least; and if it be done even temporarily, it is always at the expense of the wage-slaves. Such an organization as that cannot truly serve the best interests of the working class. It is impossible.

There are many who concur in these views, yet insist that the organization must be changed from the inside; that it can only be brought to its proper position by "boring from within." I deny it. It is historically impossible. This organization has practically run its course. It has fulfilled its mission as a labor union, whatever that has been. It is now practically in charge of the mine owners; and the only way the miners can get away from that situation is to sever their relations with that capitalist-controlled union and join and build up one of their own upon the basis of the class struggle; and then they will be in position to fight the capitalist class with some chance of success.

The most important fact in all the world for workingmen to take cognizance of is the class struggle. The Industrial Workers expresses economically the interests of the working class in that struggle. The Industrial Workers declares that there can be nothing in common between the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage-worker; that there is inevitably a struggle between them, and that this struggle cannot end until the capitalist class is overthrown, and the wage-system wiped out. Then and then only can there be an end to class rule.

Now, if you are a workingman and if you believe that you have an economic interest in common with that of the capitalist who employs you, remain in the old trade union. That is where you belong. If that is your conviction we do not want you to join the Industrial Workers. You do not properly belong to us. You do belong to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. But, if you believe as I believe, that the working class have economic interests of their own, separate and apart from and in conflict with, the economic interests of the capitalist class, then you should, and sooner or later will have to, sever your relation with the old trade union, and join the Industrial Workers, the only union organized upon the basis of the class struggle.

And now, let me ask, have we a class struggle? The answer comes of itself. This struggle finds expression daily, hourly, in strikes, in boycotts, in lockouts, injunctions, riots, assaults and bloodshed. It is not an unmixed evil, however, for in this great world-wide class struggle, that is shaking the foundations of civilized society everywhere, there are being wrought out the most important problems of our modern civilization.

The working class are in an overwhelming majority. They have the numbers. They ought to have the power. And they would have the power, if only they were conscious of their interests, **as a class.**

Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The capitalist insists that there is no such struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance

to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unison they declaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

We insist that there is a class struggle; that the working class must recognize it; that they must organize economically and politically upon the basis of that struggle; and that when they do so organize, they will then have the power to free themselves and put an end to that struggle forever.

Now, have not the workers, especially here in Chicago, had sufficient experience during the last few years? Have they not been defeated often enough to demonstrate the inherent weakness of the old trades union movement? Haven't they been enjoined by the Courts often enough? Clubbed by the police and flung into jail often enough? Haven't they had experience of this kind enough to open their eyes to the fact that there is a mighty class struggle in progress, and that there will never be any material change in their condition until they unite their class in every department of industrial activity?

Speaking for myself, I was made to realize long ago that the old trade union was utterly incompetent to deal successfully with the exploiting corporations in this struggle. I was made to see that in craft unionism the capitalist class have it in their power to keep the workers divided, to use one part of them with which to conquer and crush another part of them. Indeed, I was made to see that the old form of unionism separates the workers and keeps them helpless at the mercy of their masters.

Object lessons are presented to you every day in the week. You have hundreds of thousands of workers organized in Chicago, in every conceivable kind of a union, and under the direction of an infinite variety of leaders. I will not say that these leaders are all incompetent or corrupt. That would not be true. But many of them are corrupt, and in that capacity have it in their power to betray and sell out the workers who trust them. In this position the workers will remain—where there is no hope for them—so long as they cling to the out-grown old trade union and its inefficient methods.

We have had the proof of this over and over again. Take all the great strikes that have occurred in Chicago during the last few years. Have any of them been successful? Have they not uniformly failed?

The capitalists have not entirely stamped out the defeated unions, that is true. They have had the power to do this in the hour of the workers' defeat, but they have refrained from doing it, because they are shrewd enough to know that if they destroyed those unions, another and better one would take their places. Is it not a fact that they had the butcher workmen absolutely at their mercy, and could have compelled the members to entirely withdraw from the unions before giving them employment? They did not crush the unions out. When they had conquered they were satisfied. They had driven the unionists back to their reservations and they were perfectly satisfied that they should build up again along the same old lines.

The Employers' Association had the striking teamsters completely at their mercy, and could, had they seen fit, have utterly crushed out their union. They did not do it. In the closing part of the negotiations the settlement hinged upon the alleged privilege of the teamsters wearing their union badges, and this the Employers' Association finally conceded; and then the claim was put forth that the striking teamsters had come out victorious. The truth is that they lost everything; but the employer was not anxious to crush out their organization. He knew very well that if he did a stronger one would spring from the ruins; that a crushed union at least teaches workingmen to see its inherent defects.

The employer is shrewd enough to know that when you totally crush out organizations you drive the workers into solidarity.

The teamsters were entirely defeated, nothing left; and yet their leaders boasted that they had saved their organization. It reminded me of the dispatch once sent from a field of battle by a general who had been completely routed: "There is nothing left but honor, and d—n little of that!"

It is true that there are some employers who are supposed to be entirely opposed to unionism, even the

old form of trade unionism. But the great majority of capitalists, especially the shrewder, far-seeing ones, unqualifiedly approve the pure and simple labor union. And now let me show that between these two sections of the capitalist class there is, after all, no vital difference with regard to the trade union movement.

C. W. Post, president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and David M. Parry, president of the Manufacturers' Association, who are opposing the American Federation of Labor, have repeatedly said that they are not opposed to trade unionism if it will confine itself to its legitimate functions. In other words, they are not opposed to trades unionism if it does not antagonize the capitalist class. That is their position. Now, what is the position of the great body of capitalists who avow their friendship for the trade union movement? Precisely the same. They are in favor of the trade union as long as it does not menace or attack the capitalist class; that is, as long as it doesn't do anything. And in its present shape it is not doing anything; and that is why the capitalists are not opposed to it. Let these trade unions unite tomorow; let them declare in favor of waging this fight along the lines of the class struggle, and they will soon find out whether these capitalists are in favor of trade unionism or not.

The very fact that the great majority of capitalists favor trade unionism proves that it is doing little or nothing for its members. Were it really doing something for them it would be antagonizing the capitalist class, and that class would fight it. But the capitalists are not fighting the pure old brand of unionism; they have, in fact, formed an alliance with it and the union is the silent partner in the firm .

You have all doubtless heard of the Civic Federation. This federation is supposed to be fair and impartial. It is organized for the one purpose of dovetailing the interests of labor and capital, and every member of this body insists that these interests can be harmonized; that there is no necessary conflict between them. That is what Mr. Gompers says; that is what Mr. Mitchell says; that is what Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Potter say, and that is what they all say—that there is no necessary conflict between capitalists and

wage workers. If there be no necessary conflict between them, it follows that all the fighting that is going on must be unnecessary. I suppose then that that ought to be very easily eliminated.

A gentleman named August Belmont presides over this harmonizing body. Not long ago, in an address, he claimed that there was no better trade-unionist in the country than he, and he proved it during the Interborough strike in the city of New York, when several thousand union employes of that corporation, of which he is president, went out on strike because they were driven to that extremity by his pernicious policy. He proved that he was a loyal trade-unionist when he employed James Farley, the notorious professional strike-breaker and his army of Hessians to take the places of his former employes. Just a little while after Mr. Belmont had thus defeated his employes and disrupted their unions, he met at the hospitable banqueting board of the Civic Federation with the national officers of the American Federation of Labor, and its allied unions, and there made good his claim that he was a true trades-unionist of the old school.

Do you think that a labor leader who is absolutely true to the working class could sit at such a banqueting board with such a capitalist as Belmont? Do you think he would be the guest of such an organization as the Civic Federation, whose only purpose is by subtle schemes to reduce the trade union movement to harmless impotency?

It is for this and this alone that the Civic Federation has been organized. This is its real mission. The American Federation of Labor has fallen within the fatal influence of this emasculating alliance, and has thus proven that it is not organized to advance the true interests of the working class.

The American Federation of Labor is now holding its annual convention in the city of Pittsburg. What are its delegates doing there? Simply passing the same old resolutions. Once more they are going to petition Congress to enact an eight-hour law. They have done that over and over again, and their petition has been as repeatedly pigeon-holed. They have also resolved to petition Congress to restrict the powers of capitalist courts

in dealing with labor. They have done that time and again, and what have they gained by it? Absolutely nothing. No attention has been paid to these servile supplications. They have been disregarded, thrown aside, treated with contempt; but the delegates solemnly meet in convention once more to pass the same hoary resolutions, to introduce the same stale petitions, with the same inevitable results. Now, is not this a perfectly stupid procedure? Are these men incapable of profiting by experience? Do they not by this time understand the nature and essential functions of capitalist-class government? Can they not see that we have a capitalist-class Congress, and capitalist-class legislatures, elected in every instance by an ignorant working class, kept ignorant, designedly, in the name of unionism, and with the aid of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class? And that it is the very height of folly and depth of humiliation for a committee of the working class to beg the representatives of the capitalist class to legislate in the interests of the working class? They were elected to serve the masters. And they are serving them. And we have no right to find fault with them—at least, those of us who are responsible for their being where they are.

Now, we who have organized the Industrial Workers have had enough of this kind of experience. We have quit the old unions. We have organized the Industrial Workers for the purpose of uniting the working class; the whole working class. Not only the skilled workers, not only those who are favored, but the working class, skilled and unskilled, male and female, in every department of activity, are united upon the principle of Industrial Unionism.

The old unions were built up on tools that have been discarded and upon trades that have ceased to exist.

Half a century ago the trade union was right; it was adapted to the then existing industrial conditions. For illustration, a cooper shop was a cooper shop. It contained coopers and coopers only, and the Coopers' Union was organized. That embraced the coopers who were employed at their trade in the shop. Since then there has been half a century of industrial evolution. Compare the great cooperage establishments of today with the cooper shop of fifty years ago, in which the old hand

tools were used, in which the apprentice learned his trade, and having mastered this, could seize the small tools with which work was done and virtually employ himself. There has been a marvelous change since that time. A modern cooperage establishment is the result of industrial evolution; and if you will visit one of them you will find that scores of different kinds of labor are performed there. Indeed, you will find almost any kind of worker there except a cooper!

Now, we hold that the form of the union must correspond to the mode of industry. In other words, the union, like the trade, is subject to the inexorable laws of evolution. We want a union today that expresses all the various subdivisions of labor that are now engaged in a cooperage establishment. Suppose there are 500 such employes in a plant. We organize them all, and they are assigned to their various departments; and if one of them has a grievance it becomes the concern of every worker in that establishment. How is it now? Certain departments are organized in craft unions, meet with the officials and make an agreement or contract. They do not care what becomes of the rest, if only they can get what they are after for themselves. After they are thus tied up, the employes in some other department present a grievance and are turned down and out. They go out on strike. Those tied fast in an agreement say: "We would like to help you, we are in sympathy with you, but you see we have an agreement, and that agreement is sacred; it must be preserved inviolate; and while we are in sympathy with you, and while we hate to see you defeated and lose your jobs, we cannot go back on our agreement." And in this way one union is used to crush another, labor is defeated and scabs are made by thousands.

It is a fact that nearly all scabs and strike-breakers are ex-unionists. Go among them and interrogate them and you will find that they will tell you in almost every case that at heart they are in favor of union labor, but that they were beaten by it and found this the only way of getting even. I know of hundreds of instances, of my own knowledge, of men who have been made scabs in precisely this way. Now, the trade unions feel very bitter toward scabs, and pursue them relentlessly until

the unfortunates seek escape in suicide. And yet, while they so bitterly oppose the scab, they support the union that makes the scab.

What we want today, above all things, is united economic and political action, and we can never have that while the working class are parceled out among hundreds, aye, thousands, of separate unions, that keep them divided for reasons many of which very readily suggest themselves.

Who is it that is so violently opposed to the Industrial Workers? It is not the rank and file of the trade unions. It is their officers. And why are they so fiercely opposed to the Industrial Workers? For the reason that when the working class are really united a great many labor leaders will be out of jobs.

There are at present thousands of unions. Some of them have a few members and others have a great many; and every time, in the evolution of industry, there is a new subdivision of labor, however minute, a new union must be launched, clear down to the Grand International Brotherhood of Peanut Peelers, Polishers and Packers, or whatever it may be. And they elect a staff of their own grand international officers, and their names are put upon the payroll; and let me say to you that their interests are primarily in keeping themselves there.

Why should the railroad employes be parceled out among a score of different organizations? They are all employed in the same service. Their interests are mutual. They ought to be able to act together as one. But they divide according to craft and calling, and if you were to propose today to unite them that they might actually do something to advance their collective and individual interests as workers, you would be opposed by every grand officer of these organizations. The payroll and expense account of the officers of the railroad brotherhoods alone amount to more than a quarter of a million dollars a year.

There is an army of men who serve as officers who are on the salary list who get a good living keeping the working class divided. They start out with good intentions, as a rule. They really want to do something to serve their fellows. They leave the shops or the mines as common workingmen. They are elected offi-

cers of a labor organization and they change their clothes. They now wear a white shirt and a standing collar. They change their habits and their methods. They have been used to cheap clothes, coarse fare and to associating with their fellow-workers. After they have been elevated to official position, as if by magic they are recognized by those who previously scorned them and held them in contempt. They find that some of the doors that were previously barred against them now swing inwards, and they can actually put their feet under the mahogany of a capitalist.

Our common workingman is now a labor leader. The great capitalist pats him on the back and tells him that he knew long ago that he was a coming man, that it was a fortunate thing for the workers of the world that he had been born, that in fact they had been long waiting for just such a wise and conservative leader. And this has a certain effect upon our new-made leader, and unconsciously, perhaps, he begins to change—just as John Mitchell did, when Mark Hanna patted him on the shoulder and said, "John, it is a good thing you are at the head of the miners. You are the very man. You have the greatest opportunity a labor leader ever had on this earth. You can immortalize yourself. Now is your time." Then John Mitchell admitted that this capitalist, who had been pictured to him as a monster, was not half as bad as he had thought he was; that, in fact, he was a genial and companionable gentleman. He repeats his visit the next day, or the next week, and is introduced to some other distinguished person he had read about, but never dreamed of meeting, and thus goes on the transformation. All his dislikes disappear and all feeling of antagonism vanishes. He concludes that they are really most excellent people and, now that he has seen and knows them, he agrees with them that there is no necessary conflict between workers and capitalists. And he proceeds to carry out this pet capitalist theory and he can only do it by betraying the class that trusted him and lifted him as high above themselves as they could reach.

It is true that such a leader is in favor with the capitalists; that their newspapers write editorials about him and crown him a great and wise leader; and that

ministers of the gospel make his name the text for their sermons, and emphasize the vital point that if all labor leaders were such as he, there would be no objection to labor organizations. And the leader feels himself flattered. And when he is charged with having deserted the class he was supposed to serve, he cries out that the indictment is brought by a discredited labor leader. And that is probably true. The person who brings the charge is very likely discredited. By whom? By the capitalist class, of course; and its press and pulpit and "public" opinion. And in the present state of the working class, when he is discredited by the capitalists, he is at once repudiated by their wage-slaves.

The labor leader who is not discredited by the capitalist class is not true to the working class. If he be unswervingly loyal to the working class he will not be on friendly terms with the capitalist class. He cannot serve both. When he really serves one he serves that one against the other.

The labor leader who is in high favor with the exploiters is pronounced safe, conservative, wise and honest, and the workers are appealed to to look to him for advice, for guidance and leadership. The unthinking accept the advice with enthusiasm. And so the labor leader who serves the capitalist class instead of the working class is hailed deliverer and basks in the public favor.

But let me say to you that in spite of all this, the honest and discredited leaders will be lovingly remembered long after the popular ones of today are forgotten.

Now, in these matters, I am not asking you to take my advice. I am not asking you to follow me. I simply want you to think over these things for yourselves. The very first need is that you open your eyes and see for yourselves. Take nothing for granted.

So many of you are satisfied to blindly follow where others lead; and so you are deceived and betrayed; you have to pay all the penalties.

It is high time you were ceasing to depend upon some one to "lead" you; that you were opening your eyes; that you were doing your own thinking. And that is all I am asking you to do.

I have already told you that I have had some experience and that I hope I have in some measure profited by it. I have been involved in strikes enough to satisfy me. I have so often been saddened by the outcome of such strikes.

I have seen men by scores and hundreds and thousands, after striking for weeks and months, lose their jobs. I have seen the poor wretches blacklisted and I have seen them persecuted until they were in rags, and their families were upon the streets, and I have said there must be another and a better way. I have seen enough of this to satisfy me. There is a better way. But you will never find it by pursuing the old lines. You have got to unite the whole working class, and this can be done. It is not an impossible task. Every worker, however limited his mentality, ought to be able to see that there is little or nothing to be accomplished along the old lines; that, in fact, there is no hope; that you are engaged in an unequal struggle, and that the ultimate outcome is certain to be defeat, despair and death.

The capitalists have at present ten thousand advantages over us. They own and control all the sources and means of wealth production. They are the masters of the tools; they act together. They control all the powers of government. They can at their own sweet will shut down their mills and factories and mines, and they can wait patiently weeks and months and even years, until the impoverished workers become hungry and are glad to be taken back at any terms. The capitalists have all these advantages, and they never hesitate to do anything, everything, that may be required to keep the working class in subjection. And they can and will keep them there just as long as they are divided.

There is but one hope, and that is in the economic and political solidarity of the working class; one revolutionary union, and one revolutionary party. It is for this reason that the Industrial Workers, an economic organization, has been launched and now makes its appeal to you as wage-slaves aspiring to be free. You can not be satisfied to live and die as beasts of burden; to toil unceasingly to enrich masters who hold you in contempt; to be dependent upon these masters for your jobs and

crawl like sycophants at their feet. You may not be satisfied, even though you have sufficient food and clothing and shelter. You are a human, not a hog; a man, not a mere animal. You have a manhood to sustain; you have freedom to achieve, and you have an intellect to develop; and these questions will appeal to you with ever-increasing force and compel an accounting at last, if you have the pith and purpose of a typical, self-respecting workingman.

In the capitalist system you workers are simply merchandise; your master can at his own will sentence you to idleness, your wife to want and your child, perhaps, to a brothel. You can not be satisfied with such a slavish lot and now is the time to make up your mind to change it. In your heart you will feel the thrill of a new-born joy. You will join the Industrial Workers, the one international labor union that proposes to unite all workers, that all of them may act together in harmonious co-operation for the good of all; a union that recognizes no aristocracy, but the whole working class; that insists that each member shall have all the rights that are accorded every other; a union built upon the class struggle, appealing to all workers to get together on the right side of that struggle and achieve the revolutionary solidarity of their class.

It is true that this is a stupendous task; that there are great opposing forces; that every falsehood that malignity can devise will be put in circulation to defeat the object of this industrial organization, but nevertheless, those of us who have quitted the old unions and organized the Industrial Workers have done so with the determination that no matter what opposing forces may be set in operation, we will stand together side by side in the true spirit of class-conscious solidarity; we will move forward, step by step, in one solid body; we will speak the truth as we see the truth, and defy all opposition that may be brought to bear against the Industrial Workers by all the capitalist class and all its vassals and emissaries.

This organization has a mission as high and as noble as ever prompted workingmen, or any other men, to action in this world.

The primal need of the working class is education. By education I mean revolutionary education; the kind that enables them to see that the twenty odd millions of wage-workers in the United States are wage-slaves; that the economic interests of these many millions of human beings who do all the useful work and produce all the wealth are absolutely identical; that they must unite; that they must act together; that they must assert their collective power. When they reach this point they will cease to be slaves and become the masters of the situation; they will wipe out the wage-system and walk the earth free men.

They can do this, and only **they can** do it.

I cannot do this for you, and I want to be frank enough to say that I would not if I could. For if I could do it for you, somebody else could undo it for you. But when you do it for yourself it will remain done forever. And until you do it you have got to pay the penalty of your ignorance, indifference and neglect. You have got to pay it to the last farthing. Nobody on earth or in heaven can relieve you of the consequences of your inaction. As long as you workers remain divided and at cross purposes, instead of closing up the ranks and acting together you will have to pay the penalty of defeat and humiliation and slavery and all their attendant brood of festering evils.

But day by day you are increasing the sum of your revolutionary knowledge. You are becoming wiser by experience. The Industrial Workers would not have been possible a few years ago. It is an outgrowth of the very conditions I have described. It has become an imperative necessity. The workers everywhere are beginning to recognize it, and that is why they are flocking to its standard. That is why they are subscribing to its principles; why they are working for it day and night with a zeal that has never been known in the history of the organized working-class movement; and why it is rapidly spreading over the whole country, and increasing grandly in numbers and in power. Let me say to you that no matter what formidable or subtle opposition may be marshaled against it by the capitalist class the ultimate triumph of its principles is as certain as that tonight I stand in your presence.

There are a great many workers who insist that the old unions are good enough; and as long as they are of that opinion that is where they belong. So far as I am concerned I gave the old unions a fair trial. I am sure I had no prejudice against them. I am equally certain I did all I possibly could to build them up. For fifteen years I traveled almost continuously over this country organizing railroad men, and all kinds of workingmen, under the mistaken conviction that if we could only get them into the several unions of their trades and occupations we could in some way lift them out of their slavery. My mind was disabused. We had the railroad men, especially in this part of the country, pretty thoroughly organized. We had the numbers and to some extent the power, but we didn't know about the class struggle. We had that to learn. Then came the great conflict with the combined railroad corporations. We defeated them; and then we learned that the corporations control the powers of government. We got our first vital lesson in the class struggle. All the corporations had to do was to press the judicial button in their private office and the judges acted promptly in obedience to the command of their capitalist masters; the police and militia and regular troops followed in regular order; the press and pulpit and deputy marshals did the rest—and that was enough.

I never knew exactly how it happened until I understood the meaning of economic determinism and the class struggle, and then it was perfectly clear to me. And from that time I realized the imperative necessity for a different kind of organization. I then said, we have got to organize, not only the railroad employes, but the whole body of workers for concerted economic and political action; organize them all, so that all of them shall act together and assert the full measure of their power in the interests of all. As soon as a beginning was attempted the railroad corporations said, "This vicious thing must be stamped out of existence," and so, for two years, I scarcely traveled a foot without being shadowed by detectives of the railroad corporation. No matter where I went, the detectives were there. When I would reach the end of a certain line the detectives who had followed me would go back where they came from

and others would take their places. I remember when I got to Providence, Rhode Island, one night, I was conscious that detectives were watching me very closely. I learned that the railroad officials in New England had announced that the American Railway Union should never get a foothold there. There were two or three loyal men there I knew I could trust; I sent them word not to come to the hotel and not to hold a meeting, but to come to my room at midnight, and come one at a time. And they did come to my room one at a time and I organized them in my room at midnight. I left the city early next morning, and when I got to the next point I received a telegram reporting that they were all discharged, every one of them.

Notwithstanding our secrecy the corporations knew who had entered my room and for what purpose; and the men were summarily discharged. Why was it that the railroad corporations would not allow the American Railway Union to organize? For the simple reason that the American Railway Union proposed to line up all the railroad employes as the beginning of a thorough reorganization of the working class in general, and the railroads did not propose to tolerate that kind of an organization.

They were and are entirely satisfied with the old brotherhoods, supplying their officers with annual passes and their delegates with special trains to take them to and from their conventions. To such an extent is this partiality carried on some railroads, that if a member of one of the brotherhoods refuses to pay his dues and is expelled by the brotherhood, he is promptly discharged by the corporation. The corporation favors the organizations that divide, but is implacably hostile to the one that unites the workers.

For the same reason the capitalist newspapers have so ferociously denounced the Industrial Workers.

They have warned workingmen that the Industrial Workers consists of anarchists, socialists, revolutionists and chronic fault-finders and peace-disturbers, who have been kicked out of other reputable labor organizations; of discredited leaders who do not lead, in whom the workers have no confidence and for whom they can have no respect.

The capitalist press is a unit in denouncing the Industrial Workers, and practically a unit in commending the American Federation of Labor.

If you workers think that the capitalist press is a safe guide in such a matter, you properly belong with the American Federation of Labor. But if you believe, as I believe, and as every intelligent workingman must believe, that the kind of labor organization that the capitalists endorse is not the kind that is for your good—that the organization the capitalist press condemns is the one that has working class virtue and efficiency—then you will do as we have done; you will join the Industrial Workers of the World.

Think it over for yourself!

Take a backward look over the last three or four years; satisfy yourself by your own observation that there has been little but defeat for the workers in the struggle during all that period; that they have gained substantially nothing; that they are divided and disrupted and not organized in any true sense at all. The time has come for a real economic organization of the workers, and that organization is now in the field and makes its appeal to all workers, and its principles and purposes deserve the encouragement, the support and the loyalty of every workingman who has intelligence enough to understand his best interests and manhood enough to assert and stand by them.

I shall occupy your time no longer. I think that no great argument is required in support of our position. The preamble to the constitution states clearly and in few words the object of the Industrial Workers. You will find it written there that the workers and capitalists have nothing in common; that there are a few who have all the good things of life, while millions writhe in poverty and cry out in despair; that those who do nothing and produce nothing are rich, while those who do everything and produce everything are poor; that these two classes consist of capitalists who own tools they do not use, and of workers who use tools that they do not own; that the capitalists who own the tools have it in their power to take and do take from the workers what they produce, and that the workers must organize both their economic and political power to take and hold that which

they produce by their labor. This is brief and to the point, and every workingman is capable of understanding it.

As the chairman has stated, the Industrial Workers has no object in concealing any part of its mission, and while it proposes to ameliorate the condition of the workers in every way in its power as far as that is possible in capitalist society, its ultimate object is to entirely abolish the capitalist system, by making the workers themselves the masters of their tools, that they may work freely, unrestrained and unexploited; that they may secure to themselves and enjoy all the fruit of their own labors.

This is the object of the Industrial Workers, and if it has your approval, join it and help it to fulfill its mission, and thus hasten the emancipation of the working class, and the brighter, happier day for all humanity.

QUESTIONS.

Q. In the Industrial Workers are you going to separate the different trades, or has a man who joins, the privilege of going where he chooses?

Mr. Debs: He joins the department that represents his particular trade or occupation. The Industrial Workers is organized in separate departments, so that the autonomy of the trade is preserved within the organization. Take the men of a certain trade; they belong to a certain department of the organization; they have jurisdiction over their own trade affairs. They are subject, however, to the supervision of the general organization. Take the machinists for instance; they have a grievance; it will be adjusted, primarily, if possible, within their own department. If that is not possible then it becomes the grievance of the general organization—the concern of all. Instead of merely the machinists going out on strike as now, all their fellow-workers lay down their tools and support them to a finish.

Q. Is it true that the Industrial Workers was organized because the workers cannot gain anything by political action?

Mr. Debs: No, that is not true. The workers have never yet tried to get anything by united political ac-

tion. They will some time, I do not doubt. The Industrial Workers was organized because under the old form of organization they could get little or nothing by economic action. If they had secured satisfactory concessions under the old forms there would be no Industrial Workers. It has been organized because of the failure of the old unions on the economic field. Now, if it can be shown that they have succeeded, or even measureably succeeded, then there is no necessity for the Industrial Workers. But if, on the other hand, it can be shown that they have repeatedly and wretchedly failed, then there is an unanswerable argument in favor of the Industrial Workers.

Q. What is a tradesman or a skilled worker? Why should there be any distinction between a tradesman and any other worker in a shop?

Mr. Debs: That is not a very easy question to answer. There used to be a great many skilled mechanics who are now common workers. In proportion as machinery is improved the skill of the trade is transferred from the worker to the machine; and the skilled labor of one day becomes the common labor of the next. The locomotive engineer has always regarded himself as a skilled worker, and he has refused to affiliate with what is called the common laborer. Within the next few years the locomotive engineer will probably become a motorman and he will then come off the perch. , The work will be so simple that almost any worker can perform it. I have already referred to the coopers. In the town where I live there used to be a number of cooper shops in which there were skilled men; and they had a large and strong Coopers' Union. All the coopers that worked there belonged to it. And these coopers didn't have anything to do with common labor. They flocked by themselves upon the theory that they were skilled men and could not afford to put their skill on the same level with the common labor of unskilled workers. During the last few years that trade has undergone a complete change. The skilled coopers have practically disappeared and but a shadow of the old union remains.

Now, if you will ask that old cooper, who was a skilled man and belonged to a union that represented skilled labor a few years ago—if you will ask him who

the skilled man is, I think he can give you a satisfactory answer to your question. The skill of the trade is being gradually eliminated, and we are taking cognizance of this fact. We Industrial Workers recognize no aristocracy of skill. If any partiality were to be shown, however, I would give the unskilled man the benefit of it, because he needs it most. But there is no such discrimination in the Industrial Workers. The workingman, skilled or unskilled, is a worker; a man; and, whatever his occupation, has all of the wants and aspirations and is entitled to all the rights and opportunities of a human being for self-development. The machine is rapidly reducing workers to a common industrial equality, making the unskilled man the productive equal of the skilled man. The machine is the skilled man, and when he gets through, that question will have answered itself.

Q. Does the Industrial Workers make any provision for a wage scale?

Mr. Debs: Yes; it is going to get all the wages for its members that it possibly can, while the wage-system lasts.

Q. How are you going to prevent the leaders from being as bad as those of the trades unions are today?

Mr. Debs: In the first place, there will be but a single organization. There will not be a hundred different and conflicting organizations and as many different sets of officers.

Q. Then they will have only one to buy; it won't cost so much.

Mr. Debs: All the chances will be reduced to the minimum. Take the railroad brotherhoods for instance. If every locomotive engineer running into Chicago voted tomorrow to go out on strike, they could not go out without the official sanction of the Grand Chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, and he alone could prevent the strike. That is, they might vote unanimously to strike, but the power of one single grand officer would outweigh that of the entire organization. With us it is the rank and file that decides and is the supreme power. It is not likely they will sell themselves out. Besides, the Industrial Workers is made up of a body of class-conscious industrial revolutionists, who will not

be sold out. They are wide-awake workers who think for themselves, and act for themselves, and that is why they are in the Industrial Workers. The old trade unions are mainly run by the officers. Didn't you notice in the papers this morning that the coal operators who were here in session declared that they proposed to deal, not with the rank and file, the common herd, but with the national officers of the union? They will settle things, and that is how they are generally settled in the old unions; but that is not the way they will be settled in the Industrial Workers.

This is an important point. Take a plant such as a brewery, for instance; a score of different kinds of labor represented by as many different organizations, and as many different sets of officers. Here are temptation and opportunity multiplied by twenty. Here we have wide-open chances and incentive to bribery, corruption and treachery. Suppose now, that the same plant is organized in the Industrial Workers. Instead of being parceled out among twenty different unions they are all embraced in one. The men in one department have a grievance. That plant has a general committee; and if the grievance fails of adjustment in the department in which it arises, it is referred to the general committee that has supervision of the plant, and if they fail to satisfactorily adjust it, the matter goes to all the employes, as Industrial Workers, for action. They vote to go out on strike and that settles it. In the Industrial Workers no national officer and no set of national officers have power to override the action of the rank and file. And when they vote to go out, they go out and stay out, until they vote to go back.

"Labor is Entitled to All it Produces."

Subscribe for

The Industrial Worker

The Revolutionary Working Class
Paper of America.

ADVOCATE OF INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF THE

Industrial Workers of the World

The following writers are contributors:

EUGENE V. DEBS
DANIEL DE LEON
A. M. SIMONS
FRANK BOHN
JOHN M. O'NEIL
UPTON SINCLAIR
ERNEST UNTERMANN
JACK LONDON
THOS. J. HAGERTY
JOHN SCHLOSSBERG
GERTRUDE BRESLAU HUNT
MARGARET HAILE

SUBSCRIPTION, 50 CENTS A YEAR

Address: W. E. TRAUTMANN,
148 W. Madison St., CHICAGO

"An Injury to One is an Injury to All."

sluta för denna gång skrev snart igen

adr.

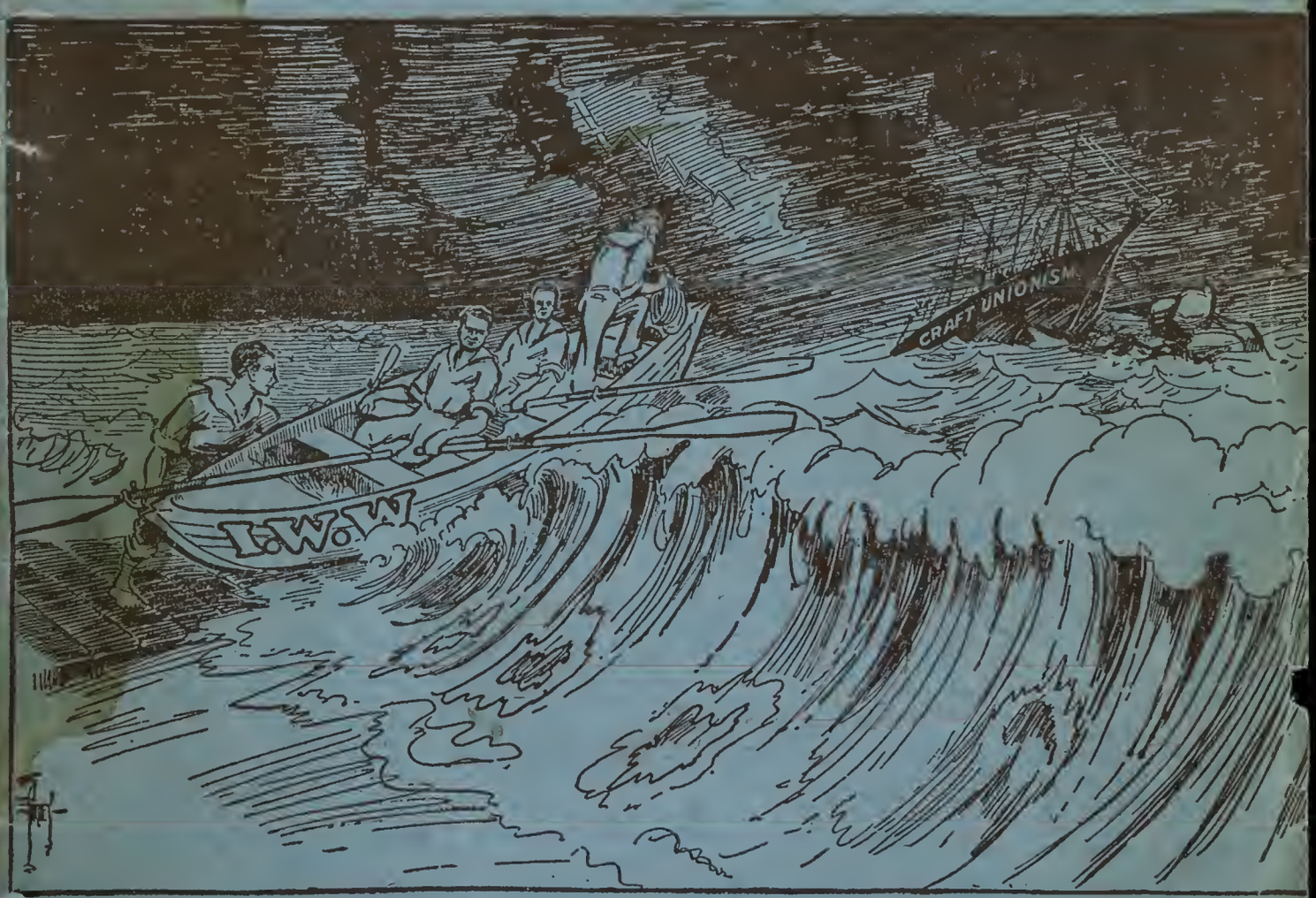
319 W. Pine st

Fremont Ohio.

George Patton
Stow Rockford
Scott Norton
Lemuel Lee

Printed In U. S. A.

Craft Unionism- Why It Fails



Craft Unionism is foundering on the rocks of Capitalism. Only Industrial Unionism as exemplified by the I.W.W. can save the day...

Published by the
Industrial Workers of the World
1001 W. Madison St. Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

Price Ten Cents

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

CRAFT UNIONISM -- WHY IT FAILS

PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Unon, No. 450, I. W. W.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

Craft Unionism—Why It Fails

THE STEEL CRAFT UNIONS

The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, which was the organization involved in the Homestead Strike, had been the largest and most powerful of the unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor up to that time. But, notwithstanding its record of achievement, it was structurally deficient in that it had totally neglected to provide for the inclusion of the unskilled workers in the industry with the skilled workers of whom it was composed. Moreover, while the steel companies were raking the countries of the old world with a fine tooth comb in their search for cheaper labor, this union insisted upon citizenship as a condition of membership. This was a shortsighted, unwise and dangerous policy. The native and English speaking workmen were thus encouraged to regard "the foreigners" as their industrial enemies. The lower living standards of the newcomers gave them a decided advantage in the competition for jobs, and this was naturally resented by the workers already on the ground. Not understanding the play of the economic forces which introduced the alien workers, the union, which should have functioned to regulate the competition, barred foreigners from membership, thereby intensifying instead of lessening the feeling of hostility between the two elements. The foreigners were met with persecution instead of education, with brickbats rather than organizers.

So, when the strike was declared in Homestead, the steel workers there and elsewhere were divided into "white" union men and foreigners; that is, into the organized skilled workers and the non-union unskilled workers. Economically this tended to be fatal. Solidarity was next to impossible under these circumstances, and worst of all, it was the union, with its erroneous conception, that stood in the way of unity—division was organized. As a consequence the union entered the strike under a disadvantage, which the ready support of the foreigners in the struck plants could not entirely overcome.

The Carnegie Brothers and Co., then the most powerful of the steel companies, had determined to brook no restraint at the hands of the union. It insisted upon the acceptance of a reduced rate and relinquishment of the union by the men. These were conditions that the steel workers were unwilling to accept, and the strike followed.

The steel workers at Homestead entered the strike with spirit and determination. But here, again, a failure to understand the

mission and function of a labor union militated against success and played into the hands of steel companies. For, tho the fight was nominally between the union and the Carnegie Co., it was really the beginning of a contest which was to determine whether the steel industry was to be conducted upon an open-shop, or upon a union basis. The real power of the Amalgamated lay in the measure of its control over the labor power of its membership but this was only dimly perceived. So when the Carnegie Co. proceeded to bring a force of armed Pinkertons the steel workers met them with physical force and defeated them in pitched battle. Had the coming of the Pinkertons been met with a general strike declaration in the industry the outlook would have been entirely different, but as it was, only the Duquesne mills and a few other plants in the surrounding country struck in support of the Homestead men. Insofar as the steel industry as a whole was concerned the shutting down of these plants was more than compensated for by the increased output in other plants manned by Amalgamated Association members. The strike failed and the greatest contributing factor to its loss was the union itself. From that time on the influence of the Amalgamated waned steadily until all power to protect the interest of the steel workers through it was lost.

In 1901 also, the steel workers under the banner of the Amalgamated sustained another disastrous defeat. This strike lasted 14 months.

A DEAD TRADE UNION IN THE WAY

Passing over a number of small outbreaks in the steel industry, we come to the great and memorable strike of 1919. The Amalgamated Association, since 1901, had been nothing more than a name, so far as influencing the relationship between the steel workers and their employers. M. F. Tighe, president of the union, testified before the Senate Commission investigating the 1919 steel strike that in its business relations with the steel companies the Amalgamated had become accustomed to "giving way to every request that was made by the companies when they insisted upon it." What a shamelessly humiliating confession—that the union was made the instrument by which the will of the employers was imposed upon the workers.

As an organization the Amalgamated by 1919 had been reduced to a mere skeleton. It did not afford a nucleus for organization of the steel workers, but, as the strike demonstrated, it was a rallying point for the forces which were determined to prevent organization. It could function only for the mill owners just as all the other unions in the craft system function for the employers. It is based upon and guided by a false conception about the character of the relationship existing between the employing and wage-working classes. The Amalgamated is the most useful institution upon which the steel barons can rely in their efforts to forestall organization of the steel workers as a national industrial working

force. It depends far more upon recognition by the employers than upon recognition by the workers in the industry. In this connection, William Z. Foster remarks, (The Great Steel Strike, page 19.)

> "If when in its prime, this organization had shown sufficient organizing activity in the non-union mills, and especially by taking in the unskilled, it would have so entrenched itself that Carnegie and his henchman, Frick, never could have dislodged it. But, unfortunately, it undertook too much of its organizing work at the conference table and not enough at the mill gates."

A question of real interest and importance is: Why was the course which the Amalgamated pursues adopted? That this course has always worked out detrimentally for the steel workers and advantageously for the companies should have impressed the members and those who controlled the organization, if there existed any sincere desire to further the interest of the men who labor in the industry. Is it more than a mere coincidence that in spite of their proven ineffectiveness the old methods and policies were adhered to by the Amalgamated Association? There is ground upon which to base the suspicion that the Amalgamated is maintained in the interest of the steel companies, as a preventative to the rise of a genuine militant organization among the workers in the steel industry. Its history for thirty years goes far in support of this theory. It has functioned to defeat the steel workers in every critical situation which has arisen since Homestead.

And if, as Foster correctly states, the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers was "finally crushed" in 1909 where was the wisdom in going to so much trouble and expense in 1919 to re-establish so futile an organization in the industry? Without questioning the sincerity of the men who struggled so bravely to bring the steel workers under the domination of the A. F. of L. and the craft system, we may point out that they were highly consistent. This is, however, only by the way.

A MIGHTY EFFORT, BUT MISDIRECTED

Even after allowing for the pro-union sentiment which obtained as a holdover from war necessity the organization work of the National Committee for Organizing the Steel Industry was a wonderfully successful achievement. Nothing similar had ever before been attempted or accomplished. Both credit and praise is due those who conceived the undertaking and those who had the work in charge. The failure of the strike was not their responsibility, but was the inevitable result of the craft union system. The directors of the effort were shackled and hampered at every step, and double-crossed at critical times, from the launching of the idea to the last act of treachery by the Amalgamated and other unions. The strike was lost not because its managers lacked either capacity or earnestness, but because of a lack of vision in expecting to employ the craft system for a purpose for which it was not designed, and could not serve.

Of course organization upon which the future of the workers in the steel industry was predicated was impossible without finance with which it might be undertaken, and the craft internationals were expected to supply this. In this respect also, the National Committee was disappointed. Organizing the steel industry, with the craft system as a pattern, was on a par with trying to sink a shaft with a toothpick and a teaspoon; and men like John Fitzpatrick and Foster, together with the workers who trusted them, were dupes of the system and the victims of betrayed confidence. The craft system leaders were fearful that, outside of the craft system, some other force would seek to establish a genuine and militant labor union among the steel workers, so they consented to the experiment as a purely defensive measure, intended to prevent the rise of a rival to the A. F. of L. The memory of Lawrence and other places was still with them.

A STRIKE BY MANY UNIONS

As far as the organizing work is concerned, stupendous results were obtained, but these were mainly due to the cultivation of the idea that the workers in the steel industry were to be united as a solid economic force. In practice, however, as fast as they were organized they were segregated into the several internationals claiming jurisdiction over the different labor classifications in the industry. The effect of this was to dishearten and discourage the steel workers. While the disaffection, which later on broke the solidarity of the strike, may have been due principally to the Amalgamated Association, the make-up of the craft system made unlikely, if indeed it did not make entirely impossible, that unity and harmony so necessary to workers in conflict with modern corporations. The actions of the Amalgamated were only a foretaste of what the craft system holds in store for workers in industries of any magnitude, where many classifications of labor are necessary to operation. The craft system is at variance with the arrangement of industry and can only secure for labor defeats and disaster.

Over 300,000 men were involved in the strike—a force strong enough, had there been harmony, to have brought even the arrogant United States Steel Corporation to its knees. But, as Foster points out in his book: "The weakening of the strike began about November 15.

> In a number of plants, notably those of the Trumbull Steel Company of the Sharon Steel Hoop Company, the Amalgamated Association had agreements covering the skilled steel making trades, but when the laborers struck these skilled men had to quit also. The break in the district came when the Amalgamated Association virtually forced the laborers back to work in the shops in order to get them (the shops) in operation * * * the companies refused to give the laborers any consideration until the end of the scale year. This meant that the latter were told to work and wait until the end of the following June, when their grievances would be taken up. The result

was disastrous; the laborers lost faith in the Amalgamated Association, feeling that they had been sacrificed for the skilled workers. They began to flock back to work in all the plants. Then men in other trades took the position that it was foolish for them to fight on, seeing that the Amalgamated Association was forcing its men back into the mills. A general movement millward set in. * * In passing it may be noted that *in Pittsburgh and other places where it had contracts, the Amalgamated Association took the same action, with the same general results.*"

While the assumption was that the A. A. favored the skilled workers at the expense of the unskilled it is far more correct to say that it played off the skilled workers against the unskilled in the interest of the steel companies. This is how it resulted, and so must the workers learn to regard the Amalgamated Association, the unions of which it is typical, and the system of which it is an integral part. Seen from a class viewpoint, the character it presents is that of capitalist agency.

Foster enumerates other effects of the craft system, tho apparenty without understanding that the system was responsible. He lays the blame upon the international officers, who, whatever their personal inclinations, only obeyed the laws governing in their craft union system. There is all thru Foster's account a failure to appreciate that the interest of the international unions in the craft system is something entirely different from that of the workers who compose them. And the strange thing is that he himself does not see this which he makes so plain for his readers. Of Steelton he remarks:

"In Steelton the men had been strongly organized during the war; *but the error was made of putting all the trades into one federal union. Then when the craft unions insisted later that their men be turned over to them,* the resultant resistance of the members, especially of the paid officers, virtually destroyed the organization. When the strike came, only a small percentage struck, nor did they stick long."

IT WAS DIVISION THAT WAS FATAL

The mistake was not made in putting Steelton men into one union, but when, in accordance with craft rules and custom, the membership of that one union was divided up and distributed among the several international unions. This procedure was right and proper according to the viewpoint of those who accept, and those who dominate the craft union system. That it works disastrously for the working class is a fact which only the few militants are yet considering.

That the workers resented and resisted this division shows that they were disappointed, and that it was imposed upon them. They felt the necessity for united action and realized that that was greatly facilitated by one organization embracing all the workers in the industry. No wonder most of them did not strike and that

the few who did did not stick long, when they found out that their economic swords were made of lath.

Again, in mentioning Bethlehem, Foster informs us that:

> "The first break came a week later (then September 29.) It was charged largely to the steam engineers, who heeded the strike-breaking advice of their international officers and returned to work.
>
> Another factor was the failure of support from the railroad men on the interplant system. Had these two bodies of men been held in line by their officers, the Bethlehem strike would have been a success."

Describing the Youngstown sector of the strike, Foster comments:

> "In the immediate Youngstown district the strike was highly effective, hardly a ton of steel being produced anywhere for several weeks. This was due largely to the walkout of the railroad men employed in the mill yards, who acted on their own volition. Many of these belonged to the Brotherhoods, and others to the Switchmen's Union, while some were unorganized; but all struck together."

Foster in his account of the steel strike indicts the craft union system, while apparently disinclined to arraign it. The loss of the strike is invariably attributed to divisions growing out of the system; moreover, from division for which the system provides and which it insists upon. *To blame the officials of the craft system for defects that are natural outgrowths of it is not more logical than to blame individual capitalists for the social defects inherent in the capitalist system.*

IT WAS THE SYSTEM THAT FAILED

In Sharon the Amalgamated Association is directly charged with disrupting the strike; in Bethlehem the pattern makers and steam engineers are made responsible; and in Steelton the craft system as a whole is proven to have made strike solidarity impossible, while the railroad crafts are scored for their failure to stand with the strikers.

Under the system it is made clear that no other outcome but defeat was possible. The Amalgamated Association and the other unions did exactly as they have always done and were only acting as they were intended to. The laws and practices of the craft system are their justification. To have expected them to function otherwise was to not understand the system or to hope for the impossible from it. It is not accidental that in every instance quoted by Foster he felt compelled to place the responsibility for the divisions that weakened the strike squarely upon a craft union. But he failed to explain that in each and every one of these instances the unions were well within their rights according to the industrial creed of the craft system. They operated in strict conformity with the laws that govern under the craft system, of which the A. F. of L. and the railroad Brotherhoods are the two main divisions.

Two things stand out prominently in Foster's account—every union man should read his book, "The Great Steel Strike and its Lessons": (1) *That unionism which cements the workers together is the first and greatest requirement of the workers in the steel industry; and* (2) *that such an organization cannot be achieved under the craft union system.*

Foster also proves conclusively that the defeat of the steel strike in 1919 was not due to the crushing power of the steel magnates, but because of the division-breeding and weakness-begetting tendencies of the craft system. This system lost the strike. Whether this was intentional or not does not matter. The thing that does count is that without a radical departure from its accustomed policy, it was unequal to winning. To have fought the strike in a manner that guaranteed success would have meant that the craft system must revolutionize itself and adopt the principles, forms and tactics of the I. W. W. This it will not do, and men who presume to know the labor movement should have been aware of that.

THE RAILROAD CRAFT UNIONS

The Buffalo Switchmen's strike (1892) affords another example of a great opportunity lost to labor. There is a lesson in this strike for union man and political actionist alike. The strike was called to enforce a 10-hour law for railroad men, which had been passed by the New York Legislature. The law was a fact on the statute books, but a fiction on the railroad jobs.

The strike paralyzed freight movement completely, from the time it was inaugurated on August 13. On August 18, the governor sent several thousand state troops into the strike zone, with the result that picketing by the strikers became impossible. In this extremity the national officers of the Switchmen's Union sought a conference with the brotherhoods, to consider an extension of the strike to include the engineers, firemen, conductors and trainmen. P. M. Arthur of the B. of L. E. refused to attend this conference and nothing came of it. The other railroad organizations expressed sympathy and willingness to co-operate with the switchmen, but refused to act without the engineers. Here again was the craft system in operation with its usual result—the Buffalo switchmen were beaten. No matter where the blame has been laid, the responsibility for the loss of this strike is with the craft system and its organized division of the workers. Many of the participants in the strike were so impressed that a movement to remedy the structural defects of the railroad unions was undertaken. The manner in which the defeat of the Buffaloswitchmen was brought about made a profound impression on Eugene V. Debs, General Secretary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, and editor of the firemen's official journal, who resigned his official position, and set himself to organize the American Railway Union. This organization was designed to embrace every worker in the railroad

industry. The A. R. U. grew rapidly, and in the spring of 1894, defeated the Great Northern Railway Company, in a strike which lasted about three weeks.

THE FIRST CONSCIOUS INDUSTRIAL SUPPORT

The Pullman general strike was inaugurated on June 26, 1894. No wage demands were made by the railroad men, for the purpose of the strike was to force compliance from the Pullman company, with the demands of its shop employes who had been on strike since May 11. The A. R. U. sought to prevent the handling of Pullman cars by the railroads, and thus to bring such pressure upon the Pullman Co. as would force it to come to terms with its shopmen. This strike offers the first instance of conscious industrial support in the history of American labor unionism.

The railroad brotherhoods, as organizations, were hostile to the A. R. U. and opposed to the strike, tho many brotherhood men joined with the strikers. This antagonism boded ill for the success of the strike, for with the first indications of opportunity, it was bound to assume the aggressiveness which later on marked the Pullman strike. The Brotherhoods felt that if the A. R. U. scored successfully, its victory would sound their own death knell.

As in the Buffalo switchmen's strike, there came a situation and a time in the Pullman strike when the only effective answer to capitalist hostility with its unfair and unscrupulous methods was felt to be a general suspension of production by the working class, for the measures adopted to accomplish the defeat of the A. R. U. threatened the future of all labor organizations. The general feeling among the workers of the country was that the occasion called for a demonstration of solidarity by the workers of the United States. This sentiment, however, was not shared by the labor leaders, although they deferred to it by responding to the A. R. U. invitation for a conference in Chicago. But these leaders did not attend the Briggs' House conference with any intention of planning a campaign to win the strike. They came to plan the death of the A. R. U., and they succeeded. The craft system could not afford the winning of the strike by the American Railway Union.

The conference had already decided not to assist the A. R. U. when Debs arrived at the conference room. They communicated to Debs their resolve to withold the industrial support of the craft organizations and notified him that he would plead in vain to have their decision reversed. Debs' eloquent pleading was powerless to move the conferees who had heard their masters' will. The craft system had doomed another labor effort and knifed another promising movement to death.

GOMPERS HELPED KILL THE A. R. U.

Samuel Gompers, while in New York, on his way from the Chicago conference to Washington, refused to disclose to the reporters anything that had occurred at the conference, but when

pressed for information as to his destination and his mission, confided to the newspapermen that he was on his way to attend the funeral of the A. R. U.

Federal troops, Pinkertons, injunctions and all the other devices employed to break this strike would have proven futile in the face of the solidarity which the Chicago conference was designed to bring about. The craft system proved to be the obstacle in the way of that solidarity. The measures to which the capitalist class resorted have been blamed for loss of the Pullman strike, and under cover of this assumption the real culprit—the craft union system with its organized division—has been hidden. The labor movement, as expressed by this system, killed the A. R. U., lost the Pullman strike by holding the organized workers in restraint when a few days' demonstration of economic solidarity would have decided the issue in favor of the railroad men, shown the advantage of industrial unionism; and would have advanced American labor far on the way of progress and in the vanguard of the world's movement, which is rightfully its place.

CRAFT SYSTEM MAKES SHOPMEN LOSE

In the strike of shopmen under the Shop Federation upon the Harriman lines in 1911, it was the craft system which undermined the strike and condemned the shopmen to failure and defeat. The means and methods used are vividly described by Carl Person in "The Lizard's Trail." Person was one of the foremost figures in this strike, and was in a position, as organizer and editor of the Bulletin, to be thoroughly acquainted with everything that transpired in connection with the strike. He leaves no doubt in the minds of his readers that the craft union system must be held responsible for the failure of the Harriman Shopmen's strike.

In the recent general strike of the railroad shopmen (1922) the men were favorably situated because the strike of the coal mine workers was still going on. Although this had not been calculated, the effect of these two strikes in closely related basic industries could have been used advantageously on behalf of both, were it not that the craft system, dominated as it is by the employers' mentality, worked to defeat both the mine workers and the shopmen. The "captains of industry" and their political henchmen were at their wits' end to cope with a situation so dangerous to their interest, as it was an unlooked for development. As the saying goes, "they were up in the air." *The first step necessary was to separate the two strikes by settling one and isolating the other.* The miners' strike was settled satisfactorily for the capitalists by the simple expedient of using the United Mine Workers of America to betray and sacrifice the miners. With the miners back in their working places there was only the shopmen's strike to deal with and the machinery of the craft union system, ready to hand, with which to break up the solidarity of the shopmen and to prevent the possibility of extending the strike to other railroad classifications. While

the miners' strike and the shopmen's strike were simultaneously in being there was some danger that the mass of workers, with the memory of the open-shop drive and consequent wage reductions to stir them, might break away from the control of the system and unite with the miners and shopmen in a nationwide protest. There was only one reliable preventative for such a demonstration—the craft system—and it did not fail the employers. Indeed, it never does.

THE SYSTEM PERMITS BRIBERY

At the very outset, although the maintenance-of-way men had voted overwhelmingly in favor of striking with the shopmen, President Grable chose to disregard the mandate of the rank and file and refused to call the men out on strike. This was as calamitous as it was treacherous. It may be nothing more than a coincidence, and may not mean that he is drawing the price of treason, but Grable has since been appointed as one of the members of the Railroad Labor Board.

With the maintenance-of-way men withheld by their own organization, and the other organized railroad workmen "functioning as usual," the contest resolved itself into a wearing down process, in which, in spite of what had transpired, advantage still remained with the shopmen. There were manifestations here and there among the members of the other railroad unions which indicated that the men in the ranks would have preferred to join the strike than to assist the roads by continuing at work. But the influence of the unions in the craft system was strong enough to keep them at work. The running crews at several division points refused to handle trains, and tho they did this under other pretexts, their real reason was their unwillingness to act as strikebreakers, which their unions would compel them to do. There was a delicate situation at such times, but the master diplomats of the craft system were equal to such occasions and managed to prevent the possible general railroad strike of which there seemed some liklihood more than once.

Up to the time of the "settlement" the prospect was bright for the shopmen's victory, and in proportion that victory for the strikers seemed assured the capitalists were stirred to use any means, fair or foul, to break the solidarity of the men.

"OUR" GOVERNMENT SHOWS ITS COLOR

The government took a hand in the struggle on the side of the roads. The machinery of the Department of Justice was placed at the disposal of the railroad managers, and the Attorney General of the United States, Harry M. Daugherty, applied before Judge Wilkerson, a recent appointee to the judgeship made vacant by Judge Landis' resignation, for an injunction to restrain the shopmen. Wilkerson proved himself a fitting successor to the labor-hating Landis. He issued the injunction. This was intended to

intimidate the strikers and break their solidarity. It seems to have had the anticipated and desired effect. There was a settlement made by the A. F. of L. Railroad Department officials with the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which it was alleged, would be made a basic agreement by which all the other roads would abide. With the signing of this agreement the solidarity which had marked the strike was broken, and the strike disintegrated. The victory which was almost within the grasp of the shopmen was transformed into a victory for the railroads. The craft system and its methods had defeated the shopmen.

The actions of the brotherhood unions in the 1919 strike of the shopmen were in keeping with their conduct in times of crises ever since 1877. With about half a million shopmen and laborers out, any manifestation of a determination to extend the range of the strike to include the running crews would have assured a complete and speedy victory, and would have spared the strikers and their dependents a great deal of the suffering which the protracted struggle entailed. Had the road crews been free to do that which they felt to be their duty to the shopmen in this emergency, a new page would have been written into American labor history and a new era opened for the American working class. But the craft system operated to prevent the solidarity that would have brought victory to railroad labor and demonstrated to the working class the power that unity is capable of generating.

CRAFT SYSTEM TESTED AND FOUND ROTTEN

The actions of the unions embraced in the craft union system have always corresponded to and with the needs of the employers. They have done at critical times what would best serve the interest of those who oppose labor in strike situations; and strikes afford the real test of labor organizations. Seen from the working class viewpoint, which contemplates classes in struggle, the craft union system presents itself as a capitalist agency by and through which the organized workers are made to bend to, and carry out the wishes of the employing class. *The* 1922 *shopmen's strike was lost because of this system with its servile and erroneous conceptions. The lesson it teaches is that while the working class of the United States are controlled by it, America will remain "the land of lost strikes."*

The railroad brotherhods in the 1920 strike of the yardmen under John Grunau clearly demonstrated their character and their usefulness as auxiliaries to the railway managers. They functioned to prevent the spread of this strike and saved the roads from embarrasment that would only have been relieved by granting of concessions to the strikers. The grievances which this strike was called to remedy were real and were so recognized by railroad men generally. The tactics adopted by Grunau and his following were also generally approved and considered to be potentially effective. The chances of winning were in favor of the men until the brother-

hood unions used all their influence to defeat the strike, and proved beyond a shadow of a doubt their character as railroad agencies. From their earliest records down to the present time the railroad brotherhoods have functioned conspicuously in behalf of railroad property, doing for the railroad capitalists, what they would have been unable to do for themselves and doing to the railroad working forces what the capitalists, unaided by these unions, could never have done to them. *Railroad labor is held back by the brotherhoods and until the railroad workers realize this and are guided by it, there will be no progress possible for them.* These unions because of their conceptions, forms and methods are not qualified to serve the railroad workers and can only function to serve railroad property at the expense of the workers. The railroad workers are thus organized not to serve themselves but to serve the railroads and to defeat themselves. The craft system must go before the workers can come into their own.

METAL MINERS UNIONS

The metaliferous miners of the Coeur d'Alene country struck in 1892 in protest against a series of wage reductions which the mine owners attempted to justify because of the decline in the price of silver. Strikebreakers were shipped into the district, and the miners, who had armed themselves, drove them out. Thereupon Federal troops were sent in, upon the request of the governor. The miners were defeated, but they learned the lesson of their successive defeats.

At that time the mine working forces were largely composed of an adventurous and migratory element, and were leavened with men who had many experiences with the local unions which prevailed in the mining districts. These men had agitated for a solidification of the unions in the various camps and the Western Federation of Miners resulted. This union was based squarely upon the recognition of the class struggle and was the most militant organization in the whole history of American unionism. It fought the battles of the workers in the metal mining industry with a clear view of the relationship between the wage workers and the mine owners. The W. F. M. was the mother of the I. W. W.

In 1905 the W. F. M. found it necessary to call a strike of the miners and the mill and smeltermen of Colorado, to secure the enforcement of an eight hour day law which had been passed by the legislature, and endorsed by a referendum of the voters of Colorado.

A UNION AT BAY AND NO HELP GIVEN

The struggle which ensued is memorable in the annals of labor. *All the forces of the state government which should have been used to enforce the law, were employed on the mine owners' side of the controversy.* The state militia was actually hired out to the mine owners and a reign of terror was instituted in the mining

regions, under the joint auspices of the mining companies and the state government. Elected officials who refused to do the bidding of the companies were deposed under threats of lynching; laws were violated by men sworn to uphold them; the state and national constitutions were set aside; citizenship rights were overridden and the rights of property in the cases of strikers and those who sympathized with them were disregarded. The will of "the white-shirted mob" took the place of the law; and disorder, to which the state authorities were a party, made the mining regions unsafe for working men who refused to scab or help defeat the miners.

The situation developed in the course of this strike constituted a menace not only to labor unions but to republican institutions. Yet, held in the grip of the craft union system, the organized workers, outside of some financial support, did nothing whatever which would help the miners to meet and cope with the forces that threatened the annihiliation of the W. F. M. and menaced the future of labor organization. It should have been plain that if the labor-crushing policy adopted against the W. F. M. in Colorado failed to win a protest from the organized labor movement that the employers would be encouraged to use similar methods elsewhere and against other organizations. But the labor unions of the craft system failed to take warning and there was not the industrial support given the miners which would have checked the arrogance of the capitalists and won the attention of the American working class. While craft unionism and its ideas dominate there will be no national action by American labor, because there will be no national movement and no clear conception of what labor owes itself and what is possible to it. The Colorado miners were defeated but it was not the activities of the mine owners' forces that beat them. It was the labor indifference and passivity which the craft system encourages and seeks to perpetuate.

CRAFT IDEAS IN THE COAL FIELDS

The history of the coal miners in the United States is a record of struggle. Time after time, in strike after strike, the coal miners have given evidence of a fighting spirit seldom equaled and never surpassed by the workers in any other industry. But their will to resist oppression has never found organized expression on a scale, and with a conception, which would enable them to protect themselves, and to advance their interest as industrial workers. The history of America's coal mine workers is as sad as it is glorious. Their efforts to achieve national unity have always suffered defeat. The economic ignorance in which the strivings of American labor have been lost, affected the organizations of the coal mine workers, and placed these toilers at the mercy of the capitalist schemers who misled them into defeat after defeat. The most aggressive and sustained attempts of the coal miners have never yet scored a clear cut victory for them.

In 1891 the coal miners were selected by the American Federation of Labor to strike for the eight hour day, on May 1. But just preceding the date the miners in the Connellsville coke region became involved in a strike. Being hard pressed they requested the A. F. of L. to apply the eight hour assessment to aid them in this struggle. The request was refused. Standing alone, without financial support from the unions with which it was affiliated in the A. F. of L., the United Mine Workers of America lost the Connellsville strike; and the miners, resenting this attitude of the sister unions, would not strike for the eight hour day that year.

The craft system operated to defeat the miners in the Connellsville dispute and to prevent the eight hour strike by the miners which might have had the effect of continuing these annual attempts by the different unions to establish the shorter workday. With this failure of the U. M. W. of A., the A. F. of L. abandoned national economic attempts and degenerated into a legislation begging body, without an economic excuse for existence, or even a pretence of industrial usefulness to the working class.

In 1892 the coal miners of Tennessee, who were organized in the Knights of Labor, seized the mines and released the convicts at Tracy City, Inman and Coal Creek, having defeated and disarmed the militia. Eventually the Tennessee miners were forced into submission.

CRAFT PSYCHOLOGY DEFEATS ANTHRACITE MINERS

The strike of the anthracite miners, in 1902, offers a striking example of how the craft system operates to prevent the solidarity upon which a successful outcome in strike situations can only be assured. The anthracite miners were driven to a point where, without industrial support, it became evident that defeat was inevitable. In this emergency appeals were made to and pressure was brought to bear upon the administration of the U. M. W. of A. to call the bituminous miners out on strike. John Mitchell, who was then president, refused to consider the proposal, upon the ground that to do so would be a breach of the contract and an evidence of bad faith. So the anthracite miners, abandoned by their fellow coal miners, and surrounded by other organized trades working unconsciously and unwittingly to defeat them, lost the strike. The U. M. W. of A. rigidly divided the mine workers and broke faith with them, to keep faith with the operators. The influence of the Civic Federation, reaching thru the craft system, dominated the labor thought of the U. M. W. of A. The direction of labor was controlled by the enemies of labor.

Only the more important of the coal miners' strikes can be touched upon in the scope of this pamphlet, so that the 1919 strike is the next to consider, and it may only be lightly treated.

During the world war the miners had many grievances which, because of a feeling of intense patriotism, they had been reluctant to press to a successful conclusion while the United States was

bending every effort to defeat the Central Empires. The earning power of the miners had suffered with the increase in the cost of living which had to be met. As a result of the national effort to recruit, equip and maintain an army of adequate proportions, and because of their own experiences, the miners were thinking in terms of national expression, and were impressed with the need for a shorter workday and work week so that their working time would be more evenly distributed over the year. A national agreement to cover all coal territory, the six-hour day and the five-day week were the principal demands of the men. The response to the strike order was splendid. In organized coal regions production was entirely suspended. This strike occurred at a time when the demand for coal was brisk—in November. The weather was intensely cold and the power of the miners as a social force was brought home to the country, but the U. M. W. of A. was not clear sighted nor militant enough to press the advantage which the organized miners unquestionably held.

A SYSTEM THAT DOES NOT RESIST

The government, sensitive to anything which threatened capitalist property, and eager to protect the interests of the capitalist class, took a hand in the struggle on the side of the mine operators. Attorney General Palmer applied for an injunction before Judge Anderson in Indianapolis. This injunction was designed to paralyze all the strike activities, and, by tying up the funds of the union, to prevent relief measures that would have enabled the miners to hold out. The injunction was granted. The officials of the Union, instead of disregarding and defying the injunction, permitted themselves to be intimidated by it. The strike was called off. Later on there were some readjustments in tonnage prices and daily and monthly wage rates, but the national agreement, six-hour day and five-day week demands of the mine workers were ignored. A potentially successful strike had been sacrificed upon the altar of capitalist interest according to the ritual of the craft system. In the 1919 strike was finished the foundation for the treachery that delivered the victorious miners into the hands of their industrial enemies in 1922.

In 1922 the strike occurred on April 1 instead of in the fall, as in 1919. This placed the miners comparatively at a disadvantage, as the busy season in the coal industry had passed. As in the preceding strike, the main demands were again the national agreement, the six-hour day and the five-day week. These were beyond question the predominant issues.

At the very outset of the strike, and even before it, the necessity of railroad co-operation was felt by the miners. This need they had learned from many previous experiences. A meeting of the miners' officials and brotherhood chiefs was arranged for and held in Chicago, before the strike took place. This was intended to head off agitation by the "radicals," for it was rec-

ognized by those who took part in it that under the craft system the railroad unions would not become involved industrially to assist the mine workers. "Moral support" for the miners was pledged by representatives of the brotherhood unions. This was nothing more than a gesture, and, translated into industrial terms, meant that, though the brotherhoods were satisfied of the justice of the miners' cause, they would do everything in their power to defeat them; or, at the very best, would do nothing more substantial to assist them than to wish them well. Such a conception of union duty runs against the logic of working class experience, and tends to delay the recognition that must eventually come to all labor, that the interest of one labor classification is the interest of all labor classifications, and that an injury to one set of workers is an injury to the entire working class. The craft system is arranged to deny the class character of production, and the class nature of the struggle between the employers and the wage workers.

While the creed of craft unionism is accepted by the organized workers, union memberships on strike will be unable to see that the alleged neutrality of associated unions, whose members remain at work in contact with, and assisting the scabs, makes them in fact and deed, allies of the employers. This the organized miners of the United States understand more clearly than perhaps any other workers embraced by the craft union system. Their industrial situation and the conditions under which they live and work bring a clearer perception to them. There are few illusions under which capitalism may mask itself in the coal fields.

U. M. W. OF A. NOT REALLY INDUSTRIAL

The United Mine Workers of America is admirably suited to the needs of the operators in their dealings with the mine workers, who are swayed by an elemental sense of right and justice; and among whom the instinct of class interest prevails to a greater degree than among other workers. The U. M. W. of A. appears to supply their craving for unity without doing so. The district organizations constitute sectional division as injurious to the mine workers as the division by crafts is in other industries. This division the U. M. W. of A. is calculated to preserve in one form or another. It also holds the mine workers to the acceptance of the idea that the causes of which they complain are due to misunderstandings that can be composed by conferences, rather than to the antagonisms which naturally arise out of the relationship between employer and employes. The effect of such a doctrine upon striking workers tends to confine their efforts to forcing a truce instead of fighting to a finish. It does more, for it blinds the workers to the strike as a social potentiality. In this more than in anything else lies the value of the craft system to the employers. The craft system takes for granted the incapacity of the workers to manage industry and, in this and other things, acknowledges the right of the

capitalist class to the mastery of industry and, as a corollary, to the fruits of the workers' toil. Only that this doctrine had a substantial foothold in the U. M. W. of A. jurisdiction made possible the debacle that sent a victorious force scurrying back to the mines in 1922.

In the weeks before April 1 the miners worked at top speed, and records for "coal sent to the top" were broken daily with a recklessness which betokened that the miners had not calculated, or were heedless about the bearing that a large coal surplus would have on the strike.

On April 1, it was estimated that there existed a surplus coal stock of 65,000,000 tons. With this amount and the estimated production from non-union territory, it was calculated that the mine workers would be starved into submission. But the response of the unorganized mine workers to the strike call upset all estimates. In a short time it became evident that it would be impossible to defeat the miners in a contest of endurance. The output of non-union mines decreased visibly, and the surplus millions of tons began to shrink, still the miners not only held their original strength, but were adding to it. The 65,000,000 tons had dwindled to bushels, bins were being scraped and coal yards swept clean, when the capitalist class awakened to the seriousness of the crisis. The industrial interests which were backing the operators saw a fuel situation arising that spelled disaster for them and they were anxious to see an end to the strike. Their enthusiasm for the operators' side of the controversy cooled rapidly. They wanted a coal supply, and the miners who were on strike were the only ones who could guarantee that. To get the men back in the working places was the problem that confronted American capitalism. The strike was no longer an issue between the mine workers and the operators, it had become a social question of fundamental importance. The politicians in Washington were willing enough to do what they could, but the Department of Justice and the War Department were not qualified to serve successfully in this kind of an emergency—they could not mine coal.

THE U. M. W SAVES CAPITALISM

The press thundered for a settlement of the nations' fuel problem, reflecting the uneasiness of the class for which it spoke. And there was reason for the uneasiness. Railroad coal stocks were depleted to a point where transportation was threatened. The production which trickled from the non-union mines was hopelessly inadequate for the national needs. In the face of a fuel famine there was indeed cause for alarm. The objective for which the miners had sacrificed had been attained. The hour had struck for them to dictate to the operators the terms of surrender. Then, if ever, the value of the U. M. W. of A. was to be tested. The Cleveland conference was arranged. When it was over the value of the United Mine Workers had indeed been tested—it proved to be of great value to the operators. The victory won decisively in the coal

camps was forfeited over the conference table. The miners won in industry; they lost in negotiation. Only the operators were represented in the conference. When will the miners wake up to this fact?

The principal operators refused to attend the Cleveland conference, and such employer representation as was present did not represent more than a mere fraction of the mine owners.

With every advantage on their side the mine workers conferees dropped the main demands—(1) the six-hour day and five-day week; and (2) the national agreement. Of course the latter was not possible, owing to the fact that the operators represented did not include the powerful coal interests. Nevertheless, with the knowledge that such was the case when the terms were arranged in Cleveland, the announcement was made that national agreement had been reached. This was welcome news to the ears of the striking mine workers and their dependents. The incentive to win which had inspired and supported them gave way to a desire to return to the mines and the enjoyment of the benefits which they imagined had been secured. There was a rush for the mines, and where the men could get back, they returned to work. The strike was broken.

The national agreement proved to be a hoax. There was no national agreement. Each district had to arrange its own terms as best it could. In some districts, where the U. M. W. of A. was weak, the mine workers found it impossible to effect an agreement, and they had to continue striking, nothwithstanding that the Cleveland conference had consumated a "national" agreement. Only when the time came to cash in on their "victory" did they discover that they had won only a goldbrick. The treason of Cleveland is the labor crime of the century.

U. M. W. OF A. ABANDONS NEW MEMBERS

A pitifully conspicuous example of the treachery and heartlessness wrapped up in the Cleveland "national agreement" is afforded in the treatment accorded the mine workers of Fayette County, Pa. The men in this region had been unorganized previous to the strike, and were among those whose accession to the ranks of the strikers turned the tide of battle in favor of the mine workers. Their behaviour all thru had been equal to every test. They had covered themselves with honor. They were left to shift for themselves, betrayed and abandoned by the organization upon which they depended and in which they trusted. Were there no other counts against the actions of the U. M. W. of A. than this desertion of the Fayette County miners, that would suffice to bring it under suspicion and into contempt. But when it is considered that it provided for the continuation of the district division from which the mine workers were striving to escape; and that it relinquished the shorter day and week demands at a time and under conditions when, if ever, there was a good chance to secure these, it made it

self-evident that the interest which the U. M. W. of A. was concerned about conserving, was not that of the coal miners but of the coal operators.

It may not be out of place to mention that the organization of unorganized territory was primarily an achievement of the rank and file from whom the strike won a sort of religious devotion. The men spread over adjacent non-union territory with missionary zeal and appealed to their fellow slaves of the underground to join the revolt. Of course as they made headway the officials had no option but to take command. It was a rank and file fight from April 1 until the Cleveland conspiracy was arranged. The leadership of the strike was neither sincere nor competent, unless it was in the interest of the operators. The open wrangling of the officials more than once threatened to smash the solidarity of the men. The expulsion of Alex. Howat and the Kansas district tended to weaken the union on the eve of the strike. The line of demarcation between the administration followers and the militants was emphasized by the action taken with regard to Howat. In the days of preparation, and right through the strike up to the enactment of the Cleveland treason the men who control the U. M. W. of A. for the operators left themselves open to suspicion. The union did not intend to win the strike but the members did. The non-union workers who threw their lot in with the strikers were the deciding factor. They brought about the condition with which neither the operators nor their union tools were prepared to deal. The men could not be beaten, so they had to be betrayed. And they were.

Outside of the mines the organized workers handled and used coal without regard to the source from which it originated. Union railroad men hauled cars to and from the mines that were in operation, even though they recognized that in helping to supply coal they were helping to defeat the miners. Here was the situation: the railroad men aided the production that the miners were endeavoring to suspend. The craft system kept the organizations working at cross purposes. It is designed to do so. It sets union against union, for while one union is on strike and another continues at work assisting the strikebreakers, it is aligned with the employer no matter what its labor professions may be. The sympathy of labor is expressed in action and not in words. The railroaders and those union men who handled coal while the miners strike was on were as guilty of strikebreaking as were the spineless wretches who went into the mines. The craft system is organized scabbery. Every union in it is potentially a strikebreaking agency. It functions to compel men, who would otherwise refuse, to remain at work in struck employments. Participation in the miners' strike by organized workers in contact with the coal, would have helped to win the strike in a short time and have spared the miners and their families much suffering. But the craft system condemned them to fight alone, and under its regulations they were betrayed when they could not be defeated. But the experience gained, added to previous similar experiences, has loosened the grip of

the U. M. W. of A. upon the coal industry and its workers. The recognition spreads among the mine workers that the operators had their way, not in spite of the union, but because of it. A new conception grows among the mine workers of America.

THE GREAT LAWRENCE STRIKE

The historic strike of the textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., under the banner of the I. W. W. is one of the greatest events in American labor history.

This memorable struggle was precipitated when the textile employers, because of a state law, which reduced the weekly working time from 56 to 54 hours, deducted two hours pay from the operatives who were affected by this legislation. The amounts involved were only trifling, but they were taken out of pay envelopes which were already hopelessly inadequate. The shortened wages and I. W. W. agitation organized this strike, which emptied the textile mills of Lawrence.

From the very first the activities of the unions in the craft system were directed to undermine the strike, in order to discredit the I. W. W. The United Textile Workers' Union under the late John Golden, lent itself to accomplish the defeat of the textile workers; the Central Labor Union of Lawrence used its prestige to destroy the organized resistance of the mill workers, until it discredited itself with even its own affiliations.

The outrages committeed against the strikers were not only condoned but endorsed by the local A. F. of L. officials and Golden, who volunteered assistance to repress the "lawlessness" of the I. W. W. Never before was the capitalist character of the A. F. of L. so openly and shamelessly exhibited. Attempts were made to organize the more skilled classifications among the strikers into craft unions, and to arrange settlements for these with the textile companies, thus breaking the solidarity of the workers—a consummation devoutly desired by the Woolen Trust.

A RAID BY THE A. F. OF L.

To sustain the strikers, whose low wages made their individual resources slender, and the newness of the organization made a treasury impossible, it was necessary to appeal for finance to sympathetic elements throughout the United States. The response was generous, and helped greatly to stiffen the resistance of the strikers. Naturally, the textile companies were mortified when it became evident that the working class of the country was aroused to the point that the Lawrence strikers would not be forced back into the mills because of hunger. Money, food and clothing flowed into Lawrence in a steady stream. The manufacturers could not stop this support from the outside, but they could diminish it by diverting some of it into channels that would render it unavailable for the strikers. The machinery of the A. F. of L. unions was used for this purpose. John Golden, whose union did not have a member

in Lawrence, and the president of the C. L. U., issued circulars appealing for funds to aid the strikers to all the Central Labor Unions in the United States and Canada. So rank a policy won the condemnation of many of the craft unions. The Ironmolders' Union of Lawrence denounced this treachery of Golden and C. L. U., as did the Boston Central Labor Union. Even the Central Federated Union of New York City condemned this attempt to aid the textile barons. As Leslie Marcy remarked, in an article in the International Socialist Review at the time, "What Golden did was merely in accord with the policy and doings of the A. F. of L." The craft system can only serve the employers. Marcy was in close touch with the strike and his accounts of it are more than ordinarily reliable, and we find him stating that, "All over the country, local A. F. of L. unions have denounced Golden and his official friends, and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. has gone on record solidly in favor of their class and against their officials."

But inasmuch as these officials were "acting in accord with the policy and doings of the official A. F. of L.," the actions of the local unions and central bodies were in effect a condemnation of the craft system, because what transpired in Lawrence, and in connection with the Lawrence strike, has marked the conduct of the system in every important labor situation that has arisen since the A. F. of L. has dominated in American labor affairs. In parenthesis, it might be mentioned that when the I. W. W. in Goldfield had secured the eight-hour day for every labor group in that city it was the A. F. of L. which conducted the campaign that resulted in the loss of the short workday and the re-establishment of ten and twelve hours as the daily working time. *In McKees Rocks, Paterson, Akron, in fact wherever the workers have fought under the I. W. W., the craft system unions have done everything possible to prevent success.*

The tactics employed by the I. W. W. in this strike smashed many of the old union traditions to smithereens. As each new development demonstrated the power of the new conception the prostitute press and the prostituted craft system spokesmen became poisonously slanderous; the church organizations lent themselves readily and eagerly to propaganda in the interest of the employers; the city and state authorities, thus encouraged, instituted a campaign of ruthlessness in which every human consideration and every constitutional right of the strikers was ignored. But the strike animated by the I. W. W. ideals was not to be broken, and the fighting tactics employed kept the working class of the country awake and alert as well as keeping the morale of the strikers at a high pitch. When stationary picketing was put under the ban, mass picketing was adopted, and the processions of thousands of workers daily kept up the spirit of the men and women and effectively silenced the machinery of the mills. The mills were empty and the streets were crowded with a cheering, singing mass of strikers. Strikebreaking was impossible under these circumstances.

When, to relieve the pressure of strike relief and to advertise in outside places the undernourished condition of the strikers, it was decided to send the children to friends in other cities who would care for them pending the close of the strike, the textile barons through their political agents sought to prevent the children going away. The police and militia met the Philadelphia delegation at the railway station and women and children were clubbed and beaten and then arrested. The A. F. of L. condoned this outrage and in doing so furnished another evidence of the capitalist character of the craft system. Throughout the strike the craft union leaders were among the most active and dangerous enemies of the striking textile workers. Golden is on record as proclaiming that the companies would find it more advantageous to deal with the A. F. of L. than with the revolutionary I. W. W. The companies surely would have preferred to do so but the textile workers would have nothing to do with the A. F. of L. and because there was nothing, nor no one to deliver, Golden and the A. F. of L. had to be used in other ways. They were.

The Lawrence strike was won decisively. Wages were increased from 5 per cent to 25 per cent, putting more than $5,000,000 per year additional into the pay envelopes of the textile workers.

Nor was the effect of the strike only local. Says Marcy:

"The strike in Lawrence has had far-reaching effects. As a direct result of the strike wages in practically every mill in New England have been increased. In Lowell, when the I. W. W. sent organizers into the city, the bosses rushed to give their workers an increase of five per cent.

"Already substantial increases in their wages have been accorded in

Fall River	25,000	employes
Nashua	3,500	employes
Chicopee	1,800	employes
Waltham	1,500	employes
Holyoke	1,400	employes
Salmon Falls, N. B.	800	employes
North Adams	600	employes
Greenville, N. H.	400	employes
Worcester	300	employes

and many other cities.

"The increase in wages in no case falls below five per cent. For the lowest paid workers it will range from 15 to 25 per cent."

In Lawrence the long record of American labor defeats was broken, but it was done by a new organization inspired by a new union ideal, and guided by a new conception, which engaged new forms and employed new tactics. The I. W. W. in the Lawrence strike pointed out to labor the way in which to redeem itself, and craft unionism showed itself beyond peradventure as anti-labor in design, character and action.

The lesson of Lawrence is that industrial solidarity by the workers is equal to their every economic need. It was the greatest labor experiment of decades and a brilliant success, in spite of the handicaps under which it was conducted. The concern of the capitalists of America has been to prevent labor from learning what Lawrence teaches, and they have found the craft system their most powerful agency in accomplishing this. Every means, contemptible, despicable and treacherous, have been used by the craft system and employers to keep the working class of America in ignorance about the Lawrence strike and the organization which conducted it so successfully.

"By their fruits shall ye know them."

CRAFT UNIONISM AND BUILDING WORKERS

From earliest times it has been a fixed policy with the employers to eliminate unionism as an influence in industry, and thus to preserve to themselves autocratic rulership over their employes. Even of the craft system, which has served them so well, they stand in dread. They recognize that in its failures and defeats there abides a lesson which labor will learn eventually. They fear the rise of an industrial organization with which they will be unable to cope. Therefore whenever the time seemed opportune they have declared war upon labor unions of every kind and description.

Following the World War the capitalist class of the United States started an open shop drive all over the country. Their purpose was to strip labor of every means of protection, and then prey upon a working class which would be helpless. The deflation of wages was an accompaniment of this drive. There had been conducted an extensive and carefully arranged propaganda campaign, which was intended to impress the workers that wages were extravagantly and unreasonably high. And, unfortunately, the workers were to an unbelievable extent so impressed. Some craft unions voted reductions for their memberships, and as a means of working class resistance the craft union system proved a great disappointment even to those who understood its makeup and workings. Here was a national emergency which the organized workers recognized as such, but there was no national labor medium with which the general attack might be countered. In the A. F. of L. and the railroad unions—the craft system—labor could find no national expression. It has not yet dawned upon most of the sincere men in each of these camps that the system is designed to prevent an economic national expression, nor do most of them appreciate that the open-shop campaign found its greatest reinforcement in the craft system.

OPEN SHOPPERS DEFEAT CRAFTS

Organized and unorganized workers alike looked to, and depended upon, the leaders of the craft system to meet the attack of the open shoppers with all the strength that the organized labor

movement could muster. This not only was not done but in the instances where local unions offered resistance the attempts were discouraged, and in some cases outlawed. The autonomy which is the cardinal principle of the system, and the cornerstone of division, operated to bind the unionized workers so that conquest by the anti-labor forces was made easy. It is an open secret that were it not for the craft union system the open shop fight would have been a much harder affair for its managers than it turned out to be. Only the division to which the system is committed made progress possible for the enemies of labor.

In San Francisco, New York, Chicago and other cities, where the rank and file union men sought to break the bonds that held them helpless the machinery of the craft system was set in operation to bend or break them. Alignments and strikes that did not accord with craft union conceptions were "outlawed" in the interest of the system which in the final analysis is the interest of the employers. "Divide and conquer" has always been the slogan of rulers; and those who achieve and maintain division and make conquest easy are always the agents of the ruling power. The craft system is no exception. This is what union men must learn and be guided by.

From the very beginning of the open-shop war its class character was evident. Everyone who understood anything about the labor movement was aware of that, but those who controlled the craft system refused to admit this to be the case. And if there had been made such acknowledgment it would have involved a simultaneous statement that the working class of America were without an economic weapon with which to combat the employers' forces—the organization bankruptcy of American labor would of necessity have to be declared. The craft system cannot be expected to denounce itself. The workers must attend to that.

The infamous Landis Award is typical of craft union procedure and serves to show to those who are willing to see it, the menace the craft system holds for labor. The policy of submitting industrial disputes to outside parties on the presumption that committees or persons selected as arbitrators are neutral and unprejudiced is as ludicrous as it is dangerous. Moreover when men like Landis, who as judge sentenced radicals to such sentences as were imposed upon the I. W. W. prisoners, can be regarded as impartial, there does not seem to have been either care or judgment used by those who presumed to accept him in the name of labor. There was submitted to Landis as arbitrator, only the question of wages, but his award covered all the terms in the relationship between the building trades and the building contractors. This impartial (?) and neutral (?) gentleman extended his jurisdiction to suit the employers. There is little question that this award would never have been submitted unless there had been some assurance given that some of the unions were so controlled as to accept it. The award was predicated upon division among the building unions. They divided. Some accepted the award and some others rejected

it, and so long as some were bound by it and others refused to be bound by it, it was possible to install it to some degree in the Chicago building industry. Since that time, the different unions have been at daggers' points and solidarity among the workers in the industry there has been impossible, and hostility and bad feeling between the union members has resulted.

CRAFT SYSTEM TREACHERY IN CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES

Into this breach jumped the Building Trades Department of the A. F. of L., but, instead of bringing unity or laying the basis upon which it might be secured, John Donlin and the official group aligned themselves with the labor-hating, anti-union Citizens' committee for the enforcement of the Landis Award. This conduct, although quite in keeping with craft system policy and custom, has intensified the hostility between the factions and bred resentment against the A. F. of L. dictatorship. Between the "regulars" who accept the Landis award, and the "outlaws" who reject it, the feeling is more bitter than toward the plain everyday scabs. These are more readily tolerated by the "regulars" than are the "outlaws" and they are more acceptable to the "outlaws" than are the "regulars" who have violated every principle that has hitherto guided and carried forward the organized building workmen in Chicago. Such are the fruits of the craft system.

Recently the Bricklayers' union signed a contract with Chicago contractors which binds it to disregard the grievances of all other workers where they are employed. Hereafter "the bricklayers will go it alone." They are back to where the building trades were one hundred years ago. Some of the other unions also have signed similar agreements. It is because of this that the threatened general strike of building workers did not take place on June 1, although the members of the regular unions favored it as much as the members of the outlaw unions did. The system still grips them though its hold is weakening.

Nothwithstanding the evidence there are those who still believe that the craft system is a labor agency; that its machinery can be used to advance the working class interest. Verily, as Barnum said, "they like to be humbugged." But as Abraham Lincoln remarked, "You cannot fool all of the people all of the time." The signs are not lacking which show that the day is at hand that will mark the passing of the craft system and the advent of an organization which will organize by industries along class lines, and be guided by the knowledge that the war of the classes is a struggle in which arbitration is a poor substitute for solidarity and the power it generates.

THE FIRST ORGANIZATIONS

The strike of the Boston House Carpenters in 1825, was entered upon for the double purpose of establishing the ten-hour day and raising the wages of the carpenters. Something slightly less

than 1,000 men were involved. In the Boston of that time, such a large number of mechanics constituted a strike of great proportions, yet it ended in an overwhelming defeat for the carpenters.

None of the other building trades came to their assistance industrially. Some of them may have contributed finance, though we are not aware that they did so. This was then a general custom with the organized trades, as a means of assisting striking fellow workers. However, none of the building mechanics struck in support of the carpenters, while, on the other hand, the employers in all the industries rallied to aid the master builders. The united employers had recourse to propaganda which did not differ materially from that which is being put out by the employers of the present day. The virtue of industrious application by employes was set forth with emphasis; the moral danger lurking in idle time for wage earners was religiously pointed out; and the patriotism of the workers was invoked to offset the "foreign agitation" which threatened to undermine "the proverbial diligence of the sturdy sons of New England."

The carpenters had based their plea for a reduction of hours upon patriotic and humanitarian grounds and confidently expected to win public support for their cause. The workers had yet to learn that strikes are not decided upon abstract principles, but by the exercise of power. Of course the carpenters were disappointed.

The employers, on the other hand, cherished no illusions, and while they, too, resorted to propaganda, it was only to justify the extreme measures they adopted to defeat the carpenters. It was decided that, if it was found necessary to defeat the carpenters and destroy their union, no buildings would be erected. They determined that the men would accept terms dictated by them.

At a meeting of the business elements, called following the inauguration of the strike, it was resolved to support the master builders "at whatever sacrifice or inconvenience, and, to this end, extend the time for the fulfillment of their contracts, and even to suspend building altogether, if necessary."

Here is illustrated the readiness with which the employers perceive the rise of a dangerous power and the promptness with which they act on behalf of their own interest. This manifestation by the carpenters they regarded as a danger signal, and they acted accordingly. They were aware that a successful outcome of this strike would offer encouragement to other wage workers to organize and make demands, so they lost no time in getting together and making common cause with the master builders.

ONE CRAFT—STANDING ALONE

How different was the passivity of the workers, with this evidence of the employers' spirit before them, is indicated by the fact that the carpenters alone bore the weight of the united attack by the employers of Boston. In their fear the workers were unable to appreciate that their industrial support would have turned the tide

on behalf of the carpenters, and thus have made possible for themselves the securing of the betterments for which the carpenters were contending; and that the answer to employer combination is employe solidarity. Their indifference, or misunderstanding, and the aloofness growing out of it, lost the Boston situation for the carpenters and opportunity for the working class as a whole.

The points involved in this dispute—hours and wages—were of vital importance to all other workers as well as the carpenters. The issue was really a class issue, a fact to which the employers were keenly alive, though its significance apparently was lost to the workers. In the defeat of the carpenters there must have come to these others some faint recognition of a setback for their own ambitions and hopes. A reduction of hours was desired, even coveted by the workers in every trade and calling, and they witnessed the postponement of its realization, without ever suspecting that the responsibility lay with themselves. Even so it is still today, notwithstanding that all past experience goes to emphasize the losses incurred by labor through this weakness in the structure of its organizations. If experience is a good teacher, there can be little question that the American unionists are very slow scholars.

The Boston strike is typical of the strikes of that period in American labor history. Most of the strikes were lost because all such efforts were made along lines that compelled the strikers to fight, alone and unsupported, against all the opposition that the united employers could array against them.

These successive failures bred a tendency to doubt the efficacy of economic organization, and inclined the workers to seek other means and other fields to achieve their aims. It appears never to have struck these early unionists, rigidly set as they were in their craft consciousness, that the repeated failures were due not to the economic organizations, but to the manner in which these were constructed and used.

So, when the politicians appeared with programs that seemed to possess the virtues of ease and security, it was comparatively easy to induce those who had made strike sacrifices in vain, and those who had witnessed the failures, to attempt reform through politics.

There is not lacking evidence that there were some among the workers in these times who saw the necessity for working class unity. Such organizations as "The New England Association of Mechanics, Farmers and Other Working People" could only have been brought into existence by those who saw the necessity of united class action. But the important thing for us to consider, equally with the birth of such an organization, is the manner and means by which its destruction was encompassed. And we find that politics was responsible for its death.

This union had many weaknesses, such as admitting employers who were themselves actively engaged in industry, but it held the germ of working class unity, and was therefore a great labor potentiality. It was the very kind of organization of which the Boston employers stood in dread, as is evidenced by the manifesto issued by them, which said:

> "If this confederacy should be countenanced by the community, it must, of consequence, extend and embrace all the workers in every department in Town and Country."

A union to embrace all the workers in town and country! That was what the bosses saw in 1825, that the workers needed; and they feared that the workers would supply that need. That is what the workers have needed ever since. It is also what the workers have not yet gotten. The workers are still where the employers want them to be, in the manner of organization. The interests of employers have been well served by American unionism. What happened in the strike of the Boston carpenters is still happening today where craft unionism holds sway, which is the principal reason why strikes are lost.

Today, as in that olden time, the workers are being urged to political action as a remedy for union weakness. There is little recognition that a resort to politics is a confession of the complete failure of craft unionism in its particular field. As in the days of the Boston strike, this failure is due to the division-breeding form of modern craft unionism. What is needed is unionism that will include all the wage workers in all the industries, in town and country, in one solid organization, where, by controlling their labor power, they will control society and dictate the terms of their service. The use of their power as workers, and not as citizens, is the instrumentality upon which the proletariat must rely. Once organized along class lines, they can command that power, and, at all times, exert sufficient pressure for their purposes.

THE MECHANICS UNION

In the strike of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations for the ten-hour day in Philadelphia, in 1835, we are presented with a strike form in keeping with the experience of the earlier unions. And, by the way, this union was formed after the utter collapse of the political movement into which its predecessor had been led. The union men in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and other cities were convinced that politics were detrimental to the economic organizations of labor; and that single trade strikes were condemned to failure.

As to how these things were regarded the following quotation from the National Laborer will show:

> "We declare that the Trades' Union is not political (we mean by "political" anything relating to Party politics), either in its nature or

operations. It is a social compact, formed of Societies and Associations of Mechanics and Workingmen, *which, having discovered that they were unable singly to combat the numerous powers arrayed against them, united together for mutual protection.*"

It would appear to be evident from this that these unions were resolved to confine their efforts to economic action. That there is, indeed, no room for doubt upon this score is proved by another reason advanced in the same statement, that "the Trades union never will be political because its members have learned from experience, that the introduction of Politics into their Societies has thwarted every effort to ameliorate their conditions." The experiences of the unionists with politics had been recent enough at that time to be fresh in the minds of the workers. They were, or thought that they were through with politics.

The reorganization of the Mechanics' Union had been effected in 1833, when the political movement had collapsed, but the depression which prevailed made it unwise to attempt any sweeping labor reform immediately. The depression continued during 1834 and this year was also regarded as unpropitious. The union, however, carried on an intensive campaign of agitation and organization.

In 1835, with the lifting (to some extent) of the depression, the decision to strike was made, and in June sixteen societies dropped their tools simultaneously.

The strike lasted less than three weeks, and the historian relates that "the union gained in prestige and in strength."

This union, a local central body, endeavored to organize the workers in every calling into trade societies, and to unite these in itself for combined action. Its effectiveness is proven by the shortness of the strike and its sweeping success. That this was due to the more or less general suspension which resulted from the joint action of the members of so many societies is beyond question.

Had these Philadelphia workmen attempted to gain the concessions as individual trades, as did the Boston carpenters ten years previously, they would have failed as dismally. With the extent of solidarity achieved by the Mechanics' Union in this strike the unity of the employers was undermined, and each was thinking of his own industrial survival.

AN EARLY EXAMPLE OF SOLIDARITY.

That the new form of unionism, expressed by this central body, was guided by a genuine labor spirit is vouched for by its action in the case of the dock workers and coal heavers of Philadelphia, who, because of a strike, found themselves the victims of persecution at the hands of the city authorities. Although these strikers were not at the time affiliated with it, the Mechanics' Union took up their cause and pushed their case to a successful conclusion. There was a display of earnestness and a desire for working class solidarity about this union which marks it as a re-

markably progressive body at a time when labor was neither militant nor class conscious.

The Mechanics' Union also exhibited in its proclamations some perception of the class struggle as such, tho Marx and Engels had not yet enunicated their theory or supplied the term. One declaration was to the effect that it recognized an inclusive, co-ordinated, organization "as the last hope of the Mechanic and Laborer, knowing that if the aristocracy could sever the link which now binds them together, every trade society would be attacked, and would sink in its turn beneath the corrupting influence of wealth and avarice."

When it is considered that the great majority of the workers at this time were illiterate, and neither thinkers nor students, and that they were without the experience which only time could furnish, the sense of class interest and the militancy displayed by this union is truly remarkable.

The form of union here developed was admirably suited to the workers' needs when industrial enterprises and their ownership were localized. These general unions, had they been preserved, would have enabled the workers to adapt their organizations and themselves to the changes which have since come in the technique, operation and control of industry.

Unions of this type constituted the hope of the workers and the fear of the capitalists of that period. With the coming of the panic of 1837, and the spread of unemployment as a consequence of it, the Mechanics' Union was lost to the workers. It had demonstrated, however, that the greater the degree of unity among the workers, the greater the possibilities open to labor. It marked a long step in advance of the decade before.

MUCH CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

The number of lost strikes with which the early labor history of the American workers is dotted may be attributed to the apparent inability of the unions to draw a clear line of distinction between workers and their employers. There is still to be noticed among the wage workers a survival of this shortsightedness. Men who will not hesitate about making demands upon a large corporation are loth to make similar demands upon a small contractor or farmer. The labor movement must, in order to fulfill its mission, see the wage relationship as a social and industrial line of cleavage. *The wage-workers—sellers of labor power—are engaged in a struggle with the buyers of labor power—the employers—and they can only discriminate between them at the cost of peril to themselves. The problems of the wage earners working for a small employer are identical with those of the working forces in big establishments.*

A circular issued in connection with one of the early American strikes stated that "we would not be too severe on our employers, (because) they are slaves to the capitalists * * * But we cannot be servants to servants and slaves to oppression, let the source be

where it may." Here is an open avowal of an unwillingness to be guided by the facts of industrial experiences which were brought home to them on every job every day. There is this to be allowed on behalf of the workers of that time, that the contractor was often one of themselves on previous jobs, so that it was difficult for them to perceive that the possession of the contract established a new and different relationship, which set them at odds industrially. In the labor movement, as a labor instrumentality, there must be no feeling of friendship for any of the opposing employers, any more than there should be fraternizing between parts of two armies in the field. This is a weakness of which the labor unions of today, dominated by the idea that the interest of the employer and employe are identical, have not yet been cleared. The toleration of this feeling by unions tends to weaken their strike efforts and brings about their defeat.

Weak employers are prone to assume an attitude of friendliness to unions. Where the workers are not class conscious this posture wins a friendly opinion from them and in times of crisis they are inclined to risk success by obliging some "good fellow." In this connection it is not out of place to remark that the first job filled by returned union men is a greater threat to strike solidarity than an establishment manned by scabs. This, also, the modern craft unionists have to learn and act upon.

A LESSON OFTEN TAUGHT BUT NOT LEARNED

Men now remark, regretfully, that even after the strike of the Mechanics' Union in Philadelphia had demonstrated that the greater the solidarity displayed by the workers in strikes the greater the possibilities and probabilities of success, the workers of that time had not learned the lesson. But in our time we have had many experiences of our own, and those of preceding generations as well, and we have not made any progress beyond the workers of those days. At least in those days division was not organized as it is today by the craft system, where there are not even crafts.

In strikes of the present day we find less of labor solidarity manifested than marked some of the early strikes in the United States, when the labor movement was without experience, and the sources of information for the workers were non-existant, in comparison with what is available in our time. Only economic ignorance, in which even the most intelligent and farseeing of the workers were befogged, prevented the development which would have kept the labor movement abreast of the times and made labor competent to advance its interest as American industry evolved to new stages and took on new forms. In American industry the labor movement alone has stood still.

Co-operation and politics were two factors that helped to kill off nearly all promising movements among the workers of America. Neither of these is a legitimate function of a labor union, and

the result of their adoption has always been disastrous. At one time it was customary for unions on strike to form co-operatives and go into competition with the employers. Such attempts proved to be a succession of failures.

Politics, another capitalist idea, has done to death every economic movement upon which it succeeded in fastening itself. While politics and co-operation shared the thought and activities of the unions there is little to record but lost strikes. For it is a cardinal policy of the politicians to see nothing wrong about the existing union organizations that they set out to use. Likewise, it is also the policy of co-operators not to antagonize the sources from or through which they expect to raise capital. These are two dissipations that no economic organization can afford.

MORE AND MORE STRIKES

Following the Civil War strikes were frequent. Many of them were in resistance to wage reductions, and resulted in failure, almost without exception.

In the textile industry in Massachusetts, and more particularly around Fall River, the operatives sought to resist wage cuts (1873-80), but unavailingly. French-Canadian and other immigrants were imported, and the resistance of the native textile workers was broken upon this cheaper competition.

The miners also struck to resist wage reductions. It was in connection with these strikes that the "joint agreement" between the coal operators and organized miners was first experimented with. However, a break having occurred in the ranks of the operators, the miners took advantage of this division to repudiate it. It was discarded at that time and only revived about ten years later.

It had been expected that this form of agreement would prove a stabilizing force in the industry, but the miners were of the opinion that advantage had been taken of them. Hence their refusal to abide by the contract. Had the operators preserved their unity the agreement in all likelihood would have stood, but, when one company expressed its intention to concede to the miners a great deal more than the agreement allowed, the miners in other camps became so discontented and restless that the agreement was set aside, and the other operators met the concessions offered by the unassociated employers.

Out of the miners' (long) strike, December 1874 to June, 1875, there came into unenviable prominence the Molly Maguires. Notwithstanding the evil reputation given the Mollies by hostile and unscrupulous propagandists, there is every reason to believe that they were nothing more than a militant labor group among the Irish, who constituted the dominant nationality among the mine workers.

In the light of the outrageously false propaganda directed against militant labor organizations and personalities at the present

time, it is comparatively easy to appreciate that many of the crimes charged against the Molly Maguires were likely fictitious, as are the crimes charged against labor militants today. The motive for blackening the reputation of the Mollies is apparent in looking backward— they were a body of progressive, determined men who sought to advance and safeguard the interests of the mine workers with the means available. To this end they sought to keep alive the fighting spirit of their fellow workers. They went into politics to seize the strategic offices, and to function in these places on behalf of the slaves of anthracite. No wonder the coal barons were at pains to eliminate them as a labor factor.

A wretch from Philadelphia, James McParland, was sent by the operators into the coal fields in the capacity of labor spy and agent provocateur—the first recorded case in American labor history. It was his business, as the coal operators' agent, to organize riots and to incite murder. His mission was the perversion of the labor movement. The fulfilled the expectations of those who employed him.

McParland traded upon his Irish nationality to win the confidence and to betray his fellow countrymen; and he used his religious profession to place the feet of confiding and enthusiastic men in the pathway that led to the gallows. The labor movement has since been cursed with his morally depraved type to whom treachery, perjury, murder and arson are all in the day's work.

SOMETHING LIKE INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM

The great railroad strike of 1877 is one of the outstanding events in American labor history. It was in this strike that the forces of the federal army were first used in strike situations. It was in preparation for this strike also that an idea approaching modern industrial unionism was first advanced—The Trainmen's Union.

The principal railroads, following the lead of the Pennsylvania Railroad, reduced the wages of the railroad employes ten per cent. When, later on, another ten per cent wage cut was instituted, there resulted widespread dissatisfaction and discontent among the railroad men.

The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, the only organization with any numerical strength in the railroad industry, sent a committee to confer with the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Thomas A. Scott. This committee accepted Scott's' explanation and his promise that "as soon as things picked up" the old wages would be restored.

The other trainmen were displeased with and suspicious of the engineer committee action, and, under the leadership of a young brakeman, Robert Ammon, set about the organization of an inclusive union which would take in all the road crews—engineers, firemen, conductors, brakemen and switchmen. They aimed to bring the running crews and yardmen into a solid organization,

for unity in aggression and defense. The new idea caught and the Trainmen's Union made rapid headway on the P. R. R.; B. & O.; Erie; The Atlantic and Great Western and other roads.

It was intended to call the general strike at noon, on June 27, 1877. What happened is worth noting: Forty men were to have been despatched from Pittsburg to notify the various divisions when the strike signal was given, but—*"division occurred at a meeting on the night preceeding the day set."* As a result "a portion of the leaders went west proclaiming that the strike would not be declared."

This statement assumes great significance when taken in connection with the fact that the engineers on the P. R. R. had prepared to strike in April, but—

> "President Gowen, encouraged by his successful operations against the Molly Maguires, and fearing the strike by his locomotive engineers, ordered them to withdraw from the Brotherhood. They reluctantly submitted, but prepared to surprise the (railroad) officials by a sudden strike on April 14. This plan was frustrated, however, through the activity of Pinkerton detectives, and the railroad, by securing a sufficient number of strikebreakers to take the places of the men, was fully prepared for the event."

Here we see the wholesale employment of labor spies in the B. of L. E., as early as 1877. Under cover of union loyalty, they were at work, undermining the organization and defeating the purposes of their fellow workmen on the eve of a strike that was intended to stave off starvation which the second wage reduction threatened to bring upon the railroad men. It is but natural to speculate whether some of these gentry were not responsible for the discussion *"on the night preceding the day set"* for the strike by the Trainmen's Union.

All the precautions taken by the railroads could not stop the coming of the strike. The conditions in railroad employment were such that the men were ready to assume any risk rather than endure them.

HALF-HEARTED CO-OPERATION OF ENGINEERS

The strike broke on the B. & O. at Martinsburg, West Virginia, on July 17, the day after the second ten per cent reduction went into effect. The B. of L. E. refused to participate, but the engineers "only made half hearted attempts to move the trains."

The local state militia was called out, but as the troops were in sympathy with the strikers, President Hayes was appealed to, and federal soldiers were dispatched to the scene.

The strike spread like wildfire all over the B. & O. and at Baltimore, Md., the strikers and their sympathizers besieged the militia in the armories, until the arrival of the federal forces.

In and around Pittsburgh the strike feeling ran at high tide, and the coming of the militia was the signal for a protest by the

workingmen of the city, without regard to whether they were railroad men or not. The Philadelphia militia was driven out of the city after killing 26 persons and wounding many others.

The strike took in all the railroads and was in effect in New York, Toledo, Louisville, Chicago, St. Louis and San Francisco.

Commons' history, commenting upon this strike says:

> "The strike failed in every case, but the moral effect was enormous. For the first time a general strike movement swept the country *** *** The inefficiency of the militia showed the need of a reliable basis of operation for the troops, and the construction of numerous and strong armories dates from 1877. The courts began to change their attitude toward labor unions; the strikes and riots brought back from oblivion the doctrine of malicious conspiracy as applied to labor organizations. The legislatures in many states enacted conspiracy laws directed against labor. But the strongest moral effect was upon the wage earning class. The spirit of labor solidarity was strengthened and made national. * * * On the side of the trade union organizations the effect of the strike appears to have been more remote. Nevertheless, it can safely be stated that there was a direct connection between the active coming forth of the unskilled during the strike and the attempts, so largely secret, that were made immediately after, to organize this class of labor."

There is to be noted about this strike:

(1) That it was spontaneous. None of the existing organizations on the railroads had authorized it.

(2) That there was brought out in connection with it the class spirit of labor, which always will be evident where there are no capitalist-controlled labor organizations to shackle and restrain it.

(3) That the strongest of the railroad unions, the B. of L. E. refrained from participating. Such engineers as joined the strikes had to disregard the official attitude to do so.

(4) "The effect upon the trade unions was remote."

(5) That the unskilled (and little skilled workers) were heartened to attempt organization.

In the 1877 railroad strike the treachery of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers serves to illustrate how the conception of the wage relationship which dominates a labor organization influences its actions. With the B. of L. E. labor grievances have no class significance nor any significance whatever unless, forsooth, they be engineer grievances. Then they become questions in which the whole railroad labor force should be interested, provided the engineers by themselves cannot secure a satisfactory settlement. To the B. of L. E. there is nothing objectionable in the wage relationship. It is a rightful enough arrangement, only sometimes some of its terms need to be altered. Insofar as the

engineers are concerned, their working affairs are separate, apart and distinct from those of all other working groups in the railroad industry. This is the industrial creed of the engineers as enunciated by the B. of L. E.

CRAFT TRAINING DULLS CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS

That, what they regard as their particular grievances, have all the earmarks, and share all the characteristics common to those of the other railroad groups, appears to have no meaning for them. Such is the result of B. of L. E. training under the supervision of the railroad managers. And this, unfortunately, is typical of the attitude of most of the craft unions.

In 1877 the organized engineers alone could not perceive what Ammon and his following saw very clearly—that the occasion demanded a solidarity which such unions as the B. of L. E. and the O. R. C. denied. It has been said that the engineers were in sympathy with the strikers, so that "they made only half hearted attempts to move the trains." That might be called half hearted sympathy. The important point is that they continued on the job after the other railroad workers had gone out on strike. They may not have relished their work, but they did it. If they were really in sympathy with the strike effort, and disinclined to enact the role of strikebreakers, it is pertinent to ask: Why did they act so? And the answer is that they were induced, or compelled to do so by the B. of L. E. That organization made scabs of its members in 1877. It is peculiar that organized workers are successfully held on the job in strike situations when every prompting of instinct, and every suggestion of reason counsels that they would serve themselves better by joining the strike. Yet, in every situation where unions strike, under the craft union system, men who realize that they are performing the functions of strikebreakers can be held at work by their unions' decrees. If nothing else were forthcoming this in itself should make manifest the capitalist control of unions in the craft system. Such unions hold and control the organized workers in the interest of capitalist property.

In the 1877 railroad strike, and other later occasions, the actions of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers appear to justify P. M. Arthur's statement that "the B. of L. E. is not a labor union." As Grand Chief Engineer, which he was at the time this remark is alleged to have been made, Arthur was in a position to know and to speak with authority.

When, in 1864, W. D. Robinson was framed, and a tool of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, Charles Wilson, was selected to succeed him, as head of the B. of L. E., the organization was placed under the control of the American Railroad Association, and has ever since remained under the domination of the railroad managers.

Under Robinson, who was a labor enthusiast, the B. of L. E.

was in the way of becoming a militant labor union. So the alert and farseeing railroad executives, through their spies and stool-pigeons, set out to rid the railroad industry of what they regarded as a menace. Robinson was falsely accused on personal charges, Wilson was chosen to succeed him, and the situation was saved for the railroad companies. With Robinson out of the way and Wilson in command, the B. of L. E. was lost as a labor union and became a subordinate part of the system of railroad management.

CRAFT SYSTEM HAD FALSE LEADER

But Wilson was reckless in his eagerness to serve the railroads, and ultimately begot the suspicion of the membership. He was deposed by a special convention in 1874. P. M. Arthur, leader of the insurgents, was elected to succeed him. Tho elected as an insurgent, Arthur adopted the policies of Wilson and traveled the same route until his death. And with his passing the organization has remained an attachment of railroad management under Warren A. Stone, who followed him in office, and still remains head of the B. of L. E.

The B. of L. E., as Arthur said, is not a labor union, but a contrivance whereby the engineers are made to carry out the policies of the railroad managers, and to protect the roads at the expense of their fellow railroaders, and the capitalist class at the expense of all labor.

That the close and intimate contacts of railroading have not long ago taught the engineers and other railroad men the imperative need of industrial organization is due to the erroneous conceptions fostered by the craft unions. When labor unions teach the identity of interests between capitalists and laborers, of which they themselves are a standing contradiction, those who implicitly accept this doctrine can never understand the problems that confront them, and, not understanding, they cannot deal with them successfully. As long as the word of a leader is the law of the membership, there can be no independent thought and no initiative, which in its essence means that there will be no true conception, correct structure, or effective tactics.

FOUR YEARS OF STRIKES

In the period from 1880 to 1884 there were numerous strikes, involving many trades, but most of them were lost. It was a time of great industrial depression, and the great majority of the strikes were undertaken to oppose wage cuts. Although these wage reductions were general there was no united action by the workers as a class. Only where, and as wage cuts were imposed was there strike protest. Those whose wages suffered would strike so that only individual shops and local trades were involved in any particular situation.

The tides of immigration ran heavy these years (the eighties) and the labor supply was greatly in excess of the available jobs, so that there was always on hand an unemployed army from which it was not difficult to secure strikebreakers sufficient to serve the purposes of the employers. For instance, a strike of 5,000 spinners in ten cotton mills in Massachusetts, which lasted 18 weeks, was broken by strikebreakers imported from Sweden.

Four thousand miners in the Hocking Valley were on strike for six months, and the financial support given them was generous, yet they were forced to go back to work under the conditions against which they struck, and were besides forced to abjure the Ohio State Miners' Union. It was made a condition that to secure jobs in the mines they had to sign an ironclad agreement to remain unorganized. These miners stood alone in their fight against the coal operators. No other organized working group coming in contact with coal, moved industrially to support them. The coal miners in other fields dug coal to supply the market, and, though they gave their money to alleviate the suffering, they did not give, what would have saved the Hocking Valley men, the support which would have prevented one of the most ignominious defeats ever sustained by a body of striking working men. The organized workers hit the miners with the club of production and tried to assuage their wound with financial assistance. Industrial support is what will enable striking workers to win. Financial support in such cases is a fine paid by o r g a n i z e d workmen for the crime of working class treason. The miners lost because organized workers handled and used scab coal, and other organized miners dug coal to supply the market. There was no working class solidarity, nor was there any appreciation of its need or effectiveness.

Contrast the Hocking Valley miners' experience with that of the Union Pacific shopmen the same year. These strikes were only a month apart in a bad year for strikes. But it depended upon the manner in which the strike was conducted whether the year was good or bad.

The Union Pacific Railroad cut the wages of its shopmen ten per cent. Tho unorganized, the shopmen struck on May 4, 1884, They invited Joseph R. Buchanan, prominent in the Knights of Labor and editor of the Denver Labor Enquirer, to direct the strike. Buchanan threw himself into the work with vigor, and in thirty-six hours every shop from Omaha to Ogden, and upon all branch lines, was out on strike. On the third day the order cutting wages was withdrawn by the U. P. The magnificent solidarity displayed by the U. P. workmen had defeated the U. P. in an adverse year for labor.

But the railroad company resolved to make another attempt to impose its will upon the employes. In the following August, just three months later, the wages of 15 first class machinists, at Ellis, Kansas, were cut, and 20 men who were prominent in the K. of L. were discharged from the Denver shops. As a result a strike

was called on the entire U. P. system, which was entirely successful. Solidarity had scored its second victory over the U. P. in a bad strike year.

In February, 1885, the wages of the shopmen on the Wabash railroad were cut ten per cent. The wages of the men on the M. K. & T. had been similarly reduced in 1884. The men on both roads struck and were joined by those on the Missouri Pacific, until about 5,000 men were involved. The engineers, firemen, conductors and brakemen on the three roads joined forces with the strikers. The Gould corporation, the greatest capitalist combination of its time, threw up the sponge. The wages were restored, the scabs discharged and all the strikers re-employed. Solidarity had again demonstrated its power to successfully challenge the most powerful of the corporations.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR UNDER FIRE

But, again, in August, the Wabash, in an effort to uproot the Knights of Labor, broke the conditions under which the strike of a few months before had been settled, by discharging practically all the K. of L. men at Moberly, Mo. The road was then in the hands of a receiver, who refused to have anything to do with the K. of L.

The General Executive Board of the Knights issued an order to all assemblies on the U. P. and its branches, and upon Gould's Southwestern system, calling upon the members to refuse to repair or handle in any manner, rolling stock of the Wabash railroad until further orders from the G. E. B. Upon the issuance of this order Jay Gould personally took a hand in the matter. He had had recent experience with solidarity and did not relish the prospect of another battle with the K. of L. The Wabash surrendered and the discharged men were put back to work.

In this second Wabash strike the train crews did not participate as they had done on the previous occasion. Had they done so, it is unlikely that the K. of L. General Executive Board would have found it necessary to issue its order to the U. P. and Gould's Southwestern system employes.

It is worthy of attention that the first strikes on the U. P. and the other roads were spontaneous uprisings by unorganized men, and that the second strikes in both instances were by men who had been organized only a few months. It is pertinent to speculate what the outcome would have been had they been hampered by such organizations as the engineers, firemen and conductors were organized into.

These four strikes won immense prestige for the K. of L., although, where it had previously conducted only craft strikes, it had rolled up a succession of failures.

In the first Wabash strike the train crews acted as their instinct and judgment dictated and assisted materially in securing

victory and shortening the strike. But the logic of this was lost to them, for, by the time the second strike was called in August, the web of the craft system had securely entangled them and the influence of their several unions kept them functioning while the strike was on. Surely there is truth in the contention that "the railroaders would be better able to meet and deal with their problems without their present organizations; that they would be far better off, but it would surely be hell for the roads."

THE STRIKE OF MAY 1, 1886

The eight-hour day strike, on May 1, 1886, is another of the great American labor events. This strike was decided upon by the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (A. F. of L.) and marks the last real attempt until the formation of the I. W. W., to give the organized labor movement national economic expression.

An invitation was extended to the Knights of Labor to associate itself with this effort. This invitation was accepted by the General Assembly and the rank and file of the K. of L. in good faith, but Terrence V. Powderly, who was Grand Master Workman of the Knights and his official family were not in sympathy with the idea and worked with might and main, in secret against participation in the strike. Powderly's record in connection with the May strike to establish the 8-hour day is one of treachery and baseness. Nor does it appear that those who were influential in, and who controlled the international unions affiliated in the A. F. of L. were any more sincere in their support than were Powderly and his lieutenants.

To rightly appreciate the eight-hour strike of 1886 it is necessary to be acquainted with the struggle which had been carried on within the A. F. of L. between the elements who sought to make it a national economic organization and those who sought to steer it into a course which would prevent its becoming such.

From its inception as the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, The A. F. of L. had functioned as a legislation seeking body without any result whatever. Therefore, it found itself unable to interest the workers, who were properly more concerned about their job problems than about political issues.

Eventually it became apparent to the leaders that the organization could not continue to exist if it remained a mere association for the purpose of legislation. So, at the convention of 1884, it was determined to infuse new life into the Federation by making it assume leadership in a national movement for the eight-hour day.

In the convention another question brought up, in addition to the inauguration of a concerted movement for the eight-hour day, was the power of the Federation to grant strike bene-

benefits. Both propositions were of such a nature that, had they been adopted, they would have transferred the Federation from a purely legislative organization into a predominantly economic one.

The proposition that each of the affiliated international unions "pledge 2 per cent of its total revenue toward a strike fund" was referred by the convention to the unions. We are informed that "the eight-hour declaration was cooly received even at the hands of unions affiliated with the Federation. So few unions acted upon the strike benefit proposal that the convention of 1885 did not venture to adopt it. In consequence the Federation was unable to expend a dollar in aid of the strike." Of the unions connected with the A. F. of L., which called the strike, only the carpenters, cigarmakers and the German-American Typographia were commited to its support.

A LABOR UNION THAT CAN NOT FUNCTION

"The eight-hour day on May 1" became an advertising slogan for the A. F. of L., which had actually done nothing more to further it than to declare the strike. Notwithstanding the hostility of Powderly and his clique, the Knights of Labor were the real advertisers and organizers of the strike.

The Federation was not constituted to carry on a general strike, and had no authority to call one. It is in the same position today. There was no evidence of either good faith or sincere intention on the part of those who were in a position to influence the A. F. of L. unions to contribute financial assistance, even though they were both to take part in the strike. The membership in the ranks of both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. were in favor of the eight-hour day attempt, as were the unorganized workers who flocked into the organized labor ranks in the months preceding the strike date. The leaders, however, did not evince any enthusiasm. The unions in the craft system have always relied upon financial assistance to win strikes and if there had been any sincere intention behind the strike declaration the A. F. of L. unions would have made financial provision. Moreover, at the time the strike decision was made by the convention, the A. F. of L. had less than 50,000 membership in its affiliated unions. There is room to question the honesty of the intention that prompted the calling of the strike by a membership which constituted less than one-fourth of the organized workers. It looks more like the trick of labor politicians than something that was really meant. So far as the strike itself was concerned, if it had not been for the Knights of Labor it would have fallen flat. There would have been no strike.

DISCOURAGING THE RANK AND FILE

The action of the leaders in both camps of organized labor need occasion no surprise for it is the habit and custom of labor leaders at all times to discourage strikes unless they fall in with

their own plans, and only where the determination of the rank and file is set do they make a pretense of favoring them. All through labor history it has been the marked tendency of labor leaders to restrain the workers rather than to encourage them. And with Powderly's clique hostile, and the A. F. of L. leaders at best only lukewarm in their advocacy, nothing short of the enthusiasm of the men in the ranks made a showing possible. As it turned out great gains were made, though there were some losses later, but nothing nearly like what could have been accomplished was achieved.

Somewhere in the neighborhood of 400,000 took part in the eight-hour movement and about 50 per cent of these won the shorter workday; some of them without actually striking and others as a result of the strike. The poorly concealed rivalry between the A. F. of L. and the Knights of Labor weakened the effort. Where the concession was granted the workers resumed operations immediately without regard to how the other strikers were making out. This policy had the effect of lessening the morale of the union forces, which was entirely destroyed by the Chicago Haymarket riot. Moreover, the ideas which dominated in the A. F. of L. and the Knights of Labor were so at variance that the harmony which was necessary for so extensive a strike was impossible.

Among the Knights were men who were pronounced and capable advocates of the class conception, and there were men in the A. F. of L. though less numerous, who also accepted the class struggle as a social fact. The strike declaration of the A. F. of L. was due to the activity of this element, and the enthusiasm which marked the strike preparation was due to the class conscious workers in both camps. These attained prominence and were in bad odor with the dominating figures in the councils of the A. F. of L. and the K. of L. They were regarded as dangerous agitators without whom the organizations would be better off.

THE GREAT HAYMARKET FRAME UP

When the so-called Haymarket riot occured in Chicago the strike forces throughout the country stood appalled and terrified. It was generally assumed, even by working people, that the strikers were responsible for the outrage, though the identity of the bomb-thrower had never been established. It is unlikely that the criminal would have remained undiscovered had he been connected with the labor movement and the eight-hour strike. The employers gained such advantage from this occurence that they might easily and logically be suspected of having arranged it. Many frame-ups and plants go to prove that they are not too unscrupulous to have done so. Labor lost morale and prestige as a result of the Haymarket affair and the employers gained correspondingly in both directions.

The Chicago labor men who were arrested, arraigned and

condemned in connection with the bomb-throwing were among the brainiest and most courageous of those who advocated unionism as the nucleus of a new society. Legally the trial was a travesty. The air of the court room was saturated with prejudice, and the finding of the packed jury was contrary to the evidence. The court proceeding was not a trial. It was a formality staged to give the semblance of legality, and outwardly to justify the execution of a pre-determined vengeance.

Powderly, although the condemned men were members of the K. of L. used all of his power as Grand Chief Master Workman to prevent any protest on their behalf by the General Assembly of the K. of L. And no such protest was ever made. The A. F. of L. convention did plead for leniency but the rulers of industry had determined to inflict the maximum punishment and their political creatures were not to be moved toward justice or clemency.

Louis Lingg died in jail; Albert Parsons, Adolph Fischer, August Spies and George Engel were hanged on November 11, 1887. The sentences of Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab were commuted from death to 15 years; and the court sentenced Oscar Neebe to a prison term of 15 years. Governor John P. Altgeld pardoned these men in 1893.

With the alleged anarchists in jail and the fighting spirit of the workers broken, the employers set about undoing what had been accomplished by the strike. It was felt by them that the inspiration which strengthened the backbone of the working class could no longer wield an inffuence from behind the bars of Cook County Jail.

The packers reinstituted the ten-hour day in the stockyards and refused to employ Knights of Labor members. Twenty thousand packing house employes struck, and declared a boycott on the meats of Armour & Co., which had initiated the movement by the packers to re-establish the old hours.

The solidarity displayed by the stockyard workers was magnificent, and the men were in a position to win, despite the presence of two regiments of militia and hundreds of Pinkertons. On November 10, the packers withdrew the prohibition against K. of L. men. Five days later, Powderly telegraphed an order calling the strike off. This order coming "like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky;" was against the wishes of the men and over the protest of the officials in charge of the strike, because it was felt that the strike would soon end successfully. Powderly was earning the government job which he now holds. The effect of his action in this case, in his eight-hour secret circular opposing the eight-hour day and in his refusal to even plead for mercy for the Haymarket victims was the demoralization of the American working class and a death wound for the K. of L.

In the case of the Haymarket martyrs the industrial power which the Knights of Labor commanded, had it been used, was sufficient to have secured justice for these victims of a blood-

thirsty ruling class and a prejudiced judge and jury. Yet, under the domination of Powderly, the General Assembly did not even dare to plead or protest.

The May strike of 1886 *is one of the greatest events in all labor history. On that day was born the idea that has since found expression in the Industrial Workers of the World. Conceived in deceit, and nursed in treachery, on May* 1, 1886, *the idea of a universal strike by labor for social ends has found a home where there is no class confusion and no interest to serve but the interest of the workers. A class organization, for class purposes, inspired by a class ideal will bring to full fruition what was planted in the eight-hour general strike in* 1886.

Through all the history of craft unionism there is the plain lesson that such a form of organization cannot be anything but a detriment to the interests of the workers. The development of modern Industry demands INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM as the only means with which to cope with the tremendous power of present day capitalism. The I. W. W. is such a union. It combines Industrial Solidarity with the revolutionary program, that—The working class must receive the full product of their toil, and; the abolition of the wage system. Only the realization of such measures can solve the present predicament of the working class.

For further information on the I. W. W. write to the General Secretary-Treasurer, 1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The Only Magazine in America
That Is Of, For and By the
Workers

The

Industrial Pioneer

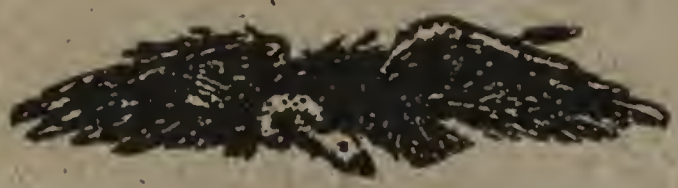
Brimful of Timely and Telling Articles Covering Every Phase of the Class Struggle from Fighting Labor's Own Viewpoint—Handsome Illustrations, Able Editorials, and a Host of Other Splendid Features.

SEND IN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW

Price Per Year, $2.00 Single Copies, 20 cents

Published Monthly by the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 West Madison St., - Chicago, Ill.

I.P.E.U. 101



CRIMES OF THE BOLSHEVIKI

PUBLISHED BY
ALL-AMERICAN PUBLISHING Co
NOT INC.
CHICAGO, ILL.
PRICE PER COPY 10c

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
CHICAGO

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

Crimes of the Bolsheviki

PUBLISHED BY
ALL-AMERICAN PUBLISHING CO.
Not Inc.
412 Standard Bank Building
CHICAGO, ILL.

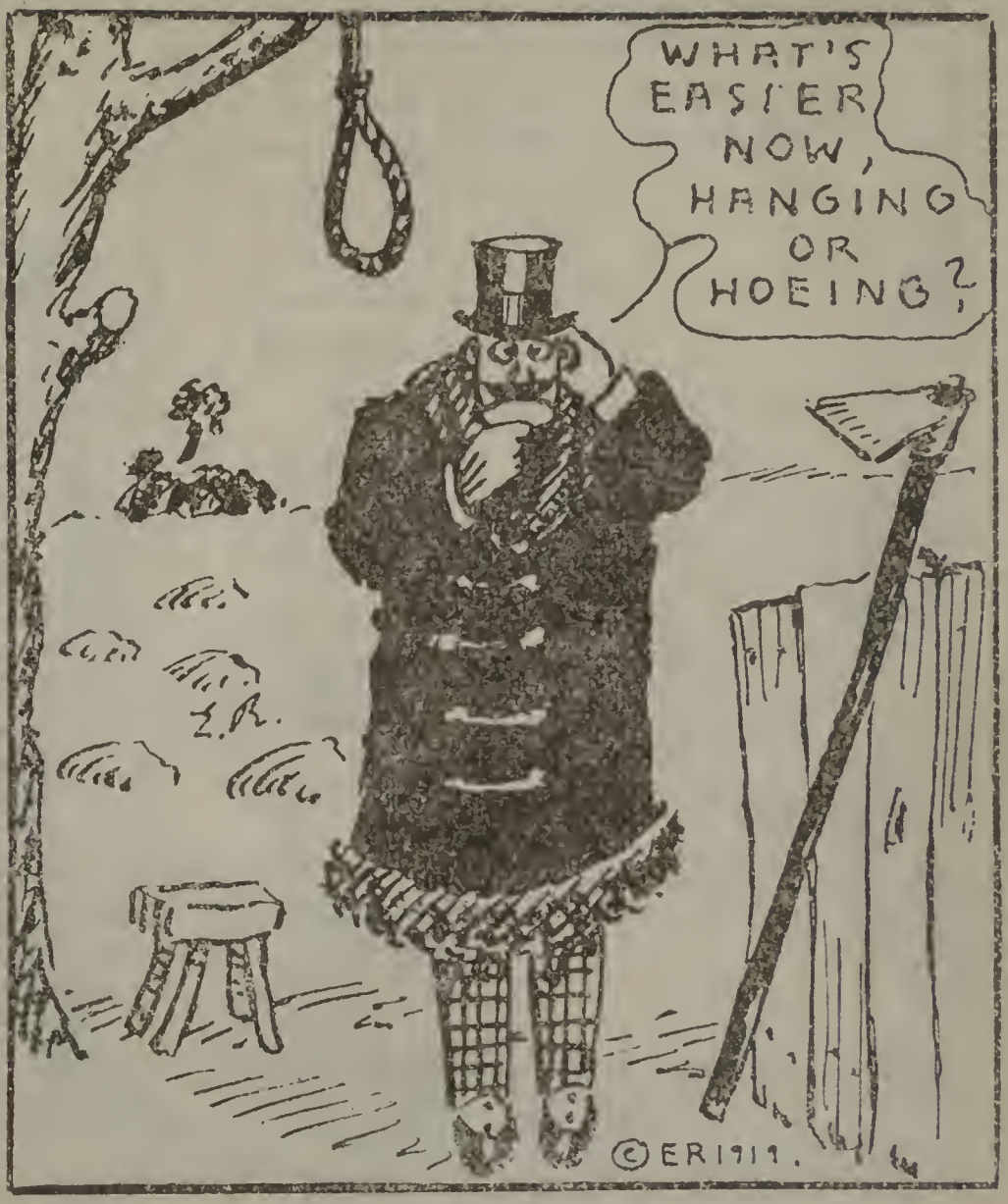
Copyright
1919
ERNEST RIEBE

Price: 10 Cents

One of the first crimes, the bolsheviki committed was the signing of the peace of Brest-Litovsk. The Russian army was no longer capable to hold back the well-organized forces of the Germans and the bolsheviki stopped the useless massacre of defenseless men. The Russians had sacrificed in death alone about three million men. The bolsheviki were called traitors; especially by people, who were too cowardly to do any fighting themselves.

After signing the peace the bolsheviki started an anti-war propaganda amongst the German soldiers, appealing to them to stop fighting and to overthrow their masters. This propaganda was carried on without the consent of the German officers, as the picture plainly shows. ----

The bolsheviki also enlightened the people in Germany and urged them to start a revolution. It dawned on the warlords that it was impossible to deal a deathblow to the allies on the western front and that the defeat of Germany was certain. The bolsheviki must be credited with shortening the war and saving millions of soldiers, who would have been slaughtered if the German war lords had not been forced by the demoralization of their armies to sue for peace.

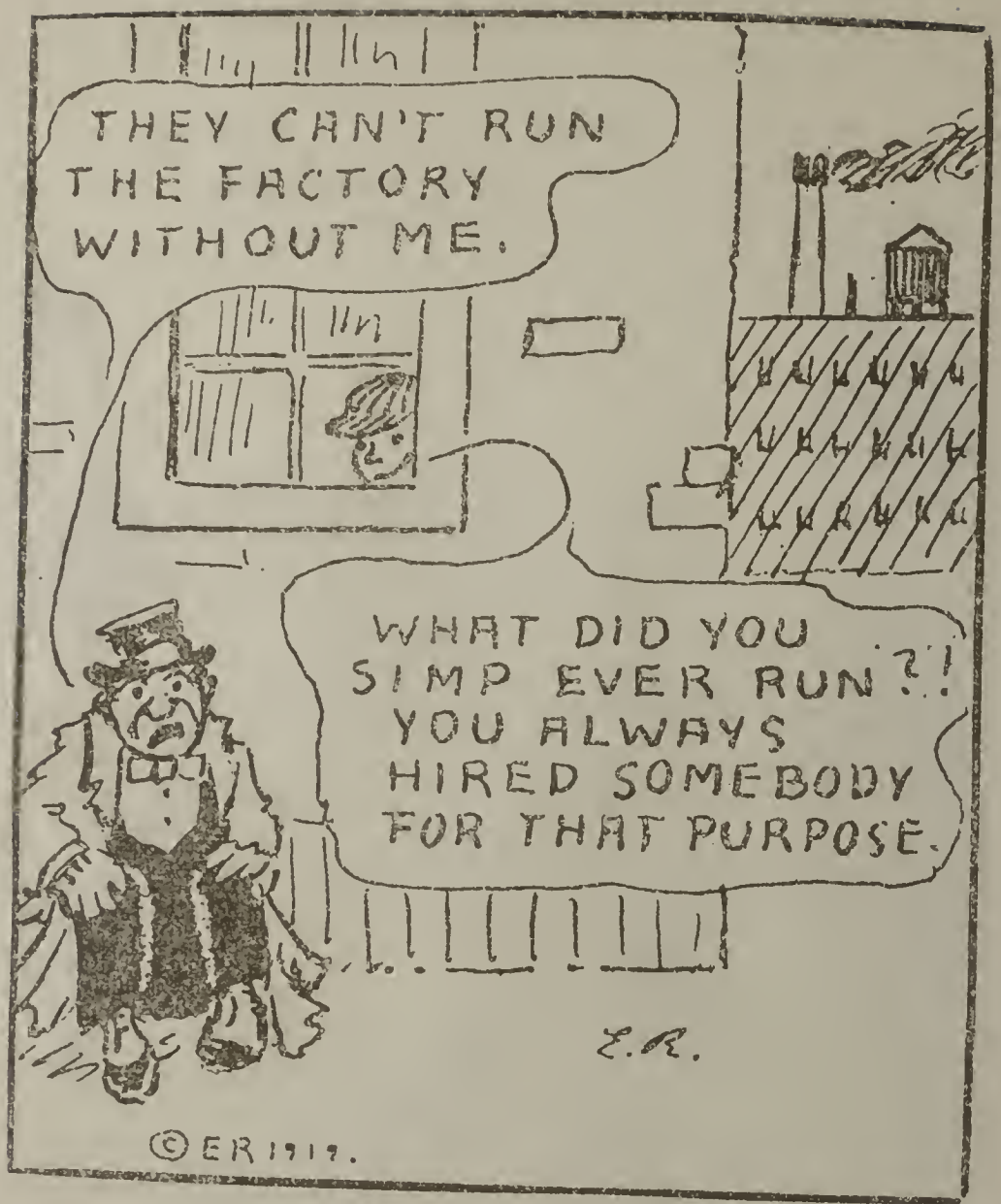


The bolsheviki brought hardship and misery to some of the "Best People" in Russia. Many a nobleman was brought face to face with hoe, pick and shovel. The peasants had been the slaves of the big landowners for centuries but under the bolsheviki they came again in possession of the land, wich had been taken away from them.

Bolsheviki are naturally cruel to animals. They robbed thousands of dignified Gentlemen out of the comforts of life. Butlers and other lackies became sassy and preferred honest work to humiliating servitude. The aristocracy of other countries sympathizes with their Russian brethren in distress, because they fear, that the time will come, when they also have to scratch themselves.

I RANG THE BELL TWICE! WHERE ARE MY CIGARETTES?
SHUT UP! I HEARD YOU THE FIRST TIME. NO MORE SPITLICKLE WORK FOR ME. GOOD AFTERNOON!
©ER 1919.

That girl used to be one of the best domestic animals in Russia, but listen to her now. "Where did she get that stuff?" "From the bolsheviki." The lady never heard that kind of sass before. She spent her whole life terrorizing her domestics after the fashion of the idle rich and never had any backtalk. No wonder she's one of those, who say, that bolsheviki are criminals.



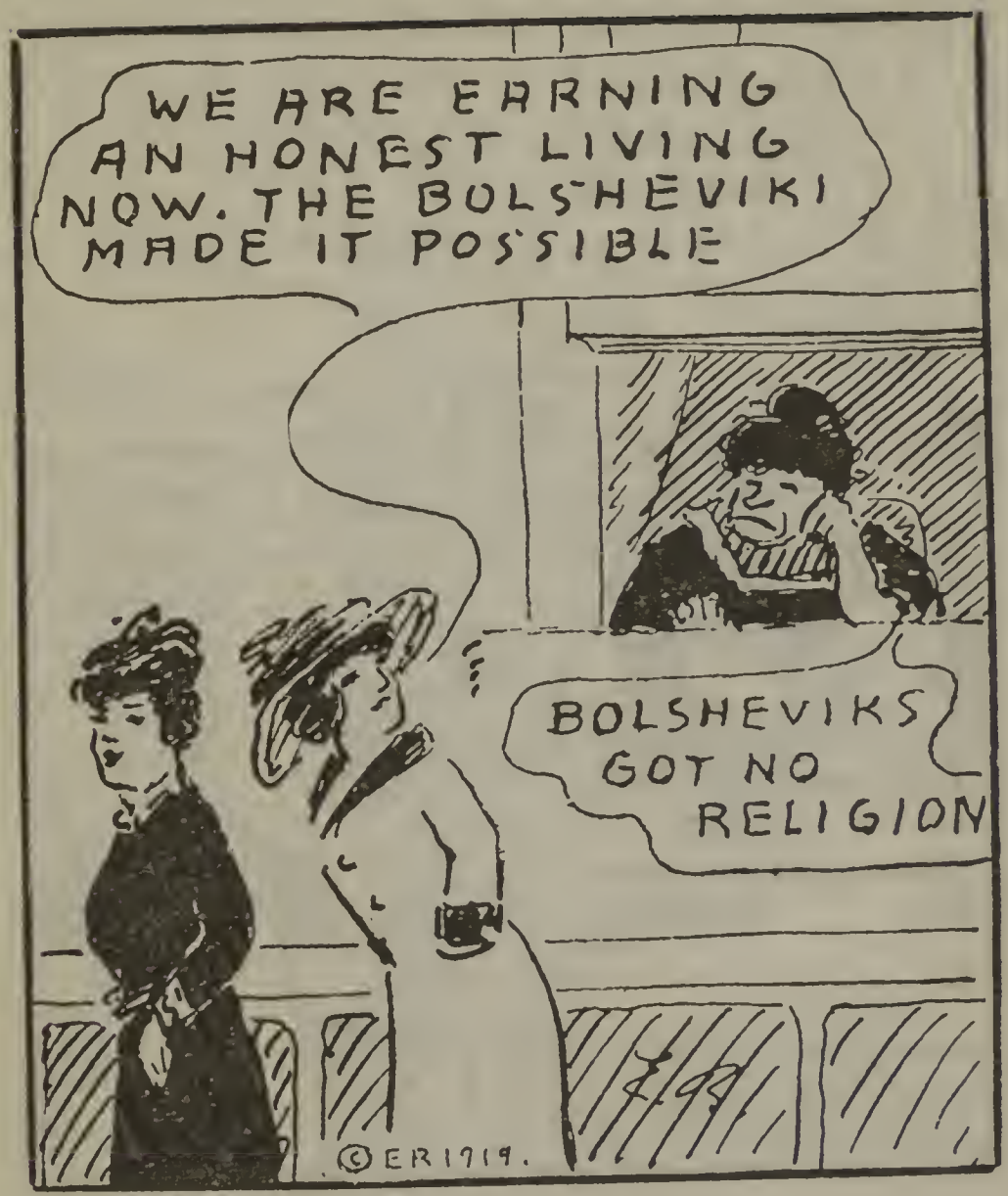
In order to handicap the bolsheviki, some factory owners closed the plants and locked the workers out. The bolsheviki simply opened the factories and locked the boss out. To get the necessary experts, such as chemists or supervisors, the bolsheviki did the same as the boss used to do, they hired them.

The bosses, who extorted tips from the workers, were not in sympathy with the bolsheviki because bosses lost their graft in bolshevik Russia, where every worker is entitled to a job and don't have to "see" the boss. You may be sure, that every grafting slave driver on the face of the earth considers this a crime.

The bolsheviki were the cause of many hot tears. Profiteers could no longer indulge in senseless luxuries, made possible by the sweat of wasted labor. The agony of the upper classses meant nothing to the cruel bolsheviki. This explains the hatred of the idle jewelry fiends all over the world against the bolsheviks.

Bolshevism stands for the majority. That's what the word means in Russian. Bolshevism is a good thing for the big majority of the people and is a very bad thing for the small minority, the exploiting profiteers, the grafting politicians, the lazy, lying preachers, who fight for the master class, the department store owning white slavers and all the vultures, who make a living out of the misery and immorality of our present system. Bolshevism seems to be cruel to those parasites, and it is; it is enforcing the law of the holy scriptures: "He, who will not work, neither shall he eat."

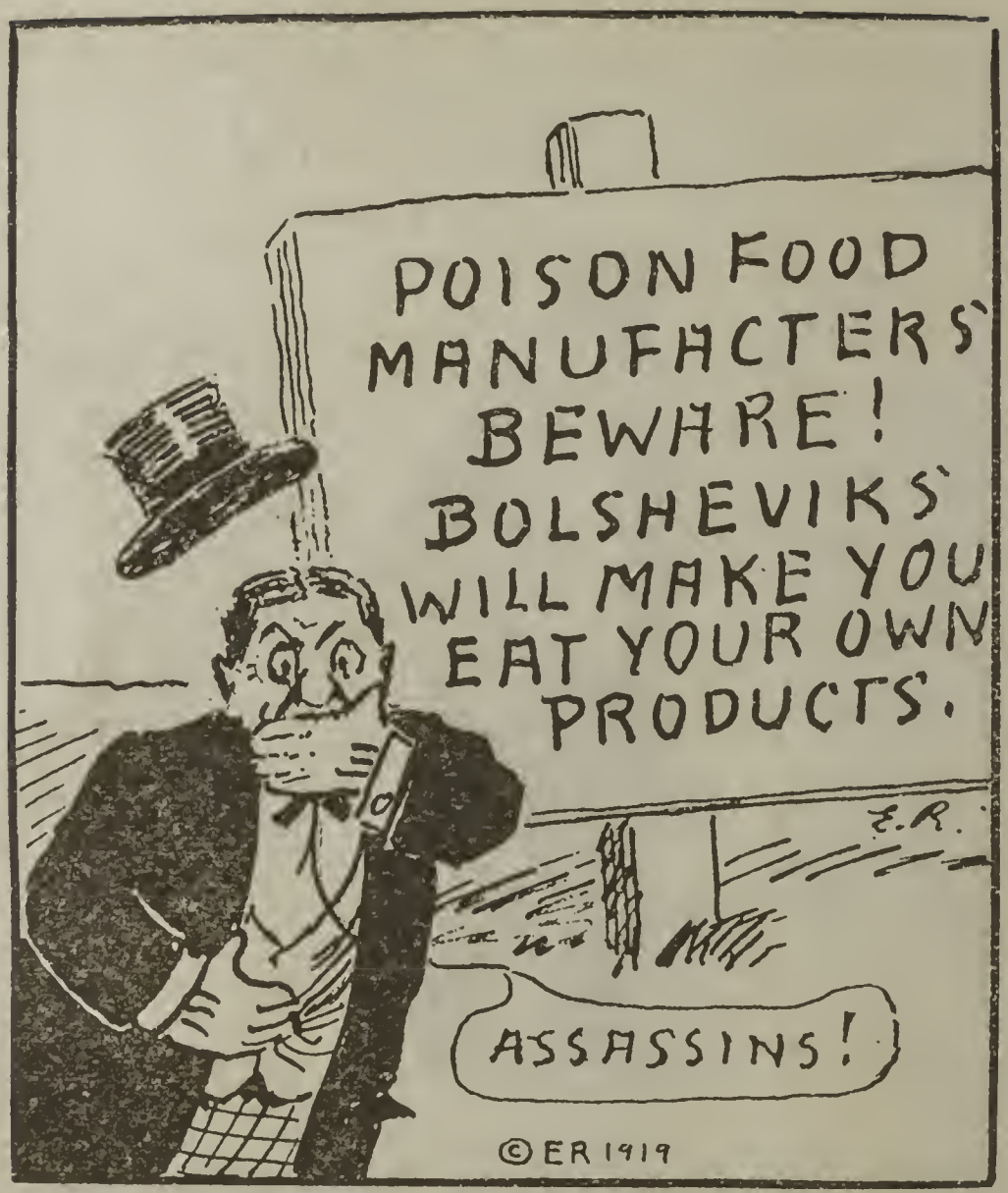
The bolsheviki destroyed the higher aspirations of the "better classes" and made expensive and "artistic" monkey pup-dinners impossible in bolshevik Russia. The wellfare of the wealthproducing workers concerned them more than the silly and wasteful amusements of degenerates. The pup-dinner aristocracy of the world is therefore hostile to bolshevik ideals.



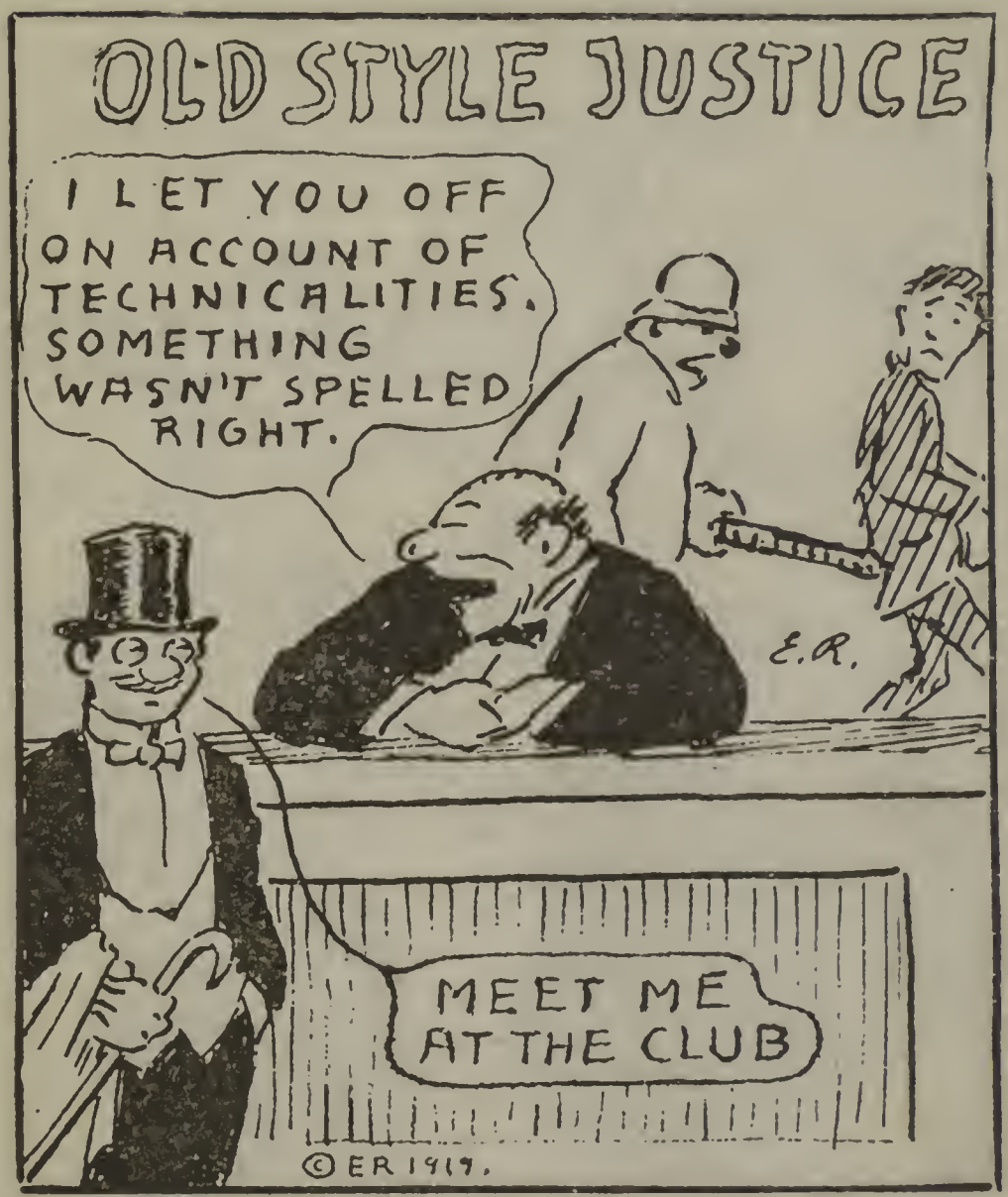
The keepers of immoral houses in Russia were amongst the bitter enemies of the bolsheviki. In all countries the traders in human flesh and blood are heart and soul with the newspaper prostitutes, preachers and politicians, who fight the bolshevikis. The newspapers employ experts and turn out lies in every issue. Sometimes the game is played so raw, that it becomes necessary to pull off a little sham battle against grafters and profiteers.

After the bolsheviki made peace in Russia there were still people, who advocated war. The bolsheviki stopped this propaganda in a very drastic manner as shown in the picture above. Jingoistic profiteers all over the world hate such methods. Not only for reasons of their own health but also, because an army raised this way would be very small and offer poor prospects for fat contracts.

The bolsheviki caught some profiteers planting bombs to implicate labor leaders and promptly marched them off to face a firing squad. In certain countries the profiteer bomb-planter is very seldom caught and never punished. The labor leaders are in most cases the victims. Some are executed, some are lynched and some stay in jail. Sometimes the conspirators have not even to plant bombs in order to put the man of labor out of the way; they simply trump up a charge of "high treason" and the noblest men of the working class are buried alive in the penitentiaries.



....The bolsheviki were criminal enough to threaten the manufacturers of poisonous foodstuffs with drastic measures. This raised a storm of indignation amongst the manufacturers of embalmed beef and other delicacies. The profiteers feared a similar treatment and for hygienic reasons denounced the bolshiviki as dangerous, unscrupulous criminals.



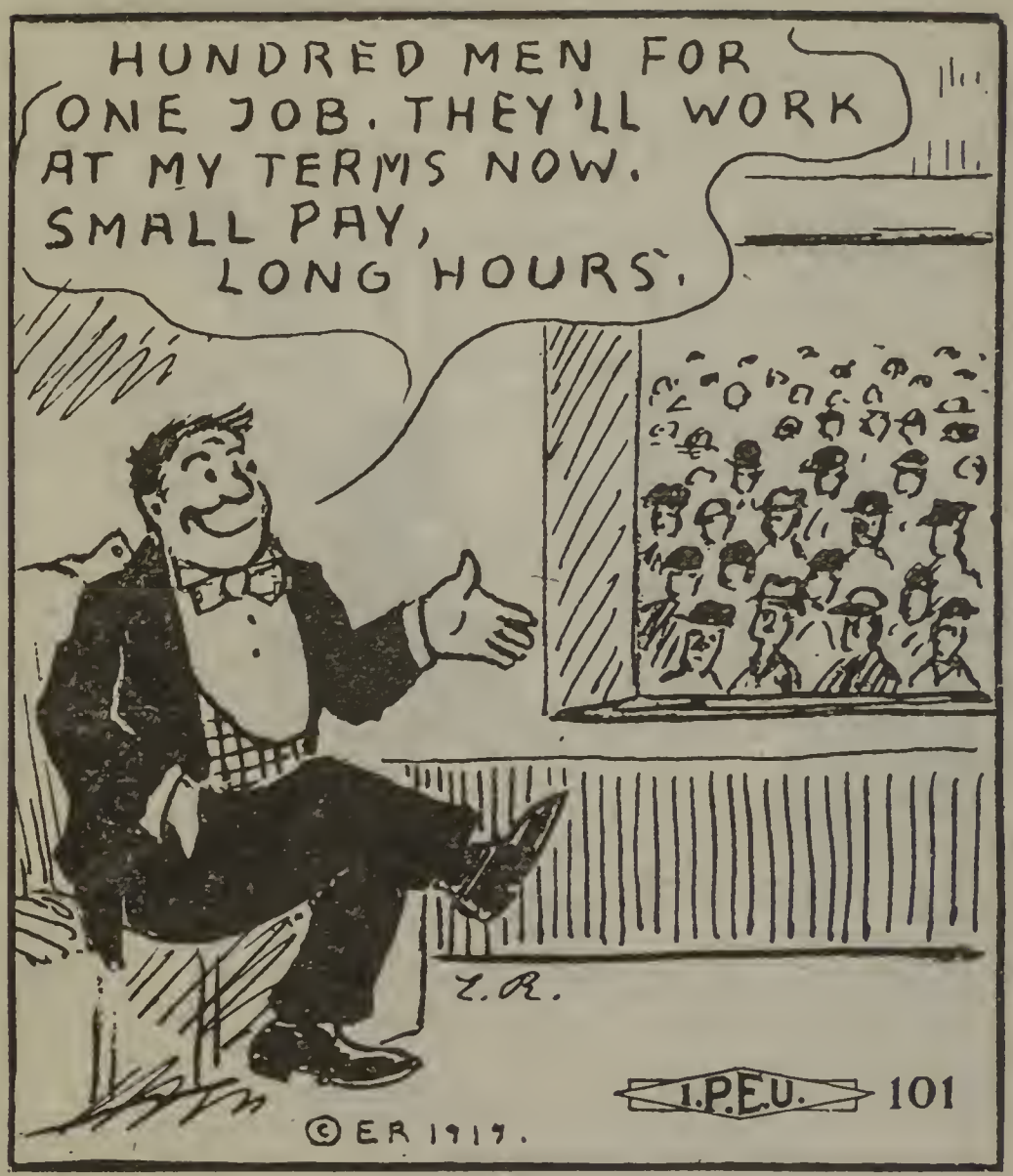
The bolsheviki are charged with the crime of abolishing old style justice. This they did. The poor man was always convicted, because he couldn't hire a good lawyer like the rich man. The bolsheviki convict no man because he is poor and they allow no lawyer to twist the law to suit the wealthy lawbreakers. In the following chapters we will find some more of that old system of "justice" abolished by the bolsheviki.

It is a rule in profiteer countries to make the workers toil long hours for small wages and when all warehouses are filled with goods, the factories are closed and the workers have to starve. This is known as a panic and necessary for the speculating profiteers. Under the bolshevikis, goods are manufactured for use and not for speculation, and that's a crime against the speculators.

....

In "civilized countries" the farmer is very often the slave of the mortgage holding banker. The bolsheviki freed thousands of mortgage slaves and nationalized the banks in Russia. How the profiteers hate those, who endanger their profits was shown in Minnesota and other states some time ago when members of the non-partisan league were tarred and feathered by the profiteers for advocating state ownership of banks, grain elevators and stores.

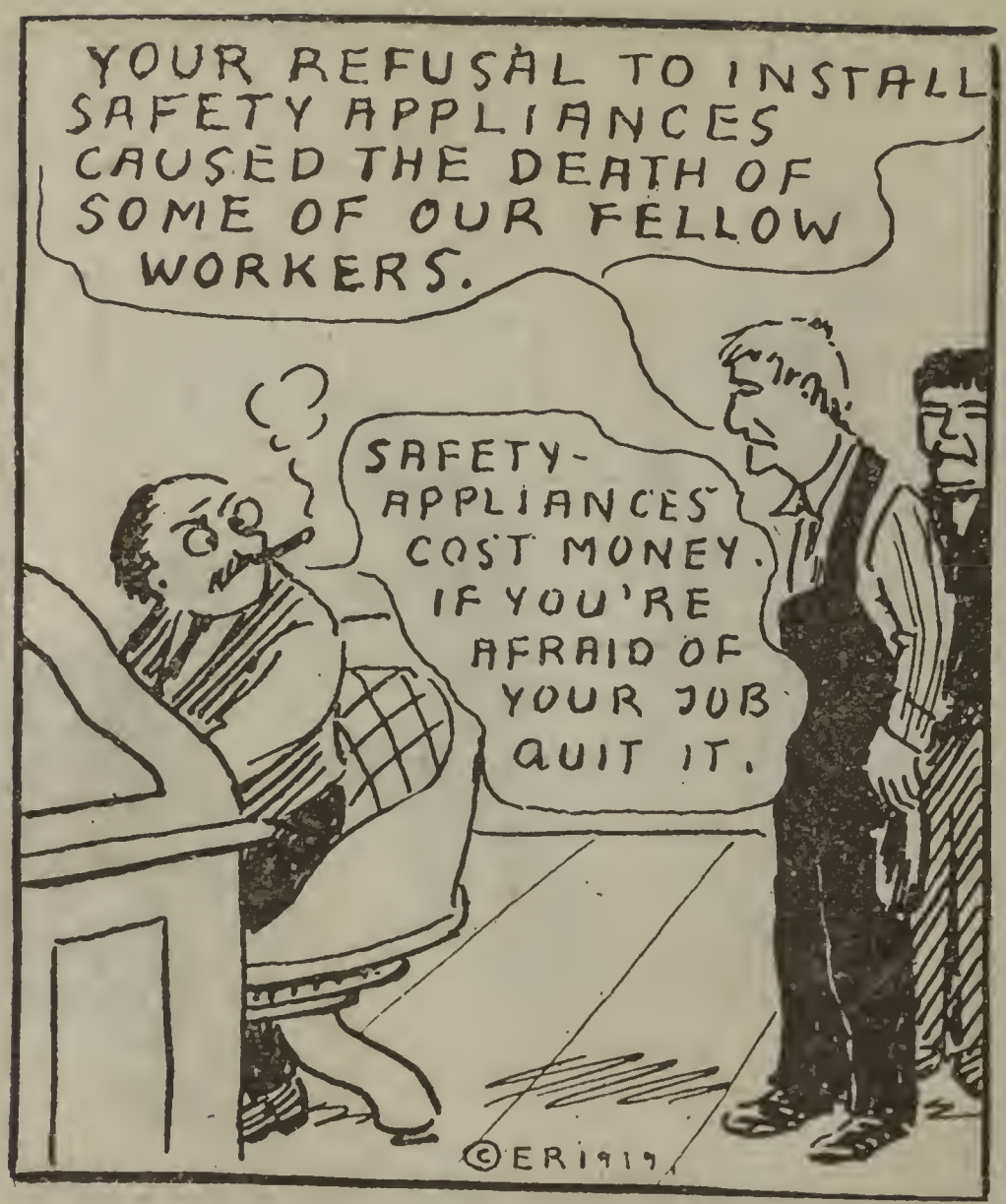
The bolsheviki are against the outrage of child-labor, and this aroused the wrath of the exploiters in all "civilized" countries. Bolsheviki educate the childen instead of murdering them inch by inch for the sake of profiteering, church-going hypocrites. The abolition of child-labor is against the religion of the profiteers, who's god is Mammon. Everybody knows, which the countries are, where the supreme court declares the abolition of child-labor unconstitutional.



The profiteer is happy when millions are out of employment and go begging for jobs. The misery of the masses is a blessing for him. The bolsheviki spoiled the fun and established the shorter work-day so that everybody had a job. This, being against the interest of the profiteers, is another reason why the truth about the bolsheviki is suppressed. ....

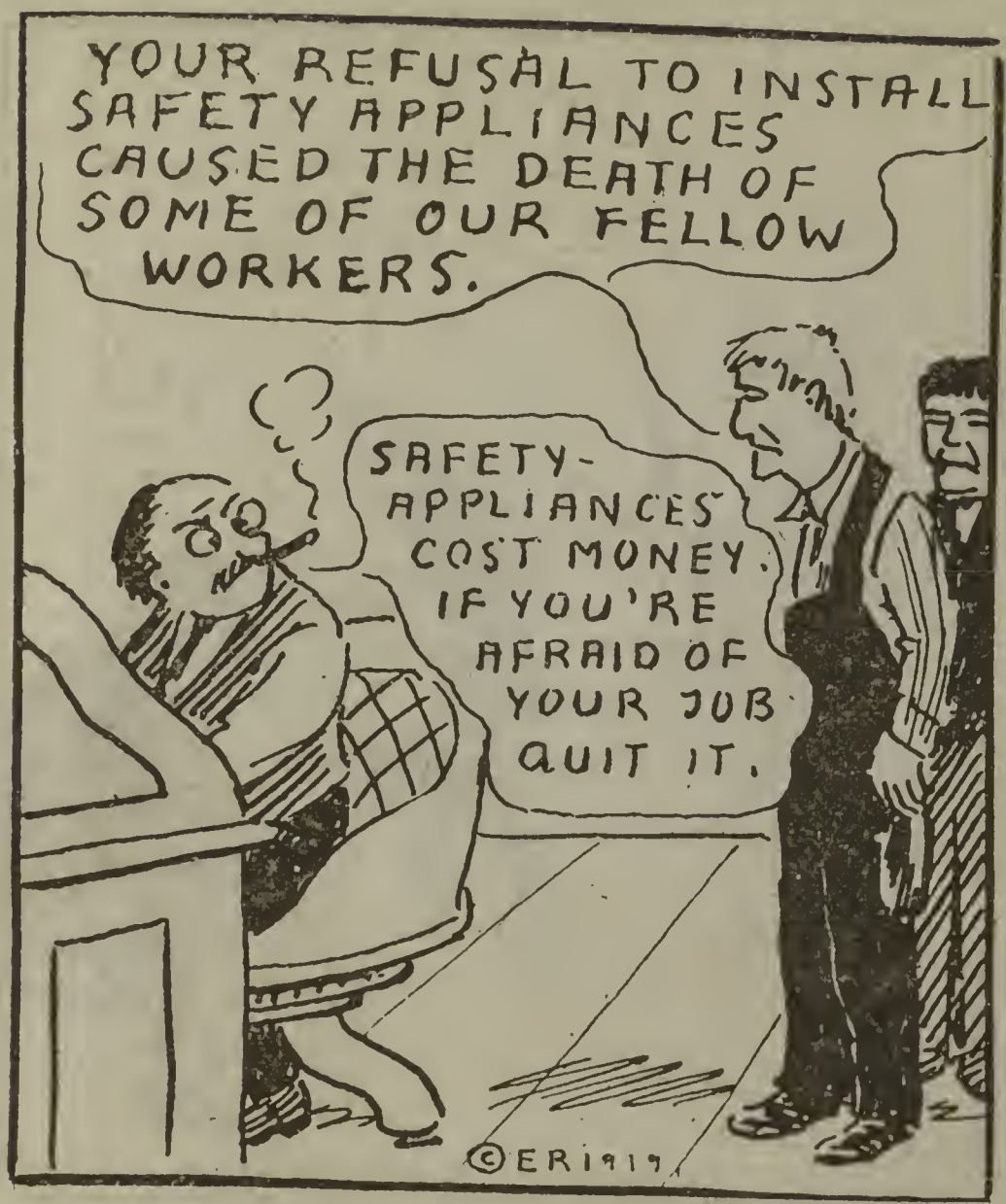
Slave-driving is common in "civilized" countries. The language used by some bosses is so vile, that it is not allowed to be printed, but the defenseless slaves have to submit to it, because the cowardly cur happens to be the master of their bread. The bolsheviki demonstrated, that industries can be run successfully without humiliation of the workers, when they know they are not exploited.

In our good old Christian civilized countries of to-day the poor old people are kicked around or penned up in the poorhouses. This is cheap and suits the Christian profiteers. The bolsheviki take care of their old and infirm and carry out the practice of the early Christians. And for this reason they are slandered and misrepresented just like the followers of Christ by the money changers and usurers.


YOUR REFUSAL TO INSTALL SAFETY APPLIANCES CAUSED THE DEATH OF SOME OF OUR FELLOW WORKERS.
SAFETY-APPLIANCES COST MONEY. IF YOU'RE AFRAID OF YOUR JOB QUIT IT.
©ERI919

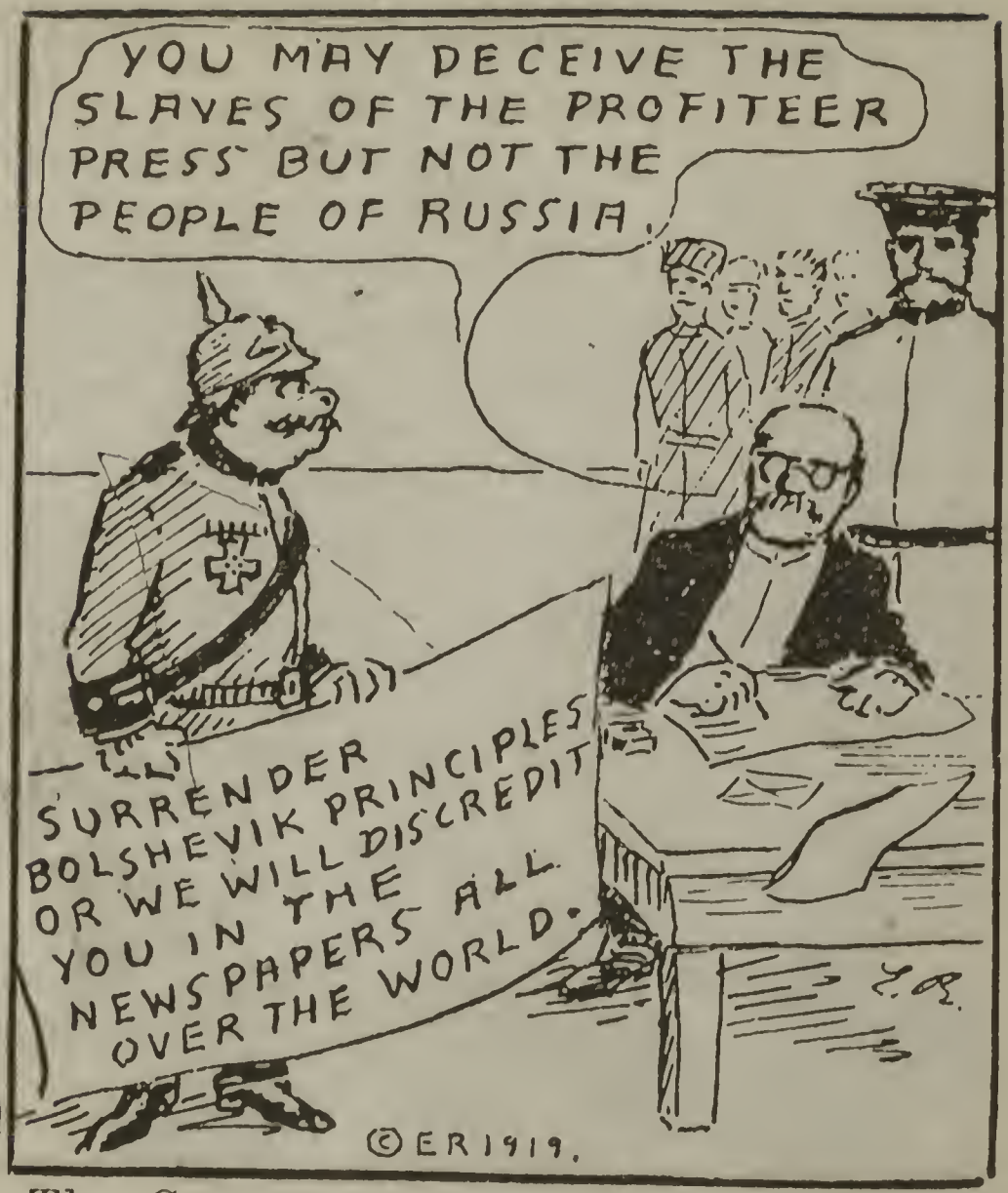
The profiteer is absolute master over the workers. He condemns them to death if profits demand it. Thousands of workers are annually sacrified to save money. When the bolsheviki changed this in Russia they were condemned by the profiteers of all countries. Profiteers are class-conscious and international. If one of them is injured, the whole mob will holler, "Kill the bolsheviki!"

The profiteers in Russia had from time to time massacred the workers, who struck for better conditions. They used to organize mobs and lynched men, women and children. This later method was very popular and was used to charge the crime to "Public Sentiment." In all cases the assassins were never punished. The bolsheviki took away from the profiteers the right of massacre and also the lynchprivilege.


YOUR REFUSAL TO INSTALL SAFETY APPLIANCES CAUSED THE DEATH OF SOME OF OUR FELLOW WORKERS.
SAFETY-APPLIANCES COST MONEY. IF YOU'RE AFRAID OF YOUR JOB QUIT IT.
©ERI 1919

The profiteer is absolute master over the workers. He condemns them to death if profits demand it. Thousands of workers are annually sacrified to save money. When the bolsheviki changed this in Russia they were condemned by the profiteers of all countries. Profiteers are class-conscious and international. If one of them is injured, the whole mob will holler, "Kill the bolsheviki!"

The profiteers in Russia had from time to time massacred the workers, who struck for better conditions. They used to organize mobs and lynched men, women and children. This later method was very popular and was used to charge the crime to "Public Sentiment." In all cases the assassins were never punished. The bolsheviki took away from the profiteers the right of massacre and also the lynchprivilege.


YOU MAY DECEIVE THE SLAVES OF THE PROFITEER PRESS BUT NOT THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA.
SURRENDER BOLSHEVIK PRINCIPLES OR WE WILL DISCREDIT YOU IN THE NEWSPAPERS ALL OVER THE WORLD.
©ER 1919.

The German profiteers were the first to deliver an ultimatum to the bolsheviki and when this was ignored the campaign of slander began. The kaiser said: "I wish the whole Russian army was intact and in the field against me instead of this bolshevism. It is more dangerous than the best artillery." Like the kaiser, the profiteers of other countries consider bolshevism dangerous for themselves and for that reason keep up the lies in their newspapers.

Here's a sample. Bolshevik crimes, that's what sells the extras. Make it interesting for the "intelligent" reader and put in on thick. The above sample of profiteer propaganda was published all over the country and swallowed by millions. It is ridiculous that a great body of men, comprising uncounted millions like the bolsheviki, should condemn their own mothers, sisters and children to slavery. Furthermore, the bolsheviki are not short on women. The latter outnumber the men in Russia by many millions.

When in 1918 the bolsheviki saw, that their rule was firmly established they declared an amnesty for those plotters, who were not considered dangerous any more. The international profiteers knew, that this generous act would gain prestige for the bolsheviki and therefore invented the lie of the wholesale massacre of the bourgeoisie, "the Russian Bartholomew night." The campaign of lies goes merrily on, but the number of blocks becomes less, to the chagrin of the profiteers.

At last we offer the most momentous bolshevik crime, the Bolshevik Constitution, which will go down in history and stand when all the profiteer press agents are buried under the ridicule of an enlightened world. Truth at last will triumph.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE RUSSIAN SOVIET.

CONSTITUTION

(Fundamental Law)

The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. Resolutions of the 5th All-Russian Congress of Soviets, adopted on July 10, 1918.

The declaration of rights of the laboring and exploited people (approved by the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets in January, 1918), together with the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, approved by the fifth Congress, constitutes a single fundamental law of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

This fundamental law becomes effective upon the publication of the same in its entirety in the "Izvestia of the All-Russian General Executive Committee." It must be published by all organs of the Soviet government and must be posted in a prominent place in every Soviet institution.

The fifth Congress instructs the People's Commissariat of Education to introduce in al schools and educational institutions of the Russian Republic the study and explanation of the basic principles of this Constitution.

Article One

Declaration of Rights of the Laboring and Exploited People.

Chapter One.

1. Russia is declared to be a Republic of the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. All the central and local power belongs to these Soviets.

2. The Russian Soviet Republic is organized on basis of a free union of free nations, as a federation of Soviet national Republics.

Chapter Two.

3. Bearing in mind as its fundamental problem the abolition of exploitation of men by men the entire abolition of the division of the people into classes, the suppression of exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist society, and the victory of socialism in all lands, the third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies further resolves:

a. For the purpose of realizing the socialization of land, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among husbandmen without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

b. All forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public utility, all implements whether animate or inanimate, model farms and agricultural enterprises are declared to be national property.

c. As a first step toward complete transfer of ownership to the Soviet Republic of all factories, mills, mines, railways and other means of production and transportation, the Soviet law for the country by workmen and the establishment of the Supreme Soviet of National Economy is hereby confirmed, so as to assure the power of the workers over the exploiters.

d. With reference to international banking and finance, the third Congress of Soviets is discussing the Soviet decree regarding the annulment of loans made by the Government of the Czar, by landowners and the bourgeoisie, and it trusts that the Soviet government will firmly follow this course until the final victory of the international workers' revolt against the oppression of capital.

e. The transfer of all banks into the ownership of the Workers' and Peasants' government, as one of the conditions of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital, is confirmed.

f. Universal obligation to work is introduced for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society and organizing the economic life of the country.

g. For the purpose of securing the working class in the possession of the complete power, and in order to eliminate all possibility of restoring the power of the exploiters, it is decreed that all toilers be armed, and that a Socialist Red Army be organized and the propertied class be disarmed.

Chapter Three.

4. Expressing its absolute resolve to liberate mankind from the grip of capital and imperialism, which flooded the earth with blood in this present most criminal of all wars, the third Congress of Soviets fully agrees with the Soviet Government in its policy of breaking secret treaties, of organizing on a wide scale the fraternization of the workers and peasants of the belligerent armies, and of making all efforts to conclude a general democratic peace without annexations or indemnities, upon the basis of the free determination of the people.

5. It is also to this end that the third Congress of Soviets insists upon putting an end to the barbarous policy of the bourgeois civilization which enables the exploiters of a few chosen nations to

enslave hundreds of millions of the toiling population of Asia, of the colonies and of small countries generally.

6. The third Congress of Soviets hails the policy of the Council of People's Commissars in proclaiming the full independence of Finland, in withdrawing troops from Persia, and in proclaiming the right of Armenia to self-determination.

Chapter Four.

7. The third All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies believes that now, during the progress of the decisive battle between the proletariat and its exploiters, the exploiters can not hold a position in any branch of the Soviet government. The power must belong entirely to the toiling masses and to their plenipotentiary representatives—the Soviet of Workers', Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies.

8. In its effort to create a league—free and voluntary, and for that reason all the more complete and secure—of the working classes of all the peoples of Russia, the third Congress of Soviets merely establishes the fundamental principles of the federation of Russian Soviet Republics, leaving to the workers and peasants of every people to decide the following question at their plenary sessions of their Soviets; whether or not they desire to participate, and on what basis, in the federal government and other federal Soviet institutions.

Article Two

General Provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chapter Five.

9. The fundamental problem of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic involves, in view of the present transition period,

the establishment of a dictatorship of the urban and rural proletariat and the poorest peasantry in the form of a powerful All-Russian Soviet authority, for the purpose of abolishing the exploitation of men by men and of introducing Socialism, in which there will be neither a division into classes nor a state of autocracy.

10. The Russian Republic is a free Socialist society of all the working people of Russia. The entire power, within the boundaries of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, belongs to all the working people of Russia, united in urban and rural Soviets.

11. The Soviets of those regions which defferentiate themselves by a special form of existence and national character may unite in autonomous regional unions, ruled by the local Congress of the Soviets and their executive organs.

These autonomous regional unions participate in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic upon the basis of a federation.

12. The supreme power of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic belongs to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, and, in periods between the convocation of the Congress, to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

13. For the purpose of securing to the toilers real freedom of conscience, the church is to be separated from the state and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

14. For the purpose of securing the freedom of expression to the toiling masses, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic abolishes all dependence of the press upon capital, and turns over to the working people and the poorest peasantry all technical and material means of publication of newspapers, pamphlets, books, etc., and

guarantees their free circulation thruout the country.

15. For the purpose of enabling the workers to hold free meetings, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic offers to the working class and to the poorest peasantry furnished halls, and takes care of their heating and lighting appliances.

16. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, having crushed the economic and political power of the propertied classes and having thus abolished all obstacles which interfered with the freedom of organization and action of the workers and peasants offer assistance, material and otherwise, to the workers and the poorest peasantry in their effort to unite and organize.

17. For the purpose of guaranteeing to the workers real access to knowledge, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic sets itself the task of furnishing full and general free education to the workers and the poorest peasantry.

18. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic considers work the duty of every citizen of the Republic, and proclaims as its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work."

19. For the purpose of defending the victory of the great peasants' and workers' revolution, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic recognizes the duty of all citizens of the Republic to come to the defense of their Socialist Fatherland, and it, therefore, introduces universal military training. The honor of defending the revolution with arms is given only to the toilers, and the non-toiling elements are charged with the performance of other military duties.

20. In consequence of the solidarity of the toilers of all nations, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic grants all political rights of Russian citizens to foreigners who live in the territory of the Russian Republic and are engaged in toil

and who belong to the toiling class. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic also recognizes the right of local Soviets to grant citizenship to such foreigners without complicated formality.

21. The Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, recognizing equal rights of all citizens, irrespective of their racial or national connections, proclaims al privileges on this ground, as well as oppression of national minorities, to be in contradiction with the fundamental laws of the Republic.

23. Being guided by the interests of the working class as a whole, the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic deprives all individuals and groups of rights which could be utilized by them to the detriment of the Socialist Revolution.

Article Three

Construction of the Soviet Power.

A. Organization of the Central Power.

Chapter Six.

The All-Russian Congress of Soviets of Workers', Peasants', Cossacks' and Red Army Deputies.

24. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is composed of representatives of urban Soviets (one delegate for 25,000 voters), and of representatives of the provincial (Gubernia) congress of Soviets (one delegate for 125,000 inhabitants).

Note 1. In case the Provincial Congress is not called before the All-Russian Congress is convoked, delegates for the latter are sent directly from the county (Ouezd) Congress.

Note 2. In case the Regional (Oblast) Congress is convoked indirectly, previous to the convocation of All-Russian Congress, delegates for the latter may be sent by the Regional Congress.

26. The All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee at least twice a year.

27. A special All-Russian Congress is convoked by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of local Soviets having not less than one-third of the entire population of the Republic.

28. The All-Russian Congress elects an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of not more than 200 members.

29. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.

30. In the periods between the convocation of the Congresses, the All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme power of the Republic.

Chapter Seven.

The All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

31. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee is the supreme legislative, executive, and controlling organ of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

32. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee directs in a general way the activity of the workers' and peasants' government and of all organs of the Soviet authority in the country, and it co-ordinates and regulates the operation of the Soviet Constitution and of the resolution of the All-Russian Congresses and of the central organs of the Soviet power.

33. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee considers and enacts all measures and proposals introduced by the Soviet of People's Commissars or by the various departments, and it also issues its own decrees and regulations.

34. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee convokes the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, at which time the Executive Committee reports on its activity and on general questions.

35. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee forms a Council of People's Commissars for the purpose of general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it also forms departments (People's Commissariats) for the purpose of conducting various branches.

36. The members of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee work in the various departments (People's Commissariats) or execute special orders of all the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Eight.

The Council of People's Commissars.

37. The Council of People's Commissars is entrusted with the general management of the affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

38. For the accomplishment of this task the Council of People's Commissars issues decrees, resolutions, orders, and, in general, takes all steps necessary for the proper and rapid conduct of government affairs.

39. The Council of People's Commissars notifies immediately the All-Russian Central Executive Committee of all its orders and resolutions.

40. The All-Russian Central Executive Committee has the right to revoke or suspend all orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars.

41. All orders and resolutions of the Council of People's Commissars of great significance are turned over for consideration and final approval to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Note: Measures requiring immediate execution may be enacted directly by the Council of People's Commissars.

42. The members of the Council of People's Commissars stand at the head of the various People's Commissariats.

43. There are seventeen People's Commissars: **a.** Foreign Affairs; b. Army; c. Navy; d. Interior; e. Justice; f. Labor; g. Social Welfare; h. Education; i. Post and Telegraph; j. National Affairs; k. Finances; l. Ways of Communication; m. Agriculture; n. Commerce and Industry; o. National Supplies; p. State Control; q. Supreme Soviet of National Economy; r. Public Health.

44. Every Commissar has a College (Committee) of which he is the President, and the members of which are appointed by the Council of People's Commissars.

45. A People's Commissar has the individual right to decide all questions under the judisdiction of his Commissariat, and he is to report on his decision to the College. If the College does not agree with the Commissar on some decision, the former may, without stopping the execution of the decision, complain of it to the executive members of the Council of People's Commissars to the All-Russian Central Committee.

Individual members of the College have this right also.

46. The Council of People's Commissars is entirely responsible to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

47. The People's Commissars and the Colleges of the People's Commissariats are entirely responsible to the Council of People's Commissars and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

48. The title of People's Commissars belongs only to members of the Council of People's Commissars, which is in charge of general affairs of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and it cannot be used by any other representative of the Soviet power, either central or local.

Chapter Nine.

Affairs in the Jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

49. The All-Russian Congress and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee deal with questions of state, such as:

a. Ratification and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

b. General direction of the entire interior and foreign policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

c. Establishing and changing boundaries, also ceding territory belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

d. Establishing boundaries for regional Soviet unions belonging to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, also settling disputes among them.

e. Admission of new members to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic, and recognition of the secession of any part of it.

f. The general administrative division of the territory of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and the approval of regional unions.

g. Establishing and changing of weights, measures and money denominations in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

h. Foreign relations, declaration of war, and ratification of peace treaties.

i. Making loans, signing commercial treaties, and financial agreements.

j. Working out a basis and a general plan for the national economy and for various branches in the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

k. Approval of the budget of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

l. Levying taxes and establishing the duties of citizens to the state.

m. Establishing the bases for the organization of armed forces.

n. State legislation, judicial organization and procedure, civil and criminal legislation, etc.

o. Appointment and dismissal of the individual People's Commissars or the entire Council; also approval of the President of the Council of People's Commissars.

p. Granting and cancelling Russian citizenship and fixing rights of foreigners.

q. The right to declare individual and general amnesty.

50. Besides the above mentioned questions, the All-Russian Congress of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee have charge of all other affairs which according to their decision, require their attention.

51. The following questions are solely under the jurisdiction of the All-Russian Congress:

a. Ratification and amendment of the fundamental principles of the Soviet Constitution.

b. Ratification of peace treaties.

52. The decision of question indicated in Items c and h of Paragraph 49 may be made by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee only in case it is impossible to convoke the Congress.

Chapter Ten.

B. Organization of the Local Soviets. The Congress of the Soviets.

53. Congress of Soviets are composed as follows:

a. Regional: Of representatives of the urban and county Soviets, one representative for 25,000 inhabitants of the county, and one representative for 5,000 voters of the cities—but not more than 500 representatives for the entire region—or of

representatives of the provisional Congress, chosen on the same basis if such a Congress meets before the regional Congress.

b. Provincial (Gubernia): Of representatives of urban and rural (Volost) Soviets, one representative for 10,000 inhabitants from the rural districts, and one representative for 2,000 voters in the city; altogether not more than 300 representatives for the entire province. In case the county Congress meets before the provincial, election takes place on the same basis, but by the county Congress instead of the rural.

c. County: Of representatives of rural Soviets, one delegate for each 1,000 inhabitants, but not more than 300 delegates for the entire country.

r. Rural (Volost): Of representatives of all village Soviets in the Volost one delegate for ten members of the Soviet.

Note 1. Representatives of urban Soviets which have a population of not more than 10,000 persons participate in the county Congress; village Soviets of districts of less than 1,000 inhabitants unite for the purpose of electing delegates to the county Congress.

Note 2. Rural Soviets of less than ten members send one delegate to the rural (Volost) Congress.

54. Congresses of the Soviets are convoked by the respective Executive Committees upon their own initiative, or upon request of local Soviets comprising not less than one-third of the entire population of the given district. In any case they are convoked at least twice a year for regions, every three months for provinces and counties, and once a month for rural districts.

55. Every Congress of Soviets (regional, provincial, county and rural) elects its Executive organ—an Executive Committee the membership of which shall not exceed:

(a) For regions and provinces, 25; (b) for a county, 20; (c) for a rural district, 10. The Executive Committee is responsible to the congress which elected it.

56. In the boundaries of the respective territories the Congress is the supreme power; during intervals between the convocations of the Congress, the executive Committee is the supreme power.

Chapter Eleven.

The Soviets of Deputies.

57. Soviets of Deputies ore formed:

a. In cities, one deputy for each 1,000 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 50 and not more than 1,000 members.

b. All other settlements (towns, villages, hamlets, etc.) of less than 10,000 inhabitants, one deputy for each 100 inhabitants; the total to be not less than 3 and not more than 50 deputies for each settlement.

Term of the deputy, three months.

Note: In small rural sections, whenever possible, all questions shall be decided at general meetings of voters.

58. The Soviets of Deputies elects an Executive Committee to deal with current affairs; not more than 5 members for rural districts, one for every 50 members of the Soviets of cities, but not more than 15 and not less than 3 in the aggregate (Petrograd and Moscow not more than 40). The Executive Committee is entirely responsible to the Soviet with elected it.

59. The Soviet of Deputies is convoked by the Executive Committee upon its own initiative, or upon the request of not less than one-half of the membership of the Soviet; in any case at least once a week in cities, and twice a week in rural sections.

60. Within its jurisdiction the Soviet, and in cases mentioned in Paragraph 57. Note, the meeting of the voters, is the supreme power in the given district.

Chapter Twelve.

Jurisdiction of the Local Organs of the Soviets.

61. Regional, provincial, county, and rural organs of the Soviet power and also the Soviets of Deputies have to perform the following duties:

a. Carry out all orders of the respective higher organs of the Soviet power.

b. Take all steps towards raising the cultural and economic standards of the given territory.

c. Decide all questions of local importance within their respective territory.

d. Co-ordinate all Soviet activity in their respective territory.

62. The Congresses of Soviets and their Executive Committees have the right to control the activity of the local Soviets (i. e., the regional Congress controls all Soviets of the respective regions; the provincial of the respective province, with the exception of the urban Soviets, etc.) and the regional and provincial Congresses and their Executive Committees in addition have the right to overrule the decisions of the Soviets of their districts, giving notice in important cases to the central Soviet authority.

63. For the purpose of performing their duties, the local Soviets, rural and urban, and the Executive Committees form sections respectively.

Article Four

The Right to Vote.

Chapter Thirteen.

64. The right to vote and to be elected to the Soviets in enjoyed by the following citizens, irrespective of religion, nationality, domicile, etc., of

of both sexes, who shall have completed their eighteenth year by the day of election:

a. All who have acquired the means of living thru labor that is productive and useful to society, and also persons engaged in housekeeping, which enables the former to do productive work, i. e., laborers and employees of all classes who are employed in industry, trade, agriculture, etc., and peasants and Cossack agricultural laborers who employ no help for the purpose of making profits.

b. Soldiers of the army and navy of the Soviets.

c. Citizens of the two preceding categories who have to any degree lost their capacity to work.

Note 1. Local Soviets may, upon approval af the central power, lower the age standard mentioned herein.

Note 2. Non-citizens mentioned in Paragraph 20 (Article Two, Chapter 5) have the right to vote.

65. The following persons enjoy neither the right to vote nor the right to be voted for, even tho they belong to one of the categories enumerated above, namely:

a. Persons who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits.

b. Persons who have an income without doing any work, such as interest from capital, receipts from property, etc.

c. Private merchants, trade and commercial brokers.

d. Monks and clergy of all denominations.

e. Employees and agents of the former police, the gendarme corps, and the Okhrana (Czar's secret service), also members of the former reigning dynasty.

f. Persons who have in legal form been declared demented or mentally deficient, and also persons under guardianship.

g. Persons who have been deprived by a Soviet of their rights of citizenship because of selfish or dishonorable offences, for the period fixed by the sentence.

Chapter Fourteen.

Elections.

66. Elections are conducted according to custom on days fixed by the local Soviets.

67. Election takes place in the presence of an electing committee and the representative of the local Soviet.

68. In case the representative of the Soviet connot be present for valid causes, the chairman of the electing committee takes his place, and in case the latter is absent, the chairman of the election meeting replaces him.

69. Minutes of the proceedings and results of elections are to be compiled and signed by the members of the electing committee and the representative of the Soviet.

70. Detailed instruction regarding the election proceedings and the participation in them of professional and other workers' organizations are to be issued of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

Chapter Fifteen.

The Checking and Cancellation of Elections and Recall of the Deputies.

71. The respective Soviets receive all the records of the proceedings of the election.

72. The Soviet appoints a commission to verify the elections.

73. This commission reports on the results to the Soviets.

74. The Soviet decides the question when there is doubt as to which candidate is elected.

75. The Soviet announces a new election if the

election of one candidate or another cannot be determined.

76. If an election was irregularly carried on in its entirety, it may be declared void by a higher Soviet authority.

77. The highest authority in relation to questions of elections is the All-Russian Central Executive Committee.

78. Voters who have sent a deputy to the Soviet have the right to recall him, and to have a new election according to general provision.

Article Five

The Budget.

79. The financial policy of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic in the present transition period of dictatorship of the proletariat, facilitates the fundamental purpose of expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the preparation of conditions necessary for the equality of all citizens of Russia in the production and distribution of wealth. To this end it sets forth as its task the supplying of the organs of the Soviet power with all necessary funds for local state needs of the Soviet Republic, without regard to private property rights.

80. The state expenditures and income of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic are combined in the state budget.

81. The All-Russian Congress of Soviets or the All-Russian Central Executive Committee determine what matter of income and taxation shall go to the state budget and what shall go to the local Soviets; they also set the limits of taxes.

82. The Soviets levy taxes only for the local needs. The state needs are covered by the funds of the state treasury.

83. No expenditure out of the state treasury not set forth in the budget of income and expense

shall be made without a special order of the central power.

84. The local Soviets shall receive credits from the proper People's Commissars out of the state treasury, for the purpose of making expenditures for general state needs.

85. All credits allotted to the Soviets from the state treasury, and also credits approved for local needs, must be expended according to the estimates, and cannot be used for any other purposes without a special order of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Soviet of People's Commissars.

86. Local Soviets draw up semi-annual and annual estimates of income and expenditure for local needs. The estimates of urban and rural Soviets participating in county congresses, and also the estimates of the county organs of the Soviet power are to be approved by provincial and regional congresses of by their executive committees; the estimates of the urban, provincial, and regional organs of the Soviets are to be approved by the All-Russian Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars.

87. The Soviets may ask far additional credits from the respective People's Commissariats for expenditures not set forth in the estimate, or where the allotted sum is insufficient.

88. In case of an insufficiency of local funds for local needs, the necessary subsidy may be obtained from the state treasury by applying to the All-Russian Central Executive Committee or the Council of People's Commissars.

ARTICLE SIX.

The Coat of Arms and Flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chapter Seventeen.

89. The coat of arms of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red back-

ground on which a golden scythe and a hammer are laced (crosswise, handles downward) in sun-rays and surrounded by a wreath, inscribed:

Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.
Workers of the World Unite!

90. The commercial, naval, and army flag of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic consists of a red cloth, in the left hand corner of which (on top, near the pole) there are in golden characters the letters R. S. F. S. R., or the inscription: Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic.

Chairman of the All-Russian Congress of Soviets and the All-Russian Central Executive Committee —J. Severdloff.

Executive Officers—All-Russian Central Executive Committee: T. I. Teodorowith, F. A. Rosin, A. P. Rosenholz, A. C. Mitrofanoff, K. C. Maxinoff.

Secretary of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee—V. A. Avanessoff.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL CHICAGO, ILL.
394

SOLD BY
GEORGE W. PERRY
1237 W. MADISON ST.
CHICAGO, ILL.

DIRECT ACTION

THE GREAT TRUTH CONTAINED IN THE THEORY OF DIRECT ACTION IS THAT ONE CANNOT OBTAIN FREEDOM THROUGH INTERMEDIARIES

PRINTED IN U. S. A. BY THE G. R. U. == No. 1 == PRICE 5 CENTS

DIRECT ACTION MEANS THIS: THAT THE WORKERS STRUGGLING CONSTANTLY WITH THEIR PRESENT ENVIRONMENT, NO LONGER EXPECT ANYTHING FROM MEN, POWERS OR FORCES OUTSIDE OF THEIR OWN RANKS. IT MEANS THAT, AGAINST OUR PRESENT SOCIETY, WHICH KNOWS ONLY THE "CITIZEN," A NEW SOCIETY IS RISING, MADE UP OF "PRODUCERS."

THE PRODUCERS, REALIZING THAT THE SOCIAL BODY IS SHAPED BY ITS SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION, INTEND TO TRANSFORM ENTIRELY THE CAPITALIST MODE OF PRODUCTION, TO ELIMINATE THE EMPLOYERS AND THEREBY TO CONQUER INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY.

IS THE I. W. W. ALL-SUFFICIENT FOR THE WORKERS NEED?

In the begining, carping critics questioned the necessity of the existence of the Industrial Workers of the World.

It would be a waste of time and space to specify all of the arguments that have been advanced by the opponents of the industrial union movement.

We have been derided as impracticable, immoral, unnecessary, unethical, dishonest, and devoid of ability, knowledge, or any other attribute necessary to justify our existence.

Thousands of tons of paper and printer's ink have been used to scatter vituperation and misrepresentation about the organization, its membership and its program.

Millions of dollars have been spent by the employers to defeat and disrupt the organization and prevent its growth among the workers employed in the various industries.

Detective agencies have used the I. W. W. as a bugaboo to scare indifferent employers into becoming clients.

Thousands of members have been jailed and many of them murdered in an effort to stop the progress of industrial union organization and education among the workers.

With more than a score of years of history to our credit the need for the I. W. W. has been emphasized beyond the possibility of doubt in the minds of all who have given the labor problem careful study.

The form of organization has proved to be in accord with the march of industrial pogress. Its program and principles have proven sound, and its tactics have been demonstrated to be efficient.

Even where we have been unable to win our demands these facts have been further emphasized. In every case where the workers have not been victorious; the loss of the struggle has occurred, not because the methods of the I. W. W. were faulty, but because the organization was not financially or numerically strong enough to generate the power required to apply the tactics needed to win the struggle; or, as in some cases, the workers involved were not educated in the tactics advocated by the organization.

Driven from their former positions by the logic of events, the opponents of the I. W. W. now, not only grudgingly admit that industrial organization on the lines proposed by us is necessary, but try to control it through outside organization, claiming that, it is not all-sufficient, that it does not cover all the needs of the working class.

It is their claim now that the I. W. W. can only function to advance the job interests of the workers, infering at the same time that we need their guidance and help. While they admit that the job function is an important item, we are reminded that there are other and, according to them, greater problems confronting the human race.

Social problems such as the care of the aged, the sick, infirm, insane, and the criminal; general sanitation and hygiene; cultivation of literature, and the sciences; the development of education; the abolition of religious, racial and national prejudices, and antagonisms; the adjudication of disputes between individuals; the promotion of

enterprises and inventions — in short, the whole gamut of human endeavor is cited to prove that the I. W. W. does not meet the requirements needed to usher in the new order of things.

Once again our critics, friendly and otherwise, are wrong.

Were these objections raised only by the paid mouthpieces of the ruling class, their source would be sufficient answer to the allegations.

When they are voiced and repeated by self-styled revolutionists, radicals, and semi-radicals, they cause confusion and dissipate time, energy and resources that otherwise would be employed to bring about the abolition of the wage system.

In answer to our critics we assert that the job question, as far as the workers are concerned, is **the important Question,** and furthermore it is the problem that must be solved before any solution of other questions is possible.

With the control of industry passing over into the hands of the workers organized on class lines, as proposed by the I. W. W. the care of the aged and sick in each family would be possible without the assistance of public institutions. The care of those who are without family connections will be arranged for by the industrial organization providing institutions that will readily care for their inmates.

For the care of the insane the industrial organization will take over the present day institutions and convert them from places of horror into establishments operated for the comfort and well being of the unfortunate inmates placed therein. It is also to be noted in this connection that most of the insanity prevalent today comes from the unnatural conditions brought into existance as a result of the capitalist system. With the abolition of the capitalist system it will not require many generations before insanity will be a rare disease.

As most criminals, like the insane, are a by-product of the present system, it will only be necessary for the industrial organization to create an opportunity for employment for all, and the criminals will disappear from society. Those derelicts who are a heritage from the present system, and cannot be cured, will be provided for by taking over the penal institutions and converting them into sanitariums for the treatment of members of the human race whose characters have been warped in the struggle for existence.

The problems of sanitation and hygiene will, for the most part, settle themselves as the organization of the workers is able to increase the income of its members. When the I. W. W. is in possession of the required resources, the medical profession, and all others engaged in health and sanitation work, can and will be organized for the handling of these matters on a comprehensive scale where-ever necessary.

Only when the industrially organized workers have obtained control of industry will it be possible for art and literature to reach their fullest and freest development. Then none will have to smother their talent or curb their pen in order to cater to a ruling class. The genius will be able to provide for his or her material wants by a few hours spent in productive labor and still have more time to devote to cultivating his or her talents than they now have. The scientist will be able to follow his bent without having to fight starvation and the false scientists who are attempting to pervert all science to the interest of a ruling class.

When the workers industrial organization is firmly intrenched in the industries the work of organizing and **educating the educators** on class lines will be vigorously taken up. As the educators are organized the educational problems of the future will begin to approach a solution.

The antagonisms between races and nationalities can only be abolished when the idea of class solidarity has been accepted by the workers. In the task of promoting that idea the I. W. W. is the only organization that is meeting the needs of the times.

Disputes between individuals and interests will for the most part disappear with the wage system. For such as arise, the industrial union can and will provide the necessary machinery to settle the same with as good or better results than any other institution.

With the industrially organized workers in control of industry, the inventive genius of the human race can be enabled to blossom forth as never before in the history of mankind.

The sum total of human wants may be summed up under five general heads: food, clothing, shelter, education and amusement.

No one can gainsay that under existing conditions the workers' access to these necessities depends entirely upon the power and efficiency of their organization within the industries in which they are employed. Not alone as to his power to decide the hours, wages and conditions governing while at work, but also on the ability of the organization to provide an opportunity for all to be employed on terms that will guarantee them the wherewithal to procure these necessities.

Today the wages received determines what kind of shelter the workers will have; it determines the neighborhood where that shelter shall be located; it stipulates what the quantity and quality of the food consumed by him and his family shall be; it sets the standard of amusement that they shall enjoy, and it says whether his children shall be well educated, poorly educated, or uneducated.

If, under the present system, the workers' organ-

ization within the industries is THE factor that determines the degree of physical comfort and mental relaxation for the worker, does it not follow that after the workers have secured control of industry their organization will provide them with all the necessary machinery to handle the problems of the new society? That conclusion is logically sound, and is thoroughly demonstrating its correctness day after day.

For the workers the only task at present is to gain control of the machinery of production and distribution—**industrial organization, as outlined by the I. W. W., is the only method that will accomplish that result.**

WHAT IS THE G. R. U.?

ANY discussion of the General Recruiting Union must necessarily be preceded by a discussion of the I. W. W., of which it is an integral part, and from which it could not possibly be separated. The I. W. W. is the most bitterly attacked, and most deliberately misrepresented labor organization in the world today. Standing as it does, a beacon light to millions of unorganized workers, it bitterly condemns all forms of despotism and involuntary servitude, and fiercely attacks the right of the possessing class to live in wanton luxury on the profits wrung from the labor of useful workers while these workers have barely enough of the necessities of life to hold body and soul together.

But the I. W. W. is more than a protest. It is a **Revolution**—a revolution that seeks the abolition of the present system of production and distribution, with all its misery and suffering for the millions who toil, introducing in its place an **Industrial Democracy of peace and plenty for all.**

The most inspiring program of the Labor Movement today is that of the I. W. W. with its Industrial Union form of organization. No other labor movement could have inspired the songs of Joe Hill, or the heroic stoicism of Frank Little, nor the fearless martyrdom of Wesley Erevest. No other labor organization ever enthused the working class with the spirit that pervaded the free speech fighters of Spokane, Fresno, and numerous other places.

It took the I. W. W. to awaken within their minds the Spirit of Solidarity that climbed the mountains

and sailed the seven seas to the uttermost corners of the earth.

What is this organization that can take an erstwhile contented worker and place him on the pinnacle of heroism? What is the magic of this movement that so inspires the world of labor, and draws the venom of hatred from that class that seeks to perpetuate itself at the expense of the workers?

World-wide in its scope of activity, the Industrial Workers of the World point to a new civilization, where the forces of production and distribution will be scientifically adjusted and coordinated—where childhood will be free—where manhood and womanhood will be secure—where old age will rest in peace —where man, the flower of the earth, shall be in harmony with the world about him.

This is the ultimate aim of the I. W. W., and it is an object which inspires toiling masses to deeds of heroism in their rebellion against age-old oppressors —the possessing class—which in turn can only spew its venom at this the greatest of all world movements as it **triumphantly sweeps them toward the brink of oblivion.**

The I. W. W. is organizing the working class for more aggressive action within the present-day society, so that, with every advance gained, the workers will increase their appetite for more and more, until finally they will demand the full product of their labor, **and will find a way to get it.**

The I. W. W. teaches that an **industrial system of organization must replace the antiquated craft or trade forms. "One big union of all the workers organized according to industry", is their cry; "one enemy necessitates only one union," and "once a union man, or woman, in once industry, always a union man or woman in all.**

Every man, woman or child who works in a given industry must be organized into the **one big**

unit of that industry, and all industrial units **welded together into the one big world-wide industrial union of all wage workers.**

The I. W. W. teaches that, **"Labor is entitled to all it produces"**, and **"there can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few who make up the employing class have all the good things of life"**, and is organizing the workers to abolish the uneven distribution of wealth by carrying out the historic mission of the working class.

The I. W. W. continues to function despite the continual snarling and snapping at its heels of those who sidetrack the main issues of the revolution for their own selfish ends, as well as the never ending warfare directed against it by the employing class, and it will continue on until there dawns a day wherein all mankind will be free. Our growth cannot be stopped. Our ideas cannot be killed. The needs of the human race cannot be denied. **The power of the working class — industrially organized — is the only power on earth worth considering — once they realize that power.**

World-wide industrial unionism is an idea that arose in this country as a reaction against the old craft from of organization. Craft organization means to organize local groups of those who use the same kind of tools or possess the same skill. Carpenters by themselves, painters by themselves, machinists by themselves, in fact every one by **himself,** but each of these trades are bunched together, regardless of what industry they work in, into so-called internationals, thereby separating the workers in an industry into as many different groups as there are crafts or trades employed, building a fence between workers who are rubbing elbows on the job, instead of uniting them.

A good illustration of craft separation is to be found on the railroads, where in the small confines of a locomotive cab are found the members of three distinct and very often antagonistic unions. Engineer, fireman, and head brakeman. Further back on the train we find the conductor who is the member of a fourth union, while the switchman who made up the train belong to another union and the operator who transmits their orders belongs to still another one. Then there is the "car Knocker" with his union. The trackmen, station agents, train dispatchers and 14 different crafts of shopmen, all with different unions, and so it continues until we find that the employes of the railroad industry are divided into almost two scores of craft unions instead of being united into one big union of all railroad employes. These crafts are frequently at outs with each other, and when discontent boils over it is nothing unusual for them to strike one at a time, one union being defeated by the others who are not on strike. This state of affairs prevails in practically every other industry organized by the craft unions.

Contrast the trade unions with the I. W. W. that declares in its preamble that, **"These conditions can be changed, and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all."**

This necessitates the forming of 29 industrial units **welded together into one gigantic world-wide union of wage workers,** each unit completely covering its specified industry, and embracing every wage worker therein, instead of 113 separate and antagonistic craft union internationals.

Of the 29 industrial units of the I. W. W. there

are about 20 that are still in the formative stage, and have been placed in the administration of the General Recruiting Union for economical and effective organization work, until such time as the workers of each of these industries have become sufficiently organized to warrant their own industrial administration.

Within the General Recruiting Union the workers of these small but rapidly growing unions find a common ground to meet upon — the building up of their respective unions. Here they meet and discuss the problems confronting them as workers and organizers, for it has oft been said that every member of the I. W. W. is an organizer for the One Big Union.

The principal function of these workers is educational in nature, and for that reason the members meet enmasse to lay plans for educating the workers of the various industries as the opportunity presents itself, the members of all industries assisting each other in this work, selecting the industry that presents the greatest opportunities.

Wherever there are twenty or more workers of one industry in a locality they are given a charter of their industrial union and are the local administration within that industry, remaining under the protective wing of the General Recruiting Union until such time as there are sufficient local administration of that industry to justify a general industrial union administration.

The branches of the G. R. U. carry on the educational work of the I. W. W. by holding street meetings, selling and distributing papers and literature, thru association with other workers on the job, by lectures and open forum meetings in their halls and any other method which they may adopt.

It is in the halls where the principal work of education and organization procceds steadily along the road to emancipation. Here they bring the unorganized worker away from the influence of the boss and thru constant association gradually displace the influences of the capitalist system with logic and facts backed up by data furnnished by the I. W. W. literature and speakers.

Whenever a Recruiting union branch in any locality organizes enough workers in any one industry to secure a branch charter of that industry those workers then meet directly in their industrial union meetings. So it can plainly be seen that the General Recruiting Union of the I. W. W. is **the Recruiting Force and concentration camp for Industrial Unionists until there is a unit of their industry fully organized in their localities in which to place them, and an administraiton for all local industrial union branches until they form their own administration.**

The General Recruiting Union appeals to all workers employed in the following industries to organize on the basis of the industry in which they work, within the G. R. U. until such time as there are sufficient workers of that industry organized to form an industrial union.

Shipbuilding, Textiles, **clothing, woodworking plants; chemical laboratories and plants; Steel mills and foundries; all other metal and machinery plants; all printing and publishing establishments; all production and distribution of foodstuffs; the production of leather goods; glass factories and potteries; railway transportation; street, bus and other forms of local transportation; marine and aerial navigation; telephone and telegraph; radio and all other forms of communication; as well as all departmennts of public service, education, distribution, amusement and recreation.**

Within the General Recruiting Union there is a place for every man, woman and child that works in the above named industries.

If you should be employed in any other industry than the above named, write to the G. R. U. and you will be referred to the proper industrial union, as there is an industrial union of the I. W. W. for each industry.

The I. W. W. is one organization making for order in a world gone mad. It is the only organization that brings the farm laborers, from the land, the construction workers of the whole wide world, the workers in the shops, on the sea, the railroads, in the mills, and down in the mines and combine them with the workers in the city offices and marts into a gigantic revolutionary organization. It is the only labor organization that has the universal (free) transfer system, and an initiation and dues within the reach of every wage worker. It is a rank and file organization. A union of the workers, by the workers, for the workers.

We need you with us, and you cant get along without us. We are waiting to extend the hand of fellowship to you as one of the members of the world's greatest labor organization — the I. W. W.
Will you join today?

HOW TO JOIN THE I. W. W.

1. — **Go to an I. W. W. hall** and talk it over with the secretary. He will instruct you how to join.

2. — **If there is no hall in your vicinity,** look for a delegate, and if you do not know where there is one, write to the General Recruiting Union for application blank and information.

3. — In filling out application for membership, be sure and state what industry you work in; this is necessary because workers of the same occupation are engaged in many different industries.

4. — Be sure to write your name **and address** plainly so we can keep in touch with you after you join.

5. — Remember that the Industrial Workers of the World is more than a "club", you must study its literature and make yourself acquainted with its principles.

6. — When you have joined, get others to join. When there are twenty or more workers in a locality, they should organize a branch and apply for a charter.

7. — Branch charter fees are $2.00, which covers the cost of supplies enough to start a branch.

8. — When twenty or more workers who are not now members of the I. W. W. desire to join in a body, they should send for a charter application blank and instructions on how to organize,

naming the industry or industries in which they are working.

9. — All who sign the application blank pledge themselves to be in accord with the principles of the I. W. W. as outlined in the Preamble.

10. — Dues in the G. R. U. are 50 cents per month, with a quarterly assessment of $1.00. The initiation fee is $2.00 except where twenty or more join in a group; when they are admitted on an open charter basis.

11. — If those who sign the charter application blank are employed in the same industry, they will be chartered as an industrial branch with local jurisdiction over that industry. If the signers are employed in two or more industries, they will be chartered as a Recruiting Branch, with the understanding that they are allowed to take in members of all other industries, under the jurisdiction of the G. R. U., until they have sufficient members to be chartered as industrial branches.

12. — As soon as there are twenty members in a Recruiting Branch who are employed in the same industry, they will be chartered as a local branch of that industry.

For further information write to

The GENERAL RECRUITING UNION OF THE I. W. W.
3333 Belmont Ave. Chicago, Ill.

or to the nearest branch.

JUSTICE
I.W.W
Bingo

THE PREAMBLE
OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Enclosed find $3.50 for initiation and dues.

I wish to become a member of your organization. I am filling out the application.

I have read the preamble on the other side of this page, and wish to become a member of the I. W. W. A agree to abide by the constitution and regulations of this organization, and to study its principles in order to make myself thoroughly acquainted with its object, aim and purpose.

NAME .. ..

ADDRESS .. ..

CITY ..... STATE.....

OCCUPATION..... INDUSTRY.....

TO BE POSTED . . . .

ON CURRENT LABOR NEWS,
ESPECIALLY I. W. W. NEWS,

READ THE

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

Published by the I. W. W., 3333 Belmont Avenue
Chicago, Ill.

1 Year, $2.00; 6 months, $1.00; 3 months 50c.
Subscribe NOW! Do It NOW!

Correspondence from all parts of the world.

Special articles on economics and all phases of working class activities and education.

You can't be without it!

Send for a free copy.

Five cents a copy; 5 or more copies, 3c each.

READ THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Official Organ of the Western Branches of the I. W. W.

Published to Arouse the Western Workers

LOCAL NEWS OF LUMBERING, FISHING, CONSTRUCTION AND OTHER WESTERN INDUSTRIES

PACIFIC COAST, NORTHWESTERN STRIKES AND OTHER LABOR INTERESTS FULLY COVERED AS WELL AS THE WHOLE UNITED STATES AND ALL FOREIGN COUNTRIES

TELLING CARTOONS, SPECIAL ARTICLES AND GOOD EDITORIALS FROM THE WORKING CLASS VIEWPOINT—

MAIL ADDRESS:

BOX 1857 **SEATTLE, WASH.**

Subscription Rates: Per year, $4.00; Six months, $2.00; Three months, $1.00; Bundle orders, 3 cents per copy; Foreign countries, $5.00 per year.

Can You Get a Job When You Need One?

NO?

Are You Unemployed During Hard Times?

YES?

DO YOU KNOW WHY?

READ

"UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE MACHINE"

By J. A. MacDonald

—AND YOU WILL KNOW

"Unfortunately to the worker, unemployment is more than a problem. It is a grim reality, a terrible nightmare of hunger, natural wants unsatisfied, desires thwarted and life lived below even the animal scale. To him unemployment is a spectre that dogs his steps, haunts his dreams and makes a horror of his working hours. For him unemployment chills the fervor of love and changes it to hate by the ashes of cold fires. It breaks up his home, and drives him into the cold of winter and to a colder charity with its loss of the priceless gift of self-respect."

PRICE 15 CENTS

For sale by
GENERAL RECRUITING UNION OF THE I. W. W.
3333 Belmont Ave., Chicago, Ill.

THE OBJECT OF PUBLISHING AND DISTRIBUTING THIS PAMPHLET AT THIS TIME IS TO FURNISH THE INTERESTED WORKERS WITH A CLEAR STATEMENT OF OUR AIMS, OBJECTS AND PRINCIPLES. THIS HAS BECOME NECESSARY DUE TO A FLOOD OF UTTERLY UNFOUNDED PREVERICATIONS TURNED LOOSE IN THE INTERESTS OF THOSE WHO WOULD PROFIT THROUGH OUR UNDOING. . . .

General Recruiting Union
3333 Belmont Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

deacid Bookkeeper 11-2006

Printed in U. S. A.

An Economic Interpretation of the Job

PRICE TEN CENTS

Second Edition

PUBLISHED BY THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

AN ECONOMIC :: INTERPRETATION OF THE JOB :: ::

SEPTEMBER, 1923

PUBLISHED BY
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

Printed by Printing and Publishing Workers Industrial Union, No. 450, I. W. W.

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTRODUCTION 3

CHAPTER I. Labor Power 5

Selling labor-power.
Labor-power, a commodity.
Market relationship of capitalist and laborer.

CHAPTER II. Exchange Value 9

Value and Technology.
Socially Necessary Labor Time.

CHAPTER III. Surplus Value 14

Paid and Unpaid Labor Time.

CHAPTER IV. The Source of Profit 17

The Profit System.
The Class Struggle.
Capitalist Enslavement.

CHAPTER V. Prices of Commodities 22

Wages and Prices.
Causes of Price Rises.
"The American Plan."

CHAPTER VI. Price Regulation 27

High wages do not make high prices.
Increased Purchasing Power.
"High", "fair" and "low" Wages.

CHAPTER VII. The Standard of Living 33

The Hours of Labor.

CHAPTER VIII. Piece Work 39

The Bonus System.
Profit Sharing.
Family Pressure.

CHAPTER IX. Origin of New Capital 44

Accumulation of Capital.
The Migratory Worker.
Capital and Investment.
What Capital is

CHAPTER X. The Market Law 51

Panics.
The Lesson.
Consular Service Aid.
One Regulator.
Shorter Workday.
The I. W. W.

CHAPTER XI. In Conclusion 58

Capital, an acquired character.
Labor Objective.
Working Class Unionism.
The Industry the organizing unit.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

Introduction

IN THE following pages the reader must be aware that, wherever a worker's activity has been selected for the purpose of illustration, both the worker and his process typify the working class and social production; for the exploitation of wage labor is the exploitation of one class by another class—the working class by the capitalist class—and is not necessarily the exploitation of the individual worker by his employer. Unless we understand this the class struggle is only a meaningless phrase.

The Interdependence of Labor

When in this booklet a worker or a working group is referred to, as producing some article or commodity, it is necessary to understand that such reference is merely to illustrate a point. Production of any article is impossible to any worker under the capitalist arrangement of industry; the simplest article as well as the most complicated machine is the product of the entire working class. From the sulphur match to the aggregate of the world's commodities there cannot be eliminated any classification of labor, and have the match, or the world's wealth.

We say of the miner that he produces coal, of the baker that he produces bread, but such is not the case. They assist each other in the production of coal and bread and are at the same time dependent upon the balance of the workers for their equipment and materials. Before the miner goes down into the earth his fellow workers in every line of human endeavor have cooperatively labored to supply him with house, food, furniture, clothing, tools, powder, etc.; so that in the mining of coal all of the workers assist him. They do not go to the coal-face, but he could not go there without them. The mining of coal is therefore a social function

in which all the workers participate. What the miner does is to **perform the last social act necessary to transform the natural deposit into usable shape.** But the coal is not yet produced—coal is not mined to be used by the miners, it is intended to warm some home or furnish power to some industry—other workers follow the miner to complete production of the coal. For **no commodity is produced until it reaches the purchaser who consumes it.** Only when this has happened is the objective which inspired its production attained—the satisfaction of an individual or social need.

The Miner, a Typical Illustration Only

The miner has been used for illustration here, but you can substitute for him the farmer, logger, sawyer, bricklayer, teamster, etc., and no matter which of these you select a study of his activities will show that he works in conjunction with and cannot function without the balance of the working class. Capitalist industry has so organized the workers that their mutual interdependence is its outstanding feature. There is no independence for either the individual or the group. As a class they labor and produce; as a class they are exploited, and as a class they must organize, and through a class organization only will they be enabled to achieve any betterment in the present or emancipation finally.

EDUCATIONAL BUREAU

Industrial Workers of the World.

CHAPTER I.

Labor Power

IF YOU are a wage working man or woman, your life is conditioned upon having access to a job; you must establish yourself as an employee to some employer.

To establish this relationship you must possess something which the employer requires in the business in which he is engaged. **You have**—the power to produce wealth—**labor power.** It is the only thing you have, but it is an essential factor in industry. In fact all capitalist industry is predicated upon the existence of men and women like you who have no other way to live, except by offering their life energy, labor power, for sale.

The labor power of the workers in nearly all industrial occupations is used in connection with other expressions of power such as steam, electricity, gas, water, gasoline and horses. Labor power differs from these other powers in that it not only expends itself but expends itself intelligently and directs, controls and uses these other power expressions. The brain of the worker, as well as his arms and legs, is a factor of his labor power. The other powers would as likely injure as serve without the guidance of labor power.

Selling Labor Power

When you sell your labor power to the boss you agree to deliver to him the use of it for so many hours per day, usually ten, for which he in turn agrees to pay you a stipulated price, (known as wages) of, say, $3.00 per day; or you agree to embody a certain amount of it into the raw materials he provides at a given price. The former is the time system of selling labor power, the latter is the piece work system. In either case you sell your labor power to the boss, measured by the clock or incorporated in some article.

When you sell your labor power you deliver it by working according to the terms of the sale. If one has sugar or bacon, or a coat on sale by handing it over to the buyer and receiving from him the exchange for it the transaction is completed. But when the wage worker sells his labor power he must accompany it to the place of sale—field, workshop, mine, railroad—and work there until the time contracted for has elapsed, or the amount specified has been delivered. This is the peculiar quality of labor power—that it is part of the laborer—his life energy and cannot be separated from him.

Labor Power a Commodity

All use-values manufactured and offered for sale are termed commodities. It is characteristic of capitalist production that its products are intended as exchange values, commodities—and the wage worker is properly regarded as the producer of labor power—an exchange value. Now things can only have an exchange value when they also have use value. So labor power brings to the wage-worker its exchange, or market value; but in return for the exchange value the boss purchases its use value—the right to use it for the time specified—for, say, ten hours.

The worker sells his labor power and receives in return a wage, out of which he must provide the means of life for himself and his dependents. The boss buys labor power because he needs it to operate his establishment, whether that be a factory, a mine, a railroad or a farm. The most up-to-date equipment is valueless as a means of producing wealth unless the magic influence of labor power sets it in operation. It is not a philanthropic motive that inspires the boss to employ the wage worker; it is because he must employ him, or fail in his enterprise. When he does employ the laborer he drives as hard a bargain as he can, which means that he will pay the laborer as little as the laborer will work for. But the least the laborer is inclined to accept, on the average, is a wage sufficient to maintain him and his family according to the standard of living obtaining among the workers. And this standard is what determines his wage. The labor time necessary to produce values equal to that required to maintain and reproduce

the laborer sets the exchange value of his labor power, or the wage of the worker. As you will see later this is what determines the relation of all commodities to one another—the amount of socially necessary labor time contained in them—and, as labor power is a commodity, its exchange value is similarly determined.

But labor power, unlike other commodities, besides being part of the worker is associated with the aspirations, hopes, ambitions and will of the owner. That is, as well as being a commodity, it has human attributes, and being inseparable from the laborer has the effect of reducing him to a commodity basis. In capitalist society he is not only a producer and seller of a commodity—labor power—but is himself practically a commodity—a package of labor power wrapped up in a human skin.

The Market Relations of Capitalist and Laborer

That which exists between the laborer and his employer is not a human relationship but a market relationship—buyer and seller. On the human side it is not the relationship of man to man, but of wage slave to capitalist master. When it is said, and that is very often, that capitalist enterprises are essentially philanthropic, that they provide means whereby the workers are enabled to live, there is a perversion of fact. What the capitalists really do is not intended to provide the workers with means of living but to take advantage of the workers' lack of the means of life. As dead workers cannot be exploited it stands to reason that the workers must be kept alive if their exploitation is to continue. The boss is not at all concerned about how the workers live just so they are able to deliver to him the labor power for which he bargains with them. As fellow humans he does not at all regard them. For instance, if the boss is in need of two "hands" and four men apply for these two vacancies, two of the applicants are strong virile men, one is a weakling and sickly, while the fourth is a cripple, the boss will employ the two first, because they possess that which the boss is in the market for—labor power. The latter two, though they may be in desperate straits and need employment worse than the others, will not be employed because the boss needs labor power, and they cannot qualify.

No human motive inspires the boss in the operation of his establishment. He is governed by the Rules of Business. Whether he is buying labor power, equipment or raw materials he strives to buy at the lowest figure and demands the highest quality. He favors low wages —a low price for labor power—while the worker desires a high price.

Questions

1. What is meant by saying "the worker's life is conditioned upon having access to a job"?
2. What is labor power?
3. What is the difference between labor power and other powers like steam, electricity, etc.?
4. How is labor power measured?
5. Why does the boss buy labor power?
6. What is the difference, if any, between labor power and labor?
7. What is a commodity?
8. For what is capitalist production carried on?
9. Could a thing have exchange value without having use value? Why?
10. Why does the worker sell his labor power?
11. What does he get for it?
12. What, roughly, determines his wage?
13. Have the boss and the worker the same interest when the worker applies for a job?

CHAPTER II.

Exchange Value.

THE boss and the worker, the one as buyer and the other as seller, do not set the exchange value of labor power—wages. The market dictates to both. The interest of the boss inclines him to obtain it at the very lowest figure, while the worker, just as naturally, seeks the highest possible price. But the market rules that labor power shall exchange upon the same basis as all other commodities—the socially necessary labor time required to produce the things that are needed to maintain the laborer at the prevailing living standard. This is the measure of the exchange value of all commodities. Socially necessary, of course, meaning the amount of average time according to the machinery and efficiency of the prevailing method. This average of labor time determines the relation of all commodities to one another in the market and governs the exchange of labor power as well as of all other commodities. Says Marx, "If we consider **commodities as values,** we consider them exclusively under the single aspect of **realized, fixed,** or, if you like, **crystallized social labor.** In this respect they can **differ** only by representing greater or smaller quantities of labor, as, for example, a greater amount of labor may be worked up in a silken handkerchief than in a brick. But, how does one measure **quantities of labor? By the time the labor lasts,** in measuring the labor by the hour, the day, etc."

For illustration, if we take one day's labor power, a cap, a book, and a piece of bacon. All of these sell for $3.00. These articles have nothing in common that is apparent to the eye. They neither look alike nor serve the same purpose, yet there is in all of them some common quality, and in all of them to the same degree, which makes them equal to one another and to $3.00 in gold. What is it? The amount of social labor time necessary

to produce them (and the $3.00 worth of gold as well) is of equal duration.

It is not just the amount of time that a commodity may have taken to produce with obsolete tools and antiquated methods, but the socially necessary labor time that determines its exchange value.

Value and Technology.

Karl Marx says, (Value, Price and Profit, page 61) "It might seem that if the value of a commodity is determined by the **quantity of labor bestowed upon its production,** the lazier a man, or the clumsier a man, the more valuable his commodity, because the greater the time of labor required for finishing the commodity. This, however, would be a sad mistake. You will recollect that I used the word **social** labor, and many points are involved in this qualification of **'Social.'** In saying that the value of a commodity is determined by the **quantity of labor** worked up or crystallized in it, we mean **the quantity of labor necessary** for its production in a given state of society, under certain social average conditions of production, with a given average intensity, and average skill of the labor employed."

Mary Marcy, (Shop Talks on Economics) uses this illustration:

"If you spend three months cutting up a log with a penknife into a kitchen chair, it will be no more valuable in the end than the kitchen chair made in the big factories where many men working at large machines produce hundreds of chairs in a single day."

The exchange value of the chair is not determined by the wasteful expenditure of time spent in whittling it out with a penknife, but by the average time necessary to produce it with modern machinery and efficient methods. It is not the amount of labor time but the amount of **socially necessary labor time** that determines its exchange value.

Every new machine installed in industry, and every improvement in the machines already installed, reduces the amount of labor time necessary for the production of commodities in the industries where these machines are used. But as individual machines only affect some processes the average of labor time is not now greatly

reduced by them. The average of time is determined by the average of machine efficiency throughout industry, for production is social in scope and character.

The time saving effect of the installment of a new machine ,or the improvement of machinery already installed, depends upon the stage of industrial development at the time of installment, or improvement. In the earlier stages of capitalist development, when the machine snatched the tool from the hand of the craftsman, the effect was greater than at present when machinery is so for advanced and so generally used. While a decrease in the necessary labor time is still reflected in the exchange value of a commodity, there are now factors operating which were absent in the earlier stages of capitalism that tend to obscure this fact.

We shall now borrow another illustration from Mary Marcy (Shop Talks on Economics, Page 12), "Suppose every shoe factory in the country were working full time in order to supply the demand for shoes. The factories using the very old-fashioned machinery would require more labor to the shoe than the factories using newer machines, while the great, up-to-date factories using the most modern machinery would need comparatively little human labor power in producing shoes."

Socially Necessary Labor Time.

We see here how fewer workers with more highly developed machinery are capable of greatly increased output—less labor power, or time, producing greater results. The illustration shows not only how the average of labor time is lessened, but shows as well a lowering of the average of skill. Machinery affects the workers in two ways: (1) by displacing workers and (2) by dispensing with their skill. It makes for a preponderance of unskilled and little skilled workers in industry.

The sum of the time required to produce all the shoes by all the factories, with allowance for the social helpfulness of other workers, determines their exchange-value and the exchange-value of every pair. The exchange-value of gold, silver, copper, beans, bacon, clothes—any commodity—is determined in the same way, by the social labor time needed to produce them.

Values of commodities rise or fall as the necessary time is increased or lessened. Labor power is no exception to this rule. The labor time necessary to produce labor power determines its exchange value. We quote Marx: "Like every other commodity its (labor power) value is determined by the quantity of labor necessary to produce it. The laboring power of a man exists only in his living individuality. A certain mass of necessaries must be consumed by a man to grow up and maintain his life. But the man, like the machine, will wear out and must be replaced by another man. Beside the mass of necessaries required for his own maintenance he wants another amount of necessaries to bring up a certain quota of children that are to replace him on the labor market and to perpetuate the race of laborers."

Food, clothing and shelter necessary to keep the workman fit and which will provide for his family—the labor time necessary to produce these—is what determines the exchange-value of labor power. Not the time needed to produce necessaries for the individual laborer, but the average for the class of laborers. The laborer must be replaced constantly and the source of the supply of labor power must be maintained. So the workers must receive, on the average, enough to maintain them as workers and to reproduce other workers to take their places. That is the value of labor power; this is what, on the average, the capitalist will pay his wage workers.

But as these necessaries are determined in turn by the standard of living prevailing among the workers, the living standard of the workers is and must be understood as governing the amount of labor time necessary to produce labor power.

QUESTIONS.

1. (a) What is exchange-value, and (b) use value.
2. What is "socially necessary labor time"?
3. How is it determined?
4. What is the effect of new machines?
5. Can you explain Mary Marcy's illustration of the chair?

6. Apply Mary Marcy's illustration of the shoe factory to a single pair.
7. Why does a skilled worker (mechanic) get more pay than an unskilled workmen?
8. Why does the workman, ordinarily, require more than his own necessaries?
9. What is meant by "living standard"?
10. Does the living standard of the workman play an important part in our economic life? Explain.

CHAPTER III.

Surplus Value

WHEN the laborer has sold his labor power to the boss, the boss sets him to work for ten (10) hours, with the tools and upon the materials which he has provided. But in, say, the first three hours of the working day the laborer produces exchange-values for the boss equal to the exchange-value of his labor power for the whole day, say $3.00. The values created by the worker in the first three hours compensate the boss for the day's wage which he pays the worker.

But the worker does not quit working at the end of three hours, for he has agreed to work for ten hours. He continues creating values during the remaining seven hours. That is to say that for seven hours of his working day the worker creates values for which he receives no compensation, or that seven hours of the worker's daily time is devoted to creating values which the boss appropriates but for which he pays the worker nothing. The employer will claim that he is paying the worker for ten hours, and cite or show his contract to prove that he does. It is under the cover of this assumption that the exploitation of the worker under capitalism has been so successfully hidden.

This, as made clear by Marx, reads, (Value, Price and Profit,, page 79) "But by paying the daily or weekly (exchange—Ed.) **value** of the spinner's laboring power the capitalist has acquired the right of using that laboring power during the **whole day or week.** He will, therefore, make him work say, daily, **twelve hours. Over and above** the six hours required to replace his wages, or the value of his laboring power, he will, therefore, have to work **six other hours,** which I shall call hours of **surplus labor,** which surplus labor will realize itself in a **surplus value and a surplus produce."**

Paid and Unpaid Labor Time

It is quite easy to discern the exploitation of the chattel slave. He was provided with a living according to the standard of the slaves in slave society, and the products of his labor belonged to the master. There is no difficulty in seeing the nature and extent of the exploitation.

The exploitation of the serf also is apparent. He tilled his lord's acres for the greater part of the year and his own allotment the rest of the time.

But the wage worker **appears** to be paid for all of his time, when **actually he is only paid for part of it.** The balance of the time (seven hours) he labors and receives no equivalent. So the working time of the laborer is divided into two distinct periods: time for which he is paid, and time for which he receives no return—**paid labor time** and **unpaid labor time.**

Then it follows that commodities, which are the fruits of the expenditure of labor power by the worker —the crystallization of it—have in them also two elements—paid and unpaid labor.

As these commodities exchange with one another on the basis of the socially necessary labor time required to produce them, it follows that their exchange time is the sum of the paid and the unpaid labor time—the total time in each of them.

Marx, Value, Price and Profit, page 87: "The value of a commodity is determined by the **total quantity of labor** contained in it. But part of that quantity of labor is realized in a value, for which an equivalent has been paid in the form of wages; part of it is realized in a value for which **no equivalent has been paid.** Part of the labor contained in the commodity is **paid labor;** part is **unpaid** labor."

So the boss, buying the labor power of the wage worker, uses it to obtain values for which he gives the worker nothing in return—surplus values. This difference between his wage and the values resulting from his labor is what enables the capitalist to grow rich and keeps the worker poor.

Under capitalism it is not termed robbery. It is, indeed, considered highly respectable and moral; it is

legalized and sanctified; approved by our "best citizens" and is euphoniously designated **business.**

QUESTIONS

1. What happens when the worker sells his labor power?
2. How is the working day divided as regards the working time of the laborer?
3. How was the chattel slave exploited? The serf?
4. How is the wage worker exploited?
5. Is there any difference between the chattel slave, the serf and the wage worker? Explain what it is.
6. Explain surplus value by Marx's illustration of the spinner. Apply it to a farm hand.
7. If the wage worker sells his labor power for ten hours how does the boss exploit him?
8. How is the present slavery of the workers hidden from them?
9. What part of the I. W. W. preamble covers this process of working class exploitation?
10. In your opinion why do the workers fail to recognize their robbery in production?

CHAPTER IV.

The Source of Profit.

IN THE last article we discovered that the wage worker produces a surplus of values in the course of the working day which accrues to the boss—values for which the boss gives the laborer no return.

As Marx puts it: "The **surplus value,** or that part of the total value of a commodity in which the **surplus labor** or **unpaid labor** is realized, I call **Profit.**" (Value, Price and profit, page 89.)

The average person believes that profit is made by charging for things a price above their value; by cheating, or in some devious way, but nothing can be further from fact than such a supposition. While there is robbery it does not take place over the counter, but has already taken place where the laborer works and while he was working, and it resolves itself into the unpaid labor crystallized in the commodities.

It is not by charging in excess of their values, but by selling (exchanging) them at their real values that profit is made. Let us again refer to Marx, "By selling, therefore, the commodity **at its value,** that is, as the crystallization of the **total quantity of labor** bestowed upon it, the capitalist **must necessarily sell at a profit.** He sells not only what has cost him an equivalent, **but he sells also what cost him nothing,** although it has cost his workman labor. The cost of the commodity to the capitalist (money cost—Ed) and its real cost (labor cost—Ed) are different things. I repeat, therefore, that normal and average profits are made selling commodities **not above,** but **at their real values.**" (Value, Price and Prifit, pages 87-88.)

When the capitalist takes his commodities into the market he exchanges with other capitalists for their commodities, and when the exchange is effected the capitalists, by exchanging for the real value of their commo-

dities, all make a profit, for each of them will have pocketed that share of each commodity which cost them nothing. This is what Marx terms "normal and average profit." It is this that inspires capitalist production. If cheating were the rule there would be no cohesion among the capitalists, but it is imperative for their interest, for the continuation of the exploitation of wage labor, that profits be made legally. They have made laws (rules) to enforce this practice as a measure of safety, of course, for themselves.

The Profit System.

Profits are the logical fruit of capitalist industry. They are inherent in this system of production and exchange. Capitalism has been appropriately termed the "profit system." Its products are commodities, and its production is for exchange. Production of commodities for exchange, with profit for its objective.

While its products are use values, it produces them only in the light of exchange values—things that will sell. Of course, people will only buy them when they intend to use them. To the capitalist they are things that will sell and for which he receives more than they cost him to produce—they are a means of profit.

A failure to understand the source and the nature of profit—surplus values out of which the wage worker is exploited—leads the average worker to believe that he is robbed in the purchase of the commodities he buys—as a consumer. The workers who act upon this assumption are hunting the remedy in the wrong direction. For a rise in the price of the commodities which he must purchase means that the labor time necessary to produce his labor power has been increased. He must, and, when he understands, he will seek more pay from the employer. Whenever, and from whatever cause, the purchasing power of wages falls below what is required to enable the worker to maintain the established living standard he has received the equivalent of a cut in wages. Whether it be due to a rise in the price of commodities, or reflects a depreciation of the value of gold, it is to be repaired only by a corresponding increase in his wage; he, as a worker, must seek redress out of the measure of surplus value; he must increase the mea-

sure of his paid labor time—get more wages. If this does not happen labor power will be selling below its value.

For, if the consumer is exploited in the purchase of commodities, there need be no exploitation of the laborer in production. Not only that but as the individual capitalist is a greater consumer than the individual laborer he would be exploited to a greater degree. The worker and his employer would have a common interest and would make common cause with the baker against the grocery man and the butcher. Afterward they could form another alliance with the grocery man and the butcher against the baker, and so on, ad infinitum.

The worker would be going in the wrong direction. He would be traveling in a vicious circle and at the end of his activity would find that he was as badly off as before, and would realize that to regain his living standard he would be compelled to demand a higher wage from his boss.

For the worker is one member of the class of laborers. As a wage worker he produces values for which he receives no equivalent. He does not do this from choice, but because the situation of the class of which he is part compels him to sell his labor power that he may provide himself and family with the means of life. **The capitalist class takes,** as its portion of wealth production, **all the surplus values resulting from the labor of the working class.** If the living standard of the working class be lowered, the value of labor power will be reduced, and the measure of surplus value will be increased—profits will be greater.

The Class Struggle.

The interest of the capitalists lies, therefore, in forcing, if they can, a lower living standard upon the workers. Naturally the interest of the workers lies in not only maintaining their present standard but in trying to elevate it. This antagonism is an evidence of what we know as the class struggle. The class struggle is a living human and social fact, and must be the guide by which all working class activity is determined and directed. The consciousness of this class struggle should ever be with the worker, for the real position and condition of

the "free laborer" in capitalist society is that of a member of a slave class. The individual worker may quit his job at will, but he must seek another boss without delay. As Marx puts it: "But the laborer, whose only source of earning is the sale of his labor power, **cannot leave the whole class of its purchasers,** that is the capitalist class, **without renouncing his own existence.** He does not belong to this or that employer, **but he does belong to the capitalist class;** and more than that, it is his business to find an employer; that is among the capitalist class it is his business to discover his own particular purchaser." (Wage, Labor and Capital, page 19.)

Capitalist Enslavement.

Capitalist enslavement of the working class enables the capitalists to own the products of the workers' labor. And this is all that other forms of slavery meant. The difference is only in appearance; the slavery is as complete, in fact more complete. Says Marx: "Capital presupposes wage-labor and wage-labor presupposes capital." That is, there could not be a capitalist unless there was a class of workers which could not live except by selling their life energy—a class in a slave position.

The exploitation of the worker can only occur while he is working . Having nothing to be robbed of but his power to produce wealth he cannot be robbed of more than he has. It is in the working place—on the job—that the worker is exploited. Exploitation cannot occur anywhere else. There is no other place toward which he can apply for redress and expect to get it. His control over production is the only power he can exercise with a prospect of result. This power is beyond him, also, until he organizes to employ it. He need look to the capitalists for no consideration or help. Says Marx: "The interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor."

To blame the shopkeeper is a waste of time and misdirected energy, for the regulation of commodity prices is beyond the workers' powers. When prices rise, while wages remain stationary, the worker has received in effect a cut in wages. He must strive in the direction of a wage increase; he must seek an increase in the measure of his paid labor time; compel the boss to forego

some of his surplus value. **The worker is not robbed over the counter, but at the point of production,** and it is in production he must look for restoration—in the working place and from the boss.

QUESTIONS.

1. What does Marx call profit?
2. Is profit made, ordinarily, by charging excessive prices?
3. How is normal or average profit made?
4. Why is capitalism called "the profit system"?
5. What happens if prices rise and wages do not rise correspondingly?
6. Should the worker try to get prices lowered or to have wages raised? Why?
7. Why do the capitalists strive for lower living standards for the workers?
8. What is the class struggle?
9. What is the position of the free laborer in capitalist society?
10. What is the substance of slavery?
11. What is meant by "the interests of capital are in direct antagonism to the interests of wage-labor"?

CHAPTER V.

The Price of Commodities

THE value of a commodity—its relation to other commodities—is not the same thing as its price, the money or gold expression for which it sells on the market. For, while the value of a commodity is determined solely by the amount of socially necessary labor time embodied in it, and fluctuates only as the volume of this time changes, the price of a commodity is influenced by market conditions prevailing at the time of sale.

The relation between the supply of any commodity in the market and the demand for it is an important factor in regulating its price. If the supply is in excess of the demand the price tends to run below its value. If, on the other hand, the demand outruns the supply, its price will incline to be high and the article will sell above its value.

Wages and Prices

Generally speaking, value and price are equal, and, on the average, a commodity which costs ten hours of labor to produce will exchange with gold containing ten hours of socially necessary labor time.

There is an altogether too common belief that the wages paid the workers regulate the prices of commodities. For some time past every source of capitalist propaganda has been used to advance this erroneous idea, and, unfortunately for themselves, the workers have been misled into accepting this pernicious doctrine as economic truth, with the result that, where they have not voluntarily accepted wage cuts, they have been half-hearted in their resistance to the wage cutting campaign instituted by the capitalists.

During the war period, which includes also a few years following the cessation of active hostilities, the (money) wage of the workers had risen to comparatively

high levels but the prices of commodities had risen to proportionately higher levels. It is claimed that the higher wages paid the workers during and after the war are responsible for the rise in prices. But during that entire period, more especially after America's entry into the war, there was to an extreme degree a diversion of manufacturing from the production of the ordinary products of peace to an intensified production of war materials. Even much of the production which serves the purposes of war equally with the purposes of peace was preempted for support of the military effort. Many manufacturing plants were transformed from instruments of peace production into war-material establishments of one kind or another. Commercial production suffered a decline.

And as a consequence of the withdrawal of many millions of men from industrial pursuits the demand for laborers greatly exceeded the supply and wages went up. But if the supply of laborers was unequal to the demand for wage workers, so also was the supply of necessaries unequal to the demand for them. Especially is this true when the increased purchasing power of the workers is taken into account.

Imports were nominal and as the countries to which we usually export were involved in the war and intent upon furthering their own military efforts they had little to export, nor opportunity to do so had they been so inclined, as water transportation was extremely perilous. Competition between the American manufacturers and merchants was practically eliminated. There obtained then a market condition where supply was greatly under demand and prices ruled high. There was also a labor market where demand was greatly in excess of supply and wages (money wages) had risen.

The high prices of commodities were not due to the high (money) wages paid the workers, but were due to the market conditions prevailing which were favorable to the dealers.

Cause of Commodity Price Rises

The desire of the workers, whose wages had risen, to improve their living standards led to great buying activity in the necessaries of life, and, as well, of things

hitherto out of reach, and was responsible for much of the commodity price rise. There was also a rise in the price of luxuries because the war-profiteering, and that which was not profit but plain (even if protected) graft enabled the profiteers and grafters to indulge their craving for luxurious adornment and other extravagances. The war period was the golden opportunity of the bourgeoisie and they minted every minute.

Had wages not risen everyone realizes what effect the restricted production and the consequent market condition would have had upon the workers and their living standard. Wages had to rise and did rise **only after commodity prices compelled a raise.** Whenever during the war period a rise in wages was demanded **it was always based upon a preceding increase in commodity prices, rents, etc.,** which in itself shows that **high wages did not cause high prices,** but, on the contrary, **followed as a result of high prices.**

Had the period lasted longer there would have been a return to normal prices and as a result the workers would have established a new and improved standard of living. But the capitalists determined not only to prevent any elevation of the old, traditional living standard but to force a lowering of it.

"The American Plan"

For every improvement of the workers' living standard strengthens the position of the working class and weakens that of the employing class. The advantage of cheap labor is well understood by the capitalist class, for the lower the living standard the cheaper the laborer. So there was a concerted move by the capitalist interests which had for its objective the lowering of the workers' living standard. This movement is known variously as "Americanism," "The American Plan," and the "Open Shop Movement." It is well organized, well financed and well managed. This movement has made some headway due in great measure to the acceptance by the workers of the economic sophistry that the high prices were due to high wages. Just in proportion as they accepted this for truth they refused to resist the effort to reduce their living standard by accepting wage-cuts. But the principal reason was the fact that owing to their nume-

rous craft unions they were unable to restrict competition among themselves and to present a united front to the capitalists.

"By what means is the price of a commodity determined?" asks Marx in "Wage, Labor and Capital," and then proceeds to answer his own question as follows:

"By means of competition between buyers and sellers and the relation between supply and demand—offer and desire. And this competition by which the price of an article is fixed is threefold.

"The same commodity is offered in the market by various sellers. Whoever offers the greatest advantage to purchasers is certain to drive the other sellers off the field, and secure for himself the greatest sale. The sellers, therefore, fight for the sale and the market among themselves. Everyone of them wants to sell, and does his best to sell much, and if possible to become the only seller. Therefore each outbids the other in cheapness, and a **competition** takes place **among the sellers** which lowers the price of the goods they offer.

"Finally competition is going on between buyers and sellers; the one set want to buy as cheaply as possible, the other to sell as dear as possible. The result of this competition between buyers and sellers will depend upon the two previous aspects of the competition; that is, upon whether the **competition in the ranks of the buyers** or **that in those of the sellers is the keener.** Business thus leads two opposing armies into the field, and each of them presents the aspect of a battle in its own ranks among its own soldiers. **That army whose troops are least mauled by one another carries off victory over the opposing host."**—(Wage, Labor and Capital, pp. 19-20.)

QUESTIONS

1. Is there a difference between the value of an article and its price?
2. What regulates the price of a commodity?
3. Does a raise in wages compel a rise in prices? Why?
4. What was the primary cause of high prices during and immediately following the war?

5. What does the "open shop drive" aim at?
6. Do the craft unions help those behind the open shop drive? How?
7. Show the result of competition among sellers of a commodity. Apply it to labor power.
8. What do you understand by "the competition beween buyers and sellers"?
9. What do you understand by "offer and desire" as used in the text?
10. Can you apply Marx' illustration of "opposing armies" to the workers? How?

CHAPTER VI.

Price Regulation

THE wages paid the workers do not affect the prices of commodities. That is to say that high wages do not make high prices, nor do low wages make low prices. The relation of supply to demand is an important factor in price regulation.

If there are 100 tons of coal on the market and a thousand people each of whom want to buy a ton of coal, the competition between these thousand persons would bring the price of coal up; and if the weather was extremely cold the sellers of coal could charge much more than if the weather was mild. For the need of coal by each of the thousand persons would intensify the competition among them to obtain coal which the cold spell makes an imperative need to them. The value of coal would not have increased but its price would, due to the market conditions prevailing at the time of sale. But if the weather was mild the need of coal would not be so great and those who wanted coal would delay a day or so in the hope that a more favorable condition would then exist—the competition among the buyers would not be quite so keen and prices would not be so high.

If on the other hand there were 1,000 tons of coal on the market and only 100 purchasers the competition would be among the sellers of coal and prices would drop. Again the value of coal would not have altered, but the market condition would have depressed its price.

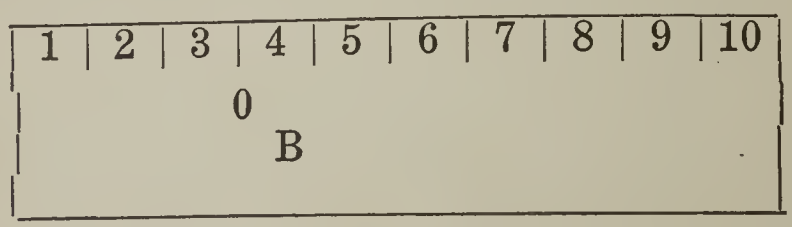
When prices remain above value for any period of time there is a compensating period, during which price is below value. But taking the fluctuations of price above and below value and on the average, commodities will be found to sell at their value—value and price are on the average equivalents.

As profit is the objective of every capitalist enter-

prise and can only be realized in exchange, there must be some basis upon which commodities will exchange. That, as we have stated, is on the basis of the necessary social labor time incorporated in them. We found that this labor time consisted of two elements—paid labor time and unpaid labor time.

High Wages Do Not Make High Prices

Let us take the rectangle A to represent the day's working time, dividing it into ten parts to represent the hours of labor and using the pointer B to indicate the three hours which we have assumed is required to produce values equal to the day's wage of the worker.



A

If the labor power of the worker for one day is equivalent to the social labor time necessary to the production of one commodity, that commodity will exchange for other commodities containing a similar quantity of labor time. But part of that labor time is paid for (3 hours) and part of it is not paid for (7 hours). Now if the laborer's pay is raised from $3.00 to $4.00 per day it will require one more hour, or four hours, of his working time to produce values equivalent to the new wage. That is to say that he is now paid for four hours and the unpaid labor time, being less by one hour, the boss takes one hour less of values. But the commodity still requires ten hours of labor time to produce and on the market will only exchange upon that basis. The boss cannot add to its price because the law of the market forces obedience from him and the holders of other commodities will refuse to trade except in accordance with the law of exchange. There has occurred nothing to change the relationship of the commodity to other commodities. What has occurred is a change in the relationship of its constituent elements to each other —the paid labor time element has been increased and

the unpaid labor time element has been diminished. As the boss loses the creative result of one hour of the worker's time it is but natural for him to try to persuade the worker that high wages are a bad thing; that they will make commodities dear. But, if we stop to think about it, the boss would not object to paying high wages except for one thing—they mean smaller profits for him. If he could compensate himself for an increase in wages by charging higher prices he would not fight a wage demand; but it is because he cannot do so that he fights so bitterly against a wage increase. **High wages do not make high prices.** When the capitalist cries out that they do, what he really means is that **they make smaller profits,** and that is why he is unalterably opposed to them.

Low Wages Do Not Mean Low Prices

If the wage of the worker is lowered from $3.00 to $2.00 there will not be any fall in prices, for the reason that in this case, as in the other, there is no change in the time necessary to produce the commodity. The worker is now paid for 2 hours and the results of his labor for 8 hours accrues to the boss. The boss would be better off than before and he would still take the commodity to the market and exchange it for a price equal to its value and above it, if he can, and below it when he must. But the wage of the worker has no more to do with price than the mercury in a thermometer has to do with the weather.

If the commodity sells for $10.00 and the worker's wage has been increased from $3.00 to $4.00 the boss makes $1.00 less profit. The article will still sell for $10.00, because the thing that determines its value—labor time—has in nowise altered. But the boss does not like the fall in profits and howls about high prices as though he ever was concerned about anything lower than "all the traffic will bear."

What the boss would like to do, and what he would do if the market would permit him, is to raise the price of the commodity so as to maintain the old rate of profit or even to increase it. As he cannot do so he tries the next best thing—induces the worker to accept a cut in wages and then another while the cutting is good. Wit-

ness the open shop drive! Surplus value is the only source of profit. That is the Holy of Holies of the capitalist. He regards any inroads upon surplus value as an act of sacrilege. He fights bitterly and musters every ounce of his power to prevent it.

Increased Demand Temporarily Increases Prices

When a rise in wages takes place the workers have more money with which to purchase commodities. They go into the market to supply their needs first, then their wants. The increased demand thus created tends to temporarily advance the prices of commodities. These commodities, for the time being, sell above their value. **The rise in prices appears to be due to the rise in wages,** whereas **it results from the increased demand arising from the increased purchasing power of the workers.** It is not because wages have risen that prices are high, but because the workers are buying more actively. The living standard of the workers rises to higher levels with higher wages. If the new standard obtains over a long time it becomes the established standard. The higher the living standard the costlier labor power and the smaller the profit. Hence the opposition of the capitalist class to high wages.

For some years preceding the war prices were on the rise and wages ruled low. While prices of various commodities, if not of all, had risen considerably it is worth noting that the relationship of commodities to one another remained undisturbed—the rates of price increase were about the same in all of them. Their relationship to gold had changed—it required more gold to exchange with any of them and more gold consequently to express their relationship to one another. The value of gold had fallen. While other commodities exchanged for an increased amount of gold, labor power, on account of the competition between the laborers, did not as readily command its value, and labor power compared with other commodities was selling below its value—wages were low. Prices rose but wages, except in rare cases, did not rise. **High wages were not responsible for these high prices; the decrease in the value of gold was.**

What Are "High," "Fair" or "Low" Wages?

We hear the terms of "high wages," "fair wages" and "low wages." What do we understand by them? Things can be regarded as "high," "fair" or "low" only when they are compared with something else. There must be something standard to gauge them by. What is it then that determines a high wage, a fair wage and a low wage? **The standard of living prevailing among the workers.**

When the wage of a worker enables him to live in a manner superior to the prevailing standard his wages are said to be "high." When his wage enables the worker to approximate the prevailing standard, we say that is a "fair" wage. When, on the other hand, his wages do not enable him to reach the prevailing standard he is receiving a "low" wage. The prevailing (historic) standard of living is the wage denominator.

The wage has three characters: nominal wage, real wage and relative wage. The nominal wage is the price of labor power stated in terms of money, as $2.00, $5.00, or $10.00 per day. The real wage is represented by the commodities that his nominal wage will enable the worker to supply himself with. The relative wage represents the proportion the wage he receives bears to the values he creates. Thus if he creates $10 worth of exchange values for the boss and receives therefor $2 his relative wages is as 2:10.

QUESTIONS

1. Do the workers' wages determine the prices of commodities? Explain why.
2. What, on the average, is the relation of price to value?
3. Can the boss repay himself for an increase in wages by adding the increase to the price of his commodity? Why?
4. Will a decrease in wages lower prices? Why?
5. How would you account for a temporary rise in prices following a raise in wages?

6. What have supply and demand to do with price setting?
7. When commodities maintain their relationship to one another but their prices go up, what has happened?
8. Is gold the measure of value or the expression of value?
9. What are the three aspects of wages?
10. When is the wage "high," "fair" or "low"?
11. What is the nominal wage?
12. What is the real wage?
13. What is the relative wage?

CHAPTER VII.

The Standard of Living.

THE exchange value of labor power being determined by the labor time necessary to produce it, it follows that this time is, itself, determined by the standard of living of the worker. Therefore, if the standard of living is raised more time will be necessary to produce its equivalent than formerly. If it is lowered less time will be required.

As the time required is increased or diminished the volume of surplus value is correspondingly diminished or increased. Because of this there is unceasing strife between the workers and the employers. The effort of the workers is directed to elevating their standard of living, while the effort of the employers is in the opposite direction—to oppose a raise in the standard and whenever possible to force it to lower levels. For, as we have seen, higher wages mean lower profits for the boss—defeat, to an extent, of his purpose. The boss is in business for profit and as long as he can prevent will permit nothing to interfere with the most complete fulfillment of his object.

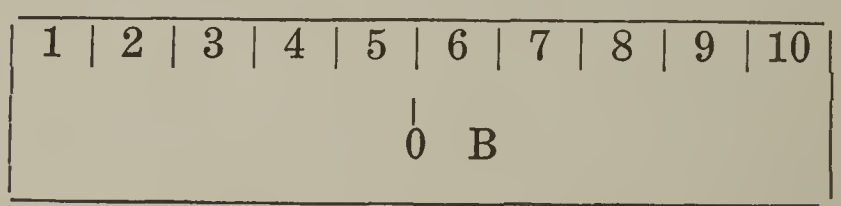
In the relationship of the worker to his employer there are three features—wages, hours and conditions of employment—and upon each of these the interest of the worker and the interest of the employer are diametrically opposed. The boss will defend the measure as well as the principle (to him) of surplus value. His survival as employer depends upon his ability to do so successfully. Surplus value is the reward of his capitalist ownership. His success is measured by the degree of exploitation to which he can force his employes to submit—the larger the volume of surplus value, the more successful his enterprise. He does not only want profit but all the profit possible.

If the worker demands an increase in his wages of

$2.00 per day, the boss will deny and resist that demand. The worker will insist upon it. An industrial conflict results. At the end that side which has manifested the greater power will decide whether the demand is to be conceded or denied. If the workers have been able to combine themselves to such a degree that the boss is embarrassed to an extent where it is more profitable to yield and grant the concession than to continue the fight, he does so. These conflicts are not settled upon the basis of right or wrong. Their settlement is always a question of power. "Victory is with the side that has the strongest battalions."

If, however, the workers have not so combined that they are able to control the supply of labor, the employer will win. In the past year or more, working groups have sustained defeat after defeat until they are all more or less vanquished and intimidated. The craft unions have not been able to combine the workers to a sufficient extent and as a result there has been an universal depreciation of the American workers' living standard. This accounts for the tendency toward the more comprehensive industrial union form of organization.

Let us again use the figure employed in a former talk to illustrate the significance of the $2 daily increase in wages demanded by the worker.



A

The indicator, marking the increase, would be moved from the 3 hour mark to the 5 hour mark. The worker would now be paid $5 per day, to maintain our assumption that his labor creates an average of $10 values in a ten hour working day. He would now, therefore, be receiving the equivalent of 5 hours of his working time, so that in the course of the working day only five hours of his working time would be devoted to creating surplus value for the boss, where formerly he had devoted seven hours. This would mean that the boss was losing two hours of values every day which had previously accrued to him. This offers an unwelcome

prospect to him and one which he is not inclined to accept resignedly. He is disposed to fight. **But he must depend upon the workers for the forces to fight with.** Naturally he welcomes division in the ranks of the workers, and **it is to his interest to see that the workers are kept divided.** It is worth something to him, for **the preservation of his surplus value depends upon such division.** A good deal of his expense account goes to provide and maintain such a condition amongst the workers. Unless he can secure workers to operate his plant or to carry on his business he, himself, cannot fight the workers with any hope of success. He depends upon the competition in the working class to assist him in resisting the wage and other demands of his working force or any part of them. While they do battle among themselves for the jobs he controls, he is contented. He never permits himself to be disturbed about a day when they will cease to fight and will combine to dethrone him. He knows what the workers must find out—**that they defeat themselves.**

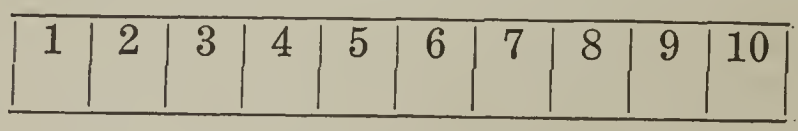
As the employer must depend absolutely upon working class division he strives to maintain division in the ranks of the workers. He employs spotters and spies, he subsidizes news agencies, he organizes strike-breaking forces, he cultivates national and racial rivalries, he fosters everything that serves to split the workers.

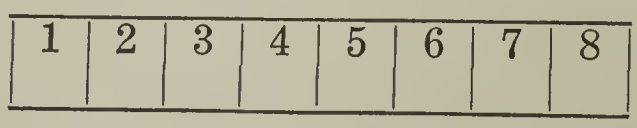
Perhaps, this will assist us to an understanding of the unions that comprise the A. F. of L. These unions have functioned, and still do, to keep the workers divided. Control of these unions has enabled the capitalists time and again to defeat the workers and has been a more material asset to the employers than their reserves of strike-breakers, gunmen, etc. These unions have broken strike after strike far more effectively and at no expense whatever to the employers, except for the (comparatively) trifling amounts judiciously distributed in influential quarters. It is safe to say that in the measure of its service to the capitalists craft unionism has surpassed all other agencies of capitalism. They, as organizations, constitute the organized dismemberment of the working class. As long as they survive, the elimination of competition among the workers is impossible to any effective degree. Only other workers can defeat

striking groups and the craft unions are always on hand either to supply them or assist them. **Whenever workers are found in a struck establishment they are serving the capitalist interest.** By this test is the craft union judged and proved a capitalistic agency and a working class enemy.

The Hours of Labor

Now, if instead of a $2 raise in wages the worker sought a decrease of two hours in the length of his working day, the boss would fight that proposition as energetically as he would a raise in wages, and for the same reason—it would mean a decrease in the volume of his surplus value. If we take the rectangle we have been using we have a figure representing a working day of ten hours:





But the new working day is only 8 hours and while the wage of the worker remains the same, there are now two hours less working time devoted to creating values for which he receives no compensation—the boss is deprived of the use of two hours labor time that had previously accrued to him in the form of surplus values. This is a setback to which he is not disposed to be reconciled. He refers to the workers' achievement as a form of holdup and claims to be paying ten hours pay for eight hours work. The worker is also inclined to believe that the boss' contention is correct—that he is now receiving ten hours pay for eight hours work. He is receiving a higher wage, nominally and relatively. Whether he is receiving a really higher wage will depend upon the purchasing power of his pay. He is receiving a higher hourly rate and to that extent has improved his condition—he has raised his wage 7½c per hour. Instead of getting ten hours pay for eight hours work, he is now getting paid for three out of eight instead of, as before, three hours out of ten. The boss, on the other hand, is now able to appropriate only five hours

out of the eight hour day where he had been accustomed to appropriate seven hours out of ten. This is a change that the boss dislikes and which he does not propose to get used to if he can avoid it.

Wages are not affected when the hours of labor decrease, for the cost of producing labor power(or the laborer) for a day of eight hours is as great as for a ten hour day; consequently the exchange value of his labor is not disturbed, only the amount of surplus value—the rate of profit is lessened. This means a decided gain for the worker and, just as decisively, a loss for the boss.

Reducing the length of the working day also has the effect of providing more jobs for the workers and, to the extent that it does this, it lessens the competition among them. This result also is undesired by the boss, for it provides a more advanced position from which the workers may launch a new attack upon his surplus value.

To improve working conditions the boss must likewise forego some of his surplus value or divert it from the more promising prospects of investment. This he is unwilling to do and another contest is entered into with his workmen. For the boss will part with his profit, or any part of it, as cheerfully as with his right eye.

In the working place—on the job—the interest of the workers and the employers are in perpetual conflict. Between them there can be no peace. The class war will go on until either the workers are subdued or the bosses are eliminated. Every gain for one is a loss for the other.

The interest of the employers demands a divided working class—the interest of the workers a united working class. The bosses hate the I. W. W. and the boss' agents among the workers also hate the I. W. W. The I. W. W. stands for and is striving to bring about working class unity.

QUESTIONS

1 What are the three points in the relationship between the worker and employer that count?

2. Are their interests identical in regard to these?

3. What effect has a raise in wages upon the boss' profit?

4. What effect would shortening the workday have on the boss' profit if no other condition was changed?
5. Are strikes settled upon the basis of right and wrong? How are they settled?
6. Does the boss want the workers to unite? Why?
7. What might happen if the working class was solidly united?
8. Does the boss defeat the workers in strikes? Who do?
9. Does the boss strive to maintain division among the workers? What are some of the things he does?
10. If the workday is reduced from 10 hours to 8 hours, and the wage is not reduced, does the worker get paid for 10 hours? Explain what happens.
11. Explain the importance of his living standard to the worker.

CHAPTER VIII.

Piece-Work

BESIDES hiring the laborer by the hour, day or week the capitalist also sometimes employs him as a piece-worker. Under the piece-work system the worker is paid at the rate of so much money for doing a certain specified thing—for digging a foot of ditch, molding a casting, sawing logs, cutting cordwood, riveting a foot of tank, etc., etc.—and fulfilling the requirements as to quality with regard to the work done. That is to say, the excavation must be of certain dimensions, the casting must be perfect, and so on. For defective work the boss will not pay, so the worker must be careful to turn out work that will at least escape penalty. For condemned products he does not get paid at all and for "culls" he receives less than the contract price. Therefore, he will take pains to do "good work." The difference between the time-worker and the piece-worker is that **the former is paid for the time he works,** while **the latter is paid for the amount of his production** according to a standard of quality already set and agreed upon.

John Smith, we will say, is employed as a day laborer to dig a ditch at a daily wage of $3 for an eight hour day. He digs an average of two 10-foot "sections" a day, or 20 feet of ditch for a day's work.

If the boss says to him, "John, from now on I will pay you 15 cents a foot for digging this ditch," and Smith closes with the offer. From that time on we are likely to hear Smith, unless he is above the average, reason something like this: "Now, I am working for myself. The more I do the more I make. So here goes, John Smith, for a big day's pay." That night John measures up his excavation and finds he has dug three sections or thirty feet of ditch and earned $4.50. He feels elated, for he has received $1.50 more than he

has been receiving. He makes up his mind that he can do still more. The boss, who has contracted to dig the ditch at 30 cents per foot, has increased his return on Smith's labor by an amount equal to his laborer's increase—he is now making $4.50 where previously he had made $3.00.

But Smith increases his digging until finally he excavates 40 feet of ditch per day, bringing his daily wage up to $6, and increasing the boss' profit to a similar amount. Smith feels that he is doing well, and the boss ought to feel that he too is doing very well. But it does not work out that way. Though his own profit has doubled, the boss feels that Smith who is drawing twice "the going wages for ditch laborers" is getting entirely too much. So he approaches Smith and tells him that he cannot afford to continue paying him 15 cents a foot. He then offers him 10 cents a foot as "the very best" he can do. He will suggest to Smith that a whale of a digger like Smith can earn good money at that price. Smith agrees to the cut and then starts out with accelerated speed to approximate his former earnings at the new price. He digs 50 feet per day. He is now making $5 per day, at his top speed. When the boss suggests another cut Smith is in humor—to take a rest. So the boss hires Jones at the "going wage for ditch diggers," but he insists that Jones shall dig each day approximately 35 feet of the ditch—an average which Smith's efforts enabled him to determine. In this way the piece-work system is used to set the standard of production in industry.

Marx says of piece-work, "they (piece-wages) furnish to the capitalist an exact measure for the intensity of labor," and he adds farther on, "since the quality and intensity of the work are here controlled by the form of the wage itself, superintendence of labor becomes in great part superfluous."

While Smith was digging the ditch by the foot he did not need a foreman to direct or to urge him. He set his own mark by determining how much he would endeavor to do—he was his own pace-maker.

The piece-working laborer is not concerned about the shorter or longer working day, for his wage is not determined by hours but by products. An hour or two,

more or less, is only incidental to the amount which he has set himself to make for the day's work. A long day or a shorter day is only important when he has realized this amount or failed to. To, again, quote Marx: "Given piece-work it is naturally **the personal interest of the laborer to strain his labor power as intensely as possible;** this **enables the capitalist to raise more easily the normal degree of the intensity of labor.** It is, moreover, now **the personal interest of the laborer to lengthen the working day,** since with it his daily or weekly wages rise."

The piece-work system makes for intensified, unremitting effort in the working place. As Marx points out in another place, it "is the form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production."

Often in the industries it happens that capitalist management will put processes on a piece-rate basis so that the workers engaged in these processes by hurried, diligent application make wages far in excess (comparatively) of the wages paid time laborers on the same work. After careful observation, over sufficiently long periods, an average day's work for the laborers employed on these processes is worked out, which these workers must approximate. Piece-work is a device which enables the capitalists to determine the utmost capacity of the most capable workers; they then make something less than that the standard for all and the measure of competency.

The Bonus System

There is another form of piece-work, or, perhaps better, an extension of the piece-work system—the bonus system. This is usually an arrangement whereby the workers are induced to greater effort by paying them a "bonus" for production in excess of the amount set for a day's, week's or month's work. Suppose, for instance, so many feet are set for a month's work for a miner. If he drives a greater number of feet he is paid so much per foot for the number of feet by which he exceeds that standard. If the miners are influenced by this system they soon find that they have increased the number of feet they must drive in stope or raise in a month. It is nothing more nor less than an attempt to speed up the workers. If they "fall" for it they have to work harder to hold the job than they had to before.

Profit-Sharing; Stock-Buying

Profit-sharing and stock-buying propositions are also schemes to induce the workers to apply themselves more diligently and intensely in the working place. These usually depend upon terms of continuous employment. Besides the speeding up which these proposals are intended to develop they are intended as well to act as preventatives of a labor turnover. The labor turnover is proven by capitalist experience to be the most costly item in the operation of industry. Get that—**the changing of only part of the personnel of a working force is the most expensive item in the operation of large industries.** It is important that the workers be made to realize that **the complex character of the working force** in modern industry **is the capitalists' weakest point.** The capitalists must strive all the time to keep this force divided. If they can do this, they are safe. Whenever they cannot, they are lost. If the working force of a modern industry were thoroughly organized so that they could act as a unit and withdraw their labor power it would be impossible to replace them at will. It would take years to do so. Here is where the craft unions especially prove their usefulness to the capitalists. They function to prevent this.

Family Pressure

Side by side with profit-sharing and stock schemes runs the policy of manning key processes with men of family. It is becoming a fixed policy of big industrial enterprises to man their industrial establishments with married men whose sense of responsibility will make them docile and submissive and whose individual power of resistance is less than would be that of unmarried men. Profit-sharing, stock-buying, home-building, and all other such schemes have for their object the tying of the working force to their jobs, more particularly those in the "key" labor classifications. Imagine a worker in the Standard Oil refinery at Whiting, Indiana, who has had the "privilege" of buying a share or two of stock as a "reward for faithful service," feeling himself equally interested in and benefiting by Standard Oil as does John D. Rockefeller. Such workers are to

the capitalists what the "capper" and the "come-on" used to be to the gamblers who infested the county fairs and "cleaned up" on the rustics when the circus was in town. They betray their fellows without benefitting from their betrayal.

A wise working class movement will educate its membership to the purpose underlying and inspiring these wily schemes of the capitalists and will eternally drive for that unity which will enable the workers to solve the problems that only the workers can solve, and they only when they have first achieved solidarity as workers—in a working class union.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between piece-work and day-work?
2. Which is the more desirable for the boss?
3. Does the piece-worker strive for a shorter workday? Why?
4. Does the piece-worker work harder than the day-worker? Why?
5. What is the bonus system? How does it affect the worker?
6. What advantages does piece-work give the boss?
7. What is the object of profit-sharing, stock sales and home building schemes?
8. Why are married men preferred to single men in large industries?
9. What is the boss' weakest point?
10. Is this why he fears industrial unionism? Explain.
11. What is the most expensive item in modern industry? Explain.

CHAPTER IX.

The Origin of New Capital

HOW does new capital come into existence? This is a question of some importance and deserves brief explanation. We have seen that the relationship existing between the wage worker and the employer entitles the employer to the products of the working process. These products contain a surplus of values. It is out of this surplus that new capital originates.

When a capitalist decides upon an industrial undertaking he calls in someone who is familiar with the business in which he wishes to engage, for it is not at all necessary for the capitalist to know anything at all about the business. From manager to floor sweeper all active participants are employes. Under the direction of the man who does know, buildings are erected and equipped with the machinery suited to the carrying on of whatever manufacturing has been decided upon. There is, as well, provision for the maintenance of the machinery—oil, waste, wrenches, screws, bolts, etc. A supply of raw materials is also laid in. The plant now only needs labor power. The man in charge goes into the labor market, usually by hanging out a sign "Help Wanted," for the various kinds of labor needed. He finds it, usually without difficulty, labelled according to its kind and wearing its price tag. He selects the most promising of each kind, and assembles and organizes the working force. This completes his preparation. The plant is now ready to begin operations.

We have already seen how the working process results in the production of surplus value, and how normal profit is realized from this source in the process of exchange. The time factor, we have also learned, is the basis of exchange. But with the capitalist "Time is money." So before going into the market the capitalist figures the money cost of his commodity. Says Marx:

"The very conditions of bourgeois existence compel it to keep careful accounts."

So we find the boss has very carefully figured out the average deterioration of machinery, per each individual commodity; the fuel or power cost; the oil cost, waste material, etc. together with the labor wage cost. He therefore knows to the fraction of a penny what every article cost him to produce. He regards this as his zero. His condition of existence as a boss requires that he sell above this figure.

Let us suppose that the capitalist has figured the cost of an article to be $5, made up as follows:

All overhead	$1.50
Raw material	1.50
Wages	2.00
	$5.00

If he sells at $5 he has made no profit. If he sells for less than $5 he sustains a loss, and he is not in business to lose or to just keep even. He is in business to make profit. He will, therefore, withhold his commodity as long as he can afford to before he will sell it for less than it cost, or at its cost price. He does not have to, ordinarily, for it sells at a price approximating its value. He sells it for about $10, and makes $5 above its money cost of production. The overhead allowance has been carefully calculated and the cost of the raw material is fixed by the cost of the amount used. These together total $3, and that is all of the $10 they can be made to account for. Then a profit of $5 has been made off the labor of the workers. There is no other place from which it could come. And this, indeed, is the only source of profit. But, as the plant turns out very many commodities every day, $5 multiplied by the number turned out gives the amount of the profit for each day. After the capitalist has provided for himself and his family, as becomes a man of his station, there is still a surplus left. This surplus is transformed into new capital, where it becomes instrumental in adding to the capitalist's volume of surplus value, to be again and again transformed into more new capital. As Marx makes apt comment: "With a given degree of exploitation of labor

power, the mass of the surplus value produced is determined by the number of workers simultaneously exploited; and this corresponds, although in varying proportions, with the magnitude of the capital. The more, therefore, capital increases by means of successive accumulations, the more does the sum of the surplus value increase."

Accumulation of Capital

The different aspects of the laborer's wages have a bearing upon the accumulation of new capital. If there is a rise simultaneously of the nominal, real and relative wages there will necessarily be a fall in the general rate of profit, and, to the extent that this is so, will there be a curtailment of the volume of surplus value available for new capital.

But it can happen that the nominal (money) wage would rise, and that the real (commodity) wage would also rise, while the relative wage would, at the same time, decline. "If," as Marx puts it, "when trade is good, wages rise five per cent, and profits on the other hand rise thirty per cent, then the proportional or relative wage has not increased but declined."

For instance, if the commodity, which has been selling for $10, sells at an increase of thirty per cent on the profit, which was $5, it would sell for $11.50. The wages which were $2 with a five per cent raise would be $2.10. The cost would be $5.10 and the profit $6.40. The relative wage would have declined from 2:5 to 1:3, and would now only be 5/6 of what it was.

Says Marx: "An important factor in the accumulation of capital is the degree of the productivity of social labor.

"With the productive power of labor increases the mass of the products, in which a certain value, and, therefore, a surplus value of a given magnitude is embodied. The rate of the surplus value remaining the same or even falling, so long as it only falls more slowly, than the productive power of labor rises, the mass of the surplus-product increases... But hand in hand with the increasing productivity of labor goes the cheapening of the laborer, therefore, a higher rate of surplus value,

even when real wages are rising. The latter never rises proportionately to the productive power of the laborer."

The evident truth of this statement by Marx is brought home to us by the fact that notwithstanding the great increase in the productivity of the individual workman, and, therefore, of the entire working class, due to the greater employment of machines in production and their ever-increasing efficiency their lot is relatively worse, in the social sense, than when their labor was far less productive. As labor productivity increases labor security diminishes.

The Migratory Worker

Take the farm laborer, and his case is typical of the working class condition, who, when the tools used in farming were far less productive than those now used, was able to command employment the year round, to marry and to enjoy something approaching a home life. He had more assurance of permanency of location because of steadier employment. Today he is a migratory worker, casually employed in agriculture and other industries, usually unmarried and homeless. Yet he is by far a more productive worker than the farm laborer of the days of the cradle and hand-binding, the flail and the horse-power threshing machine. He has less security when he works with a tractor-drawn plow that turns twenty-five or thirty acres than when he plowed with a "foot-burner" (one mould-board plow) and turned two or two and one-half acres per day. The relative wage of the farm worker has declined greatly. The decline in the relative wage of the factory worker is even greater, for the advance in the machinery of manufacturing industry is far and away ahead of the machinery of agriculture.

To state the nominal wage of today in comparison with the nominal wage of decades back and attempt to prove that the worker is better paid now than he was at that time, is to overlook the social advantages that have resulted from the workers' increased productivity, and from which the workers have not benefitted, at least not proportionately. Even were the real wage of today a gain comparable to the gain in the nominal wage the relative wage would still have declined, for

as the volume of capital becomes greater the volume of surplus value must increase, and as the volume of surplus value increases so does the discrepancy between the purchasing power of the workers and the measure of the increased volume of surplus products. The working class is able to buy back less and less of its production.

Capital and Investment

Idle capital lies fallow. It insists upon investment, and its owners will seek the conditions for its employment. This urge of capital is responsible for the imperialistic tendency of modern capitalist governments. So when we observe a change in the international political conduct of the American government, if we seek out the reason underlying and inspiring this radical departure, we will discover that it is due to the need of our capitalist class to find territory in which to invest their idle capital. This will account for the changed foreign policy of the state department; this is why the government is seeking "a square deal" for China and projecting itself into the affairs of other nations. So great has been the volume of American surplus value that the United States has become the world's foremost creditor nation. Out of the labor of American working-men and women has her importance grown. To say that our capitalists are smarter than the capitalists of other countries is to give them credit for something that is not true. They are greater exploiters of the American working class than the other capitalists are of their nationals. Remember there is nothing of value in this country, or in the world, except what labor has produced. **That part of the products of American labor for which the American capitalists gave American workers no equivalent is greater than in any other country in the world.**

American Labor Poorest Paid

The American workman is relatively the lowest paid workman in the world. This country, with the highest nominal and the highest real wage of any country in the world, pays the lowest relative wage of any country on the globe. The American worker gets less of the

values he creates than any other worker in the whole wide world. This is why the American section of the capitalist class is the richest in the world. So rich that it now wants to annex the rest of the world to exploit the workers in the other countries. If a war comes between America and Japan, it will not be over Japanese in California, but over Japanese investments in China, Korea, or Siberia, or wherever else they come into conflict with the investments of American capitalists.

The idea that our capitalists among themselves, or in a contest with foreign capitalists, make profit is a delusion. Only out of wage labor can profit be made.

Suppose that five persons sit into a poker game with $10,000 apiece. At the end of a night's play one man has "cleaned up" the other four. Four men are broke and one has $50,000, but there is not $1 more than there was at the beginning of the game. Now, had these players been a night force at work in some industry, at the end of the shift there would be more wealth than at its beginning and consequently more profit. Whether the capitalist dissipates, loses in business deals, or invests his surplus as new capital is not the point—it is that profit has its only source in surplus value wrung from wage labor—surplus value is the modern source of new capital.

When the Amalgamated Copper Co. was promoted there was a story to the effect that $36,000,000 profits were made over night. What happened was that those who financed the deal believed that the holdings offered a good prospect for paying more than the current rate of profit upon their investment—the copper properties would enable them to exploit the wage workers to the amount of that capitalization. That $36,000,000 was not profit; **it was part of the price paid for the privilege of exploiting the slaves in the holdings which were purchased.** Dan Ryan, Con Kelly and their tribe have since been driving to make good on that judgment and have provoked two costly rebellions in the process.

What Capital Is

Capital is wealth in any form used for the exploitation of wage labor, and, is itself, derived from the exploitation of the labor it employs. Capital—surplus value, more capital, more surplus value and so on. A vicious circle of exploitation that leaves the workers ever weaker and more and more helpless.

QUESTIONS

1. From what source is new capital derived?
2. What relation has the relative wage to new capital?
3. Explain how the nominal and real wages can rise while the relative wages declines at the same time.
4. What relation has increased productiveness to the situation of the wage workers?
5. Explain question 4 by citing a farm worker, or some other laborer.
6. If the worker received $3 per day in 1914 and is now receiving $4, has his wage risen? Why?
7. What relation does the wage of the American worker bear to that of the workers of other countries. (a) nominal, (b) real, and (c) relative?
8. What has new capital to do with the foreign policy of the government?
9. Do capitalists make profit out of each other? Why not?
10. What would be the result to the workers if the source of new capital—surplus value—was lessened?

CHAPTER X.

The Market Law

THERE is a widespread belief that so-called monopolies can and do raise the prices of their commodities at will; that John D. Rockefeller, for instance, recoups himself for some of his charitable outlays by raising the price of kerosene or gasoline. If we stop to think about it, John D. might just as well defer making the donation until he had first collected the toll which he is alleged to have power to levy. As a matter of fact there need necessarily be no more connection between Rockefeller's philanthropy and a raise in the price of Standard Oil products than a striking coincidence.

Panics

Admittedly, John D. has great power, very much too great, but his power is not great enough to set aside the laws of the market. While Standard Oil is striving to become, it is yet far from being an absolute and complete monopoly; nor is there yet a monopolized condition in anything. The extent to which vast combinations of capital, like the Standard Oil, have been formed, results not from bucking, or trying to buck the laws of the market, but from strictly observing its laws and being governed by them.

When it is assumed or asserted that the will of the corporations is superior to and disregardful of the laws of the market, so that it can and does dictate the prices of commodities, there is no ground upon which to base the assumption or assertion. These corporations, like all others who enter the market, do not dictate to the market but are dictated to by the market. They are the logical fruit of capitalist experience in the market, built up to accord with its laws and not in defiance of them.

In the early days of the capitalist system, when unrestricted competition was the rule and before the necessity for gauging the capacity of the market was understood or the means for doing so had yet been developed, each individual manufacturing concern was impelled by an ambition to secure for itself as large a slice of the market as possible. Each manufacturer went ahead with production without regard to the others in the same line, who did likewise—all impelled by the same motive. The inevitable result was that the market became so congested, periodically, that these manufacturers were compelled to slow down production or to shut down their plants entirely.

Many of them were unable to wait until the market had again become normal and could absorb their products. They were pressed by their individual and immediate needs, for they were operating on a very narrow margin of capital, while, indeed, some of them had no margin whatever and were compelled to realize upon their production, even though it meant great sacrifice to do so. "Necessity knows no law," not even market laws. So, in the ensuing competition to raise sorely needed revenue, values and surplus values were lost sight of and commodity prices were lowered even far below the actual cost of production to the capitalists. These were truly times of "sacrifice sales." Many of the capitalists were bankrupted and dropped into the ranks of the wage earners.

The Lesson

Each of these periods furnished an object lesson to the surviving capitalists. They learned that competition was not the life of capitalist trade but a dangerous death-dealing condition which it were well to remedy. These experiences were not lost upon them and they proceeded to eliminate competition among themselves to as great an extent as possible. We find that following these periods, there was reorganization and rearrangement which enabled the newer and stronger forms of capitalist property to better withstand the adversities due to the recurring periods when the market is congested, which will be so long as surplus value is wrung from the labor of the wage-working class. Moreover, these more capable

forms were able to win advantage from the difficulties of the weaker capitalists during panicky times.

As these property forms grew in scope and magnitude they found it advisable to divide their system of management. Departmental spheres were instituted which conducted necessarily closely-related processes, and, among others, one was organized whose function is to survey the world's commercial outlook and to collect such data as will serve to guide the enterprise so that the supply of the commodities in which it deals will always approximate the demand for them. It is an attempt to balance supply and demand in the market.

This move on the part of the larger capitalists pointed the way to the rest of the capitalists, and, as it was too expensive a proposition for most of them to undertake individually, they commandeered their national organ, the government, and the United States consular service was brought into existence.

Consular Service Aid

Through the consular service of the government our manufacturers are supplied with information as to where in the world this, that or the other commodity is needed and about how much. They are also made aware what the capitalists of other countries are doing in relation to outside and home markets, and consequently they are in a much more favorable position to participate in world trade than were the capitalists of an earlier day. The manufacturers of today are better equipped to estimate the capacity of the market and to regulate supply to approximate demand. This enables them to sell their commodities at their real value or near it.

If the will of Standard Oil, or any other capitalist concern, could override the laws of the market, the market would, automatically, be destroyed—there would be no market. The condition for a revolution would be, by that very fact, established. There would be no other way out, for there would exist a power whose will was subject to no check or restraint. The autocracy to which capitalist ambition aspires would then be already realized. That not only is not so, but is destined never to be so. There is the social law whose decrees are immutable which will operate to prevent this consummation.

One Regulator

But suppose John D. did take the notion to raise the price of oil arbitrarily, could he do it? John D. is in business for profit. The amount of his profit depends largely upon the volume of his sales. If he raises the price of his oil or gasoline above its value, sales will fall off. When oil is cheap those who use kerosene will start the fire in the morning or evening with a cup of oil; they are not so particular about burning the lamp an hour or so longer in the evening. But let it go up in price, then they are inclined to husband their supply. When we consider the great numbers who use oil we will see that a very little saving by each of them will, in the aggregate, cause a severe cut in the amount of John D.'s sales. If through a mistaken idea John D. were to raise his price still higher, instead of burning oil many of his customers would turn to other illuminants —candles for instance. John D. knows that he does not gain by lessening the number of his customers but by increasing them. If he raises the price of gasoline, many who now use cars would use them less, and if the price went too high they would lay them away in the garage and use a street car or walk. It is not good business policy to force anything of this kind and good business men, like John D. do not do it.

Then, there is always idle capital seeking investment. When opportunity offers it is ready to go into competition with invested capital, and so serves as a check and enforces the market laws upon those who would disobey them. Not that it is inspired by any motive of compelling obedience to these laws, but is seeking an opportunity to get itself profitably invested.

The Workers' Lesson

What we, of the working class, should be particularly interested in about these corporations are the changes they have made in industry, and the need for organization, which these changes emphasize, in order to safeguard our interests as workers.

They have brought about an arrangement in industry whereby things are produced with a minimum expenditure of human energy. The advance made in productive

industry, as a result of their methodical improvement, proves disastrous to us only because we have not organized ourselves so as to take advantage of it. As less energy is required in production the demand for laborers decreases, because without organization we are unable to claim for ourselves any share in advantages that would be impossible without us. The results of tool improvement and time-saving arrangements all go to the employers, and as the measure of their benefits increases so does the volume of our misery also increase. Instead of organizing to reap benefit from machinery we have remained unorganized, until in place of working less hours and being more comfortably conditioned, we work longer hours when we are working, or that part of us which is working, and there is an increasing number of us who are permanently condemned to idleness and want.

Shorter Workday

The first and prime need of the workers is to lower the hours in the working day, in an attempt to lift the millions of permanently unemployed out of the slough of idleness and furnish them with an opportunity to provide themselves with the means of life. There should be a national movement by all the workers to secure a universal eight hour day.

If the eight hour day will not suffice to bring security to the workers we must push on for further limitations. We owe no apology to the capitalists, nor to anybody else for insisting that the very first charge against industry is provision for and the security of those who are necessary to and who carry on its operations.

The I. W. W.

The capitalist system must be replaced by a system which will recognize in industry a means through which social wants and comforts are provided. To accomplish this is the mission of the working class. This idea dominated a gathering of American workers in Chicago in 1905. These men and women were not only workers in the industries, but also students of labor history as well. They adopted a declaration of principles and founded an organization the purpose of which was to bring into

existence a social system in which the workers would administer the affairs of society. The organization they launched conforms to the capitalist arrangement in industry and they breathed into it the spirit of the working class.

That organization is the Industrial Workers of the World. It has bid for the attention of the working class and won the hostility of the capitalists and of every flunkey and lickspittle that wears the livery of capitalism, from Judge Gary to the last small fry official of the craft unions who flaunts the badge of labor only to betray the workers.

Thousands of I. W. W. members have gone to jail and been done to death, legally and otherwise, for preaching the doctrine of labor salvation. That organization is the most feared and worst hated union in the world. That it is, is its highest recommendation to the workers of the United States. When men dare the persecution that has been endured by the I. W. W., they have furnished a reason why the cause they advocate and the philosophy that strengthens them should be investigated by the workers.

Here is their declaration of principles:

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our baner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

QUESTIONS

1. Can Standard Oil dictate the price of oil?
2. What result has an overstocked market on prices?
3. What did the capitalists learn from panics?
4. What relation has the government consular service to American industry?
5. Why would the market be destroyed if the will of the capitalists could determine prices?
6. Do you know any factor that might serve to influence prices?
7. What effect would a refusal to buy or to buy as much as formerly have on prices? Why?
8. In what way does idle capital influence prices?
9. What particular lesson has trustified property for wage laborers.
10. When was the I. W. W. formed?
11. What are the principles of the I. W. W.?
12. Why is the I. W. W. hated?

CHAPTER XI.

IN CONCLUSION

IN OUR brief study of the main features of the workers' economic problems we have tried to bring fairly before you the proof that the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class takes place in production and **nowhere else;** that it is over surplus value and over nothing else; that the interest of the capitalist is to retain and to increase the amount of surplus value, and the interest of the worker lies in diminishing surplus value until finally no surplus value remains. In other words, the struggle on the side of the capitalist is to continue labor power as a commodity, and on the side of the worker to destroy the commodity character of labor power. The capitalist wants to continue the wage system, and the worker must abolish it.

Ben Franklin is alleged to have once said that, "history could be more correctly written in terms of tools than in any other terms." Whether Franklin said so or not, it is true. Only if Ben Franklin did, he was years ahead of Marx in discovering the materialistic conception of history. Were it not for the invention of tools the human race would have been unable to survive. The survival and progress of the human race have depended upon the employment of tools—in the final analysis upon the tool users—the workers.

Capital an Acquired Character

Now the modern means of production (tools) are referred to as capital, which means that **their ownership confers upon the owner the means of exploiting labor. They are primarily, essentially and always instruments of production.** This is their inherent character. **Their character of capital is an acquired character.** Take an industrial establishment and when its capitalization is

stated the meaning is that it provides a means to exploit labor to the amount of profit, according to the average rate, upon the sum for which it is capitalized. If there were no wage-workers, a billion dollar capitalization would not be worth ten cents and, if purchased at that price, the buyer would be a dime out. However, today the workers in capitalist industry and commerce, so long as they are reconciled to produce surplus value, make it an objective for the capitalist class to keep them in a condition where they must produce it.

The beneficiaries in every social system have sought to have that system regarded as the finality of human progress. They have always chosen to be regarded as the most necessary element.

A favorite argument on behalf of capitalism is that "labor needs capital and capital needs labor." This is not at all so, for capital in that connection is meant to disguise the capitalists. Labor does not need capital as capital. What labor needs, and will eventually have, **is the instruments of production, without their character of capital.** This character, which is a character imposed upon the means of production, the workers will destroy without injuring these tools, without so much as even scratching the paint on them. Only the instruments, without their capitalist ownership, are necessary to labor.

Labor Objective

This has been the objective of the labor movement from its beginning under capitalism. The very first union was an attempt by the workers who formed it to contest the arbitrary will of the employer which had previously prevailed in industry. While it was not consciously so, it was, nevertheless, the first step in a revolutionary direction. For challenging the control of the boss and denying it altogether is one and the same principle, and the difference is only a matter of degree.

The trade unions sought to obtain for the workers a greater return from the proceeds of their labor and a more comfortable existence within the limits of the capitalist system. Their demands and the intensity of the fervor with which they fought for them betoken a spirit born of something beyond the scope of their immediate grievances. The suffering endured, the sacrifices made,

the cheerfulness with which men have gone to prison, the unshrinking manner in which men and women faced death by bullet. bayonet, scaffold and a chair speak out eloquently of greater inspiration than the mere cents per hour they demanded, or the minutes they asked from the working day. Their wage losses were greater than the thing they sought and fought for, if the financial measure of their demands were the inspiration for their heroic sacrifices. But it was not. They fought and died for a conception of right which, in the denial of their modest demands, they felt was violated. The earnestness of their protests resulted from their social impulses and were never merely personal. Their magnificent spirit was temporarily unable to carry them through to victory, for they often fought with economic weapons that were outworn and almost valueless. The development of capitalist industry rendered their unions obsolete and the tally of their defeats vastly outnumber the score of their victories. But, nevertheless, in the consciousness of victory, or the appearance of defeat, the cause of the workers presses steadily forward.

Working Class Unionism

It is our duty to ourselves and to the future to profit by the experiences of our predecessors and by our own. We must build up an organization as inclusive as the working class, arranged to correspond to the arrangement of industry, flexible enough to meet and comply with the various and varied needs of every and all working groups in industry, and whose aim is as narrow and as single as the working class interest. The power of the workers in production is the power of the life and death over society. This power can only be used to serve society by organization of all the workers in all the working places. The capitalists are using their control over industry to destroy society with wars, unemployment and inadequate living standards. Industry must be for human service, not for the profit of the few. To bring this about is the mission of the working class, and the I. W. W. is the weapon of the workers to accomplish it.

From day to day, and here and there along the battle line of labor, skirmishes are taking place between the

forces of labor and the capitalist supporters. The results depend upon the ability of the workers involved to successfully embarrass the particular employers with whom they are in conflict, to a point where these capitalists are compelled to forego some of their surplus value. But as a gain in some industries by the workers at the expense of some capitalists threatens the surplus value of other capitalists, by encouraging the workers in other industries and other places to make similar attempts, and thus weakens the capitalist regime in industry, these other capitalists are always ready to lend assistance to their hard-pressed fellows. The workers, also, are learning that they too must place themselves in a position so as to assist their fellow workers in industrial conflicts. To do this more and more of the workers are becoming awake to the necessity of removing every barrier and impediment to class unity. The craft union idea is recognized as being fundamentally unsound and in practice is a sundering instead of a unifying force.

The Industry Organizing Unit

The workers must be made to see that their economic organizations must correspond with and to the arrangement in industry—that the industry must be the unit of organization to offer any prospect of success in the everyday battles of the working class. But, in increasing numbers, the workers are recognizing the class character of the struggle and realizing that the workers in the industries must be lined up along class lines. There must be one union of the workers, functioning in a purely economic sense.

Such an organization is the Industrial Workers of the World. Those who have read this little booklet through are urged to acquaint themselves with the principles, structure, methods and aim of the I. W. W.

Information and literature can be secured from General Headquarters of the I. W. W., 1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

(THE END.)

The Only Magazine in America
That Is Of, For and By the
Workers

The

Industrial Pioneer

Brimful of Timely and Telling Articles Covering Every Phase of the Class Struggle from Fighting Labor's Own Viewpoint—Handsome Illustrations, Able Editorials, and a Host of Other Splendid Features.

SEND IN YOUR SUBSCRIPTION NOW

Price Per Year, $2.00 Single Copies, 20 cents

Published Monthly by the
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 West Madison St., - Chicago, Ill.

Get This NEW Pamphlet!

KEEN, WITTY AND ACCURATE

THE HISTORY OF THE I. W. W.

A DISCUSSION OF ITS MAIN FEATURES
BY A GROUP OF WORKMEN

Not A Dry-as-Dust But A Lively Presentation
of a Much Misrepresented and
Important Topic

PRICE TEN CENTS

PUBLISHED BY THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
1001 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

EIGHT MEN BURIED ALIVE

THE CENTRALIA CASE CALLS TO EVERY DECENT MAN AND WOMAN IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON TO ACT QUICKLY

Published by the

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1001 West Madison Street, Chicago, Ill.

Printed in the U. S. A.—1924

INCONTROVERTIBLE EVIDENCE

Every statement in these pages can be backed up by documentary evidence. The background of the Centralia case, stretching across long years, is first portrayed, and the circumstances which led inevitably to the Armistice Day rioting in 1919 are clearly and dispassionately related; then comes the story of the evidence admitted or suppressed during the trial of the industrialists who defended their hall against a mob; and lastly the affidavits of six jurors who admit that they were terrorized into returning a verdict of guilty.

On the final page you are told what you can do to set the Centralia victims free.

We must work against herculean forces which seek to keep these men in prison. According to its own annual report, the Northwest Logging Operators' Association, organized in May, 1923, set aside $55,000 for its first year's fight to crush the I.W.W. And the Federated Industries of Washington is admittedly active in efforts to disbar Elmer Stuart Smith, the young attorney who was tried with the Centralia unionists and acquitted. These two organizations operate a blacklist against all I.W.W. members, having devised an elaborate card index system to get around the state law which prohibits blacklisting of workingmen.

If you want more information about the I.W.W. and the lumber monopoly, read the following:

"The I.W.W.; A Study of American Syndicalism," by Paul F. Brissenden. New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1920.

"The Casual Laborer," by Carleton Parker. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe. 1920.

"An American Idyll," by Cornelia Parker. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press. 1919.

"The Lumber Industry, Part 1, Standing Timber," by Herbert Knox Smith, U.S. Commissioner of Corporations. Washington: Bureau of Corporations, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor. 1911.

"The Lumber Industry and Its Workers." Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 West Madison street. 1923. Price 25 cents.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

EIGHT MEN BURIED ALIVE

EIGHT industrial workingmen are buried behind iron bars and stone walls in the state of Washington for a crime they never committed. They are in prison at Walla Walla. Seven of them were sentenced to serve from 25 to 40 years, and one was found insane, but for some inexplicable reason he also was placed in the penitentiary. They were tried in 1920 for the alleged murder of Lieut. Warren Grimm and the seven were convicted. But actually none of them committed any crime. They were accused and found guilty solely because they were members of the I.W.W. and had fought against the exploitation policies of the Puget Sound lumber barons, and because they defended their meeting hall in Centralia against an Armistice Day mob that had come to drive them from the town.

The defendants were tried before a manifestly prejudiced judge, who refused to permit the defense to introduce any of a mass of evidence showing that a group of Centralia business men had conspired to attack the I.W.W. hall, but admitted all evidence offered by the prosecution to indicate that the defendants had conspired to fire on the Armistice Day parade.

Six of the jurors who tried the case have admitted under oath that they were terrorized into convicting the accused men; and declare that they now believe them innocent. Yet no action by the courts on the strength of the jurors' confessions is possible. Under the laws of Washington, the time is long past when any new evidence can affect the Centralia verdict. Only Governor Louis Hart has authority to act; he could commute the sentences of the prisoners and set them free by a stroke of his pen.

Hart knows the facts. But he ignores them. He is a stubborn man, made governor by big business, principally by

the lumber interests, and serving his sponsors consistently. When the prosecution's evidence-giving in the Centralia trial had grown weak, when it had utilized most of its repertoire of spectacular tricks to assail the integrity of the men on trial, it asked Governor Hart to send troops. Hart sent them; neither trial judge nor sheriff knew of the call—and there had been no disorder, nor any indication of such.

Years of Struggle in the Lumber Woods

Centralia's tragedy was the culmination of years of bitter struggle in the Puget Sound logging country—a struggle of the workers to obtain adequate wages and decent working conditions. Their fight was against the big lumber monopolists, a small group of capitalists who had obtained incredibly rich timber holdings from the government for a song. These magnates exploited the workers to the limit. Food in the logging camps was poor. Men had to carry their own blankets, which got lousy because there were no facilities for washing them; they slept in crowded bunk-houses where sweat-saturated garments steamed in stove-heat and permeated the air. There were no baths, and toilets were unsanitary. Working days were long—ten, eleven, twelve hours. . . . Rain falls six months in every twelve in the Puget Sound region. Much of the time the loggers were pushing through wet brush. Their foremen drove them hard. And the work was dangerous, many men being killed by falling trees and by saws or chains breaking.

Usually the logger was a single man. The conditions of his work ordinarily precluded his marrying and settling in a home. Necessarily he was a migrant; as the trees were cut down in one locality he moved on to another. And almost always the job was far from civilization. When the season's work was done and the logger, with his wages in pocket, went to the nearest sizable town, harpies and vultures lay in wait for him. Drink and games and women offered allurement, and often when the tired and lonely pilgrim from the camps woke up his money was gone, his head ached, and he wondered how he got into the alley.

He was the victim, too, of the job shark, the dishonest employment agency. To get a job he was compelled to pay

a fee; then like as not, after he worked a few days, he would be fired without cause, and another worker would be sent to take his place; that man also would be fired in a few days. And each time the job shark would divide the fee with the camp foreman. . . . There was a hospital graft in most of the logging camps. Each logger was required to pay $1 or $1.25 a month, for which he was given a hospital ticket. This ticket specified a list of diseases for which no treatment would be given, and this list included most of the diseases a lumberjack was likely to get. If, however, he did go to a company hospital for treatment, he was usually given incompetent attention, these hospitals for the most part being poorly equipped, cheaply run, and not even kept in a sanitary condition. Often a man left the hospital permanently crippled because of surgical blunders there.

He was a man's man and a husky, the lumberjack; he had to be muscular to survive; he lived his days out-of-doors and he had the independent spirit which characterizes men on the frontiers. And the time came when he rebelled against these injustices.

Sawmill Workers Long Exploited

Among the sawmill workers conditions were different. Many of the mills were situated in towns, so that the employees were able to live in homes, mostly rented houses. And a goodly percentage of the mill workers were married. Because they had families to think about, they were easier to control than the loggers; less liable to organize or strike. Silently for a long time they put up with what was dealt to them. Wages were low; accidents were many, fingers and arms being lopped off by machinery because of the speed-up system and lack of safety devices; and asthma and tuberculosis were prevalent, from the breathing of wood-dust.

Repeated attempts were made to unionize labor in the Puget Sound forests, but all these attempts failed—until the Industrial Workers of the World entered that field. The I.W.W. was born in 1905 at Chicago. At that time a good many lumber workers were members of the Western Lumber Union. Promptly they affiliated with the I.W.W. and began a series of strikes at scattered points. Slowly

here and there they forced a change for the better in logging camps and sawmills.

Criticism of conditions in the basic industries came to a head in a great free speech fight in Spokane in 1909. Spurred by local business interests, the municipal and county authorities sought to drive out the industrial unionists. Casual workers by hundreds poured in to prove their Constitutional right to speak. Time after time they filled the jails, eighteen hundred being arrested. Their trials continued for months. They won.

But the strikes and resultant improvements in the industrial situation, for several years, were sporadic. There were big gaps in labor's lines. In 1912 a move was made to close these gaps. Locals of the I.W.W. in various communities in the Northwest were consolidated into a single industrial union, combining loggers and sawmill men.

A. F. of L. Fails to Organize Woodsmen

One year later the American Federation of Labor sought to organize lumber workers in the Puget Sound country, but failed. The A. F. of L. is split into innumerable groups, or crafts, which act independently of one another. When one of these crafts has a grievance and quits work, the other crafts in the same industry keep on working and thus aid the employers to break the strike. Witness the 1922 railroad strike. But the I.W.W. is based on the idea of One Big Union. When any group of workers in a given industry has reason to strike, every member of that industrial union lays down his tools, and all operations are tied up.

And throughout all these years of struggle the I.W.W. has been armed with incontrovertible facts, which are more potent and obviously more dangerous to the prevailing economic system than any other force which might be turned against it. Unremittingly the industrial unionists have hurled embarrassing questions at big timberland owners, asking: "How did you get it?" For vast forest tracts had passed into private hands, either as a gift from the government or at a cost of $1.25 an acre. In 1911 the Northern Pacific Railway Company, the Weyerhaueser Timber Company, and the Southern Pacific Railway Company owned

238 billion feet, or nearly 11 per cent of all our privately owned timber.

There was trouble in 1912 at Aberdeen, a strategic lumber center on Gray's Harbor, 15 miles from the Pacific Ocean. Workers in the sawmills struck for a $2.50 daily wage. Quickly the police stepped in, broke up the picket lines, jailed pickets by scores. Strikers' wives, with babies in arms, were knocked down by water from fire-hose. Strikers were clubbed, some being maimed for life. An armed mob of business men raided homes and boarding houses, dragged strikers out, herded 150 of them into box-cars at Hoquiam (a nearby town), sealed the car-doors, and was about to deport the prisoners to the Oregon cattle-plains when the mayor stopped this illegal proceeding. And finally the strikers won, and the I.W.W. gained in numbers.

Everett, in 1916, was the next scene of open conflict. This is a drab city reared amid the stumpage of forest land cleared by John D. Rockefeller and some of his allies. It is on Puget Sound, 30 miles north of Seattle. Jobless men, arrested as vagrants, built its streets. . . . Wage-cuts had followed an industrial depression. In the spring of 1915 the Everett shingle-weavers struck against a pay-reduction. Strike-breakers, gun-men, clubs, injunctions and promises defeated them, and they returned to work with a promise that wages would be raised as soon as the shingle market became normal again.

Everett Employers Break Wage Promise

But a year later shingle prices climbed higher than in years, and there was no raise. The International Shingle Weavers' Union, though sparse in ranks, made a bold play. It demanded restoration of the 1915 wage scale throughout its whole jurisdiction by May 1. Most mills in the Northwest capitulated. But in Everett all employers except one repudiated their promise. Strike-breakers and thugs were brought in, and pickets were manhandled.

Then the Industrial Workers of the World moved to organize the loggers and sawmill men of the Northwest on a gigantic scale. Five hundred delegates met in Seattle and

formulated plans. James Rowan was sent to Everett to test the sentiment for industrial unionism. Rowan was a logger, had been long in the struggle, and was a competent speaker. But Sheriff Donald McRae arbitrarily barred free speech. Elected by union labor, McRae had betrayed the workers. He usurped the authority of the city police chief, and led repeated raids against the I.W.W., deporting many unionists. Invariably McRae was drunk.

Sheriff and Mob Brutalize Industrialists

For several years street speakers had addressed audiences on Wetmore avenue near Hewitt avenue. Wetmore was a side street, Hewitt a main thoroughfare. Hastily an ordinance forbidding speeches there was drafted, and the mayor signed it without putting the measure to a reading before the council, so obviously it was invalid. On October 30, forty-one I.W.W. members came from Seattle to test this "ordinance." McRae and 200 special deputies loaded them into auto trucks and carried them to a lonely spot in the country. In a cold rain the captives were compelled to run the gauntlet between two lines of deputies, who rained blows upon their heads with pick-handles, gun-butts and blackjacks. At the end of this gauntlet the prisoners stumbled onto the sharp blades of a railway cattle guard. One mobber was a physician named Allison; with a club he dislocated one victim's shoulder. Sheriff McRae broke the bridge of a man's nose.

Yet this brutality did not stop the spread of industrial union sentiment. Immediately a free speech committee announced a meeting to be held at Wetmore and Hewitt avenues on Sunday, November 5. . . . On that day the passenger steamer Verona left Seattle with 250 persons on board, mostly I.W.W. members. Others followed on the steamer Calista. Word of their departure had been phoned to Everett. . . . All mill whistles there blew at one o'clock and a multitude of business men deputized for such an occasion hurried to the Commercial Club, armed themselves with shotguns and with rifles belonging to the U.S. Naval Militia, and proceeded to the city dock. They outnumbered the incoming I.W.W. members five to one.

When the Verona touched the dock, Sheriff McRae jerked his revolver out of its holster and yelled: "You can't land here!"

"The hell we can't!" cried somebody on the boat.

There was a shot from the deputies, then a volley, and more volleys. Eleven I.W.W. members were slain; six of these fell wounded into the water or were shot while trying to swim to safety, and their bodies were carried out to sea; and many on the boat were wounded. Two deputies were killed.

Eleven I. W. W. Murdered; Nobody Punished

None of the business men was arrested, but 74 I.W.W. members were jailed, charged with murdering Deputy Sheriff Jefferson Beard. After four months, Thomas H. Tracy was tried in Seattle and was promptly acquitted. It was shown that Beard was killed by cross-fire from a Commercial Club member who was ambushed at another point in the harbor. Cases against the other 73 accused industrialists were then dropped, and all were freed.

That was in the spring of 1917. The war came, and lumber prices soared. Wages of loggers in the Northwest were down, the working day was ten or more hours, living conditions in many camps were growing worse. Far and wide the I.W.W. had been pushing organization. In June a strike was called, log production stopped, and presently the sawmills had to shut down for lack of raw material. Demands of the strikers included the eight-hour day; clean bedding, supplied by the employer; shower-baths; laundry facilities; and decent food.

Loudly the employers set up the cry that the strikers were obstructing the war. Two investigations were begun. President Wilson appointed a mediation commission headed by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson, with Felix Frankfurter as counsel. Also the President appointed Carleton H. Parker of the University of Washington faculty to report on conditions in the lumber industry of the Northwest. Parker and several fellow-instructors went into the woods as lumberjacks, and made an intensive study. Parker reported by telegraph that all the strikers' demands were jus-

tified. Later the mediation commission backed up that report, calling the eight-hour day indispensable, and criticising the blind policy of many employers in opposing it. . . . President Wilson telegraphed to the Lumbermen's Protective Association urging that its members concede the strikers' demands—as a patriotic measure. But the association, which had tried to induce the loggers to continue production—as a patriotic measure—refused to grant this request.

Exile, Torture and Death for Unionists

Weeks went by, with no lumber production in Washington, Idaho, Montana, or Oregon. Seventy thousand workers were idle. Frequently the press asserted that the strike had been broken, but these reports were baseless. Attempts were made to bring in strike-breakers, but the union picket-lines were too strong. Then stories were published alleging that the strike was inspired by German agents and financed by German gold. Mobs were stirred to action, industrial halls raided, strikers beaten and deported from various towns, and hundreds of I.W.W. members were arrested without warrants and never tried. One striker was burned to death in a wooden jail in Troy, Montana. At Yakima, Sedro Woolley, and other points in Washington, unionists were stripped naked, flayed with rope ends and tarred and feathered. One was tortured and hanged at South Montesano.

Meanwhile the country was in the grip of war hysteria, and the deluge was turned against the I.W.W. All over the land men were jailed on the slightest pretext, tarred and feathered, beaten, and lynched. In Bisbee, Arizona, 1,186 striking copper miners, mostly I.W.W.'s, were rounded up by the sheriff and many armed deputies, loaded into cattle cars, and were abandoned in the center of the New Mexico desert in July. Frank Little of the I.W.W. general executive board, lying in bed with a broken leg in Butte, Montana, was seized by a party of business men in the night, dragged behind an automobile through the streets, unsexed, and hanged to a railway trestle.

In Chicago 101 I.W.W. members, including most of the organization's officers, were tried before Judge Landis on charges of sabotage, destruction of property, and obstruct-

ing the war through speeches or writing. Many of the defendants came from the Northwest lumber woods. The five-months trial was a mob's holiday. All accused were convicted, most of them being imprisoned for long terms. At Kansas City, Kansas, another group was tried on similar charges and convicted. Subsequently the appeals courts in both cases threw out as unproven the sabotage and property destruction counts.

"Our 'conspiracy' to oppose the war," said 52 of the Chicago defendants in a letter from prison to President Harding, "consisted in pointing out the economic causes of all wars and in showing that unemployment, reaction and misery invariably follow in their wake. We tried to show that war, in spite of all pretense about its noble purposes and beneficial effects, usually results in making the rich richer and the poor poorer."

Five Die in Jail While Awaiting Trial

While awaiting trial on kindred charges in Sacramento, California, 53 I.W.W. members were held for 64 days and nights in a single jail cell measuring 21 by 21 feet. There wasn't room enough for all to lie down at once; they had to take turns sleeping, on a damp concrete floor. It was winter, and each man had only one cotton blanket. Food was bad; sanitary conditions filthy. Five died, of tuberculosis or influenza. The survivors were all convicted.

By autumn the striking loggers in the Northwest were low in funds. So they instituted what they call the job-strike. They returned to work. "Employers victorious," cried the newspapers. But this announcement was premature. Back on the job, the unionists resorted to a slow-down process which was heart-breaking to the employers in the face of opportunity for huge war-profits. Every returned striker worked as if he were new to the woods. By going back to their jobs, the I.W.W. members could keep strikebreakers away, and the employers would have to feed them. After working a few days on a ten-hour schedule, a crew would stop work on a certain day at the end of eight hours. They would all be fired, would draw their pay, then proceed to another camp and repeat the process. This went on all over the Northwest, for six months.

Confronted by a situation they could not master, the allied lumber employers finally gave in to the strikers. Drawing the mantle of virtue about themselves, they announced on March 1, 1918, that they had decided voluntarily to grant all the demands of the strikers—as a patriotic measure.

But persecution of union workers kept on throughout the war, and afterward, with the I.W.W. bearing the brunt of the attack. . . . Strangely, one may think, the industrialists in the Northwestern woods did not strike back at those who injured them. They did not lack courage, as they had often demonstrated. But the I.W.W. organization had long counseled its members to avoid violence as a weapon, because it invariably brought down the wrath of the enemy all the harder. So it was customary for the loggers to leave their halls to the mobs when they got word of an intended raid. Centralia, however, was to furnish an exception.

Among those who led the employers' fight against the 1917 loggers' strike was F. B. Hubbard, head of the Eastern Railway and Lumber Company, which operated a sawmill in Centralia. Another was a lumber trust attorney, W. H. Abel of Montesano, who wore a deputy sheriff's badge and used court injunctions against the strikers.

Memorial Day Parade Raids One Hall

There was a Red Cross parade in Centralia on Memorial Day, 1918. The I.W.W. then occupied a two-story gray wooden building on a side street. Hubbard led the tail-end of the parade in a raid on that hall. Lieut. Warren Grimm, who had been guarding army supplies in Vladivostok, was present. He was seen "waving two American flags and howling like a dervish." The raiders went through the hall "like a swarm of rats", dragged the I.W.W. members out, lifted them by the ears onto motor trucks, sped with their captives to the next county, dumped them out, and warned them not to come back. Hubbard appropriated a writing desk from the hall. For months the gray building, with all its windows broken, remained unoccupied, the I.W.W. not attempting to re-establish a meeting house, but continuing organization work quietly in the woods.

Hubbard was then president of the Employers' Associa-

tion of Washington. That organization, on April 30, 1919, issued a confidential bulletin to its members from its headquarters in Seattle saying: "Keep business out of the control of radicals and the I.W.W. . . . Suppress the agitators. . . . Hang the Bolshevists." On May 31 another bulletin: "Put the I.W.W. in jail."

Blind Newspaper Seller Is Deported

For a year after the 1918 raid things were quiet in Centralia. Then in June, 1919, Blind Tom Lassiter, a man who sold I.W.W. and other labor newspapers, came back at night from a carnival to his little drygoods-box home to find that all his possessions had been burned by a mob. On the door was a placard: "Get out of town and stay out." Lassiter bought another cot and cooking utensils, replenished his newspaper stock, and stayed. Several days later, all of his new belongings were burned. Still Lassiter stood his ground. Finally, some local real estate owners seized the blind man in the center of town in broad daylight, threw him into an automobile, journeyed to another county, dumped Lassiter into a ditch, and warned him never to return. Charges against the kidnapers were filed with County Prosecutor Herman Allen by Elmer Stuart Smith, a young attorney who had incurred enmity by handling claims for workers against the lumber interests. Allen refused to act.

That summer the I.W.W. opened a new hall, acquiring two-story quarters on Tower avenue and occupying half of a building which housed the Roderick Hotel, conducted by Mr. and Mrs. James McAllister. Also the Citizens' Protective League of Lewis County was born, with George F. Russell, secretary of the state employers' association, presiding at the initial meeting. This league was designed "to cope with the labor situation." F. B. Hubbard was made chairman and empowered to perfect his own organization.

Warren Grimm, who was a lawyer, made a speech at a Labor Day picnic, posing as an authority on Bolshevism because of his service in Siberia. He cautioned his hearers to beware of "the American Bolsheviki — the Industrial Workers of the World." Later Elmer Smith happened to go to Grimm's office on business. Grimm asked what Smith

thought of his speech. Smith condemned it, assailing the deportation of Lassiter as "disgraceful Americanism." Free speech, he contended, was a fundamental right of all citizens.

"I can't agree with you," said Grimm. "That's the proper way to treat such a fellow."

On October 19 the Centralia Daily Hub published a news story headed: "Employers Called to Discuss Handling of 'Wobbly' Problem." All employers were urged to attend a meeting to be held at the Elks Club next night. The Hub mentioned that until lately the I.W.W. had had no meeting hall in Centralia since the raiding of the old hall in 1918.

Next evening one hundred business men gathered at the Elks Club. Their chairman was William Scales, local commander of the American Legion. F. B. Hubbard was the principal speaker. He denounced the I.W.W. and declared it should be driven out of town. County Attorney Allen and Police Chief Hughes then informed the audience that the I.W.W. could not legally be evicted, as it had violated no law. Hubbard grew wrathful. "This is a damned outrage!" he cried. "If I were chief of police I'd have the Wobblies out of here within twenty-four hours!"

Hubbard Appoints Secret Committee

Chairman Scales said: "I'm not in favor of raiding the I.W.W. hall myself, but I am certain that if anybody did raid it, no jury in the land would ever convict them." Scales next announced that he would appoint a committee to deal with the situation, "its inner workings to be secret." But it was Hubbard who appointed the committee. Evidence in the hands of the Centralia defense indicates that this committee included Warren Grimm, Arthur McElfresh, Lieut. B. S. Cormier, and others who were active in the subsequent raid. One of those at that meeting was a switchman named Henry, a railway brotherhood member. He was asked to aid in the anti-I.W.W. movement, but declined, whereupon Hubbard called him a "damned skunk." Henry passed the word along to some of the I.W.W. members. And Police Chief Hughes told William Merriam, member of the Lewis County Trades Council, that the business men were preparing to raid the industrial

hall and drive the "Wobblies" out of town. The trades council discussed the matter at a meeting; Harry Smith, brother of Elmer Smith, the attorney, was at this meeting. He told Elmer about it.

On October 31, the Employers Association of Washington issued a bulletin saying: "Jail the radicals and deport them. . . . Since the Armistice these radicals have started again. *Only two communities in Washington allow I.W.W. headquarters.*"

Protection Asked of Police and Public

Hearing of the raid plan, the I.W.W. secretary, Britt Smith, appealed to the police for protection. So did Mrs. McAllister, owner of the building in which the hall was located. Chief Hughes said he could promise nothing. . . . When the industrialists learned on November 4 that there was to be a parade on Armistice Day and that the route would be several blocks longer than usual, so that the procession would pass the I.W.W. hall, Britt Smith drafted text for a leaflet headed: "TO THE CITIZENS OF CENTRALIA WE MUST APPEAL." Approved at an I.W.W. meeting, 1,000 copies of this leaflet were printed, and a copy was left at practically every home in Centralia.

Simply it told of the preparations to raid the industrial hall, and asked the public for a square deal. The circular said: "The profiteering class of Centralia have of late been waving the flag of our country in an endeavor to incite the lawless element of our city to raid our hall and club us out of town. . . . They have inspired editorials in the Hub, falsely and viciously attacking the I.W.W., hoping to gain public approval for such revolting criminality. These profiteers are holding numerous secret meetings to that end, and covertly inviting returned service men to do their bidding. . . . They say we are a menace; and we are a menace to all mobocrats and pilfering thieves. Never did the I.W.W. burn public or private halls, kidnap their fellow citizens, destroy their property, club their fellows out of town, bootleg, or act in any way as law-breakers. . . . Our only crime is solidarity, loyalty to the working class, and justice to the oppressed."

Consulting Attorney Elmer Smith, the I.W.W. members were informed that they had a right under the law to defend their headquarters (which was also the home of Britt Smith). They had a legal right to use force if necessary to defend themselves or their fellows against superior numbers coming ostensibly to do violence against them. And under the law they were not required to remain on the premises that were to be attacked. This principle is well established in the court decisions of many states.

Armistice Day came, and the parade. The I.W.W. were prepared. Some waited within the hall; others stationed themselves at points outside. The parade marched past the I.W.W. hall to the end of the route, then countermarched and returned. As the final section, comprising Centralia ex-soldiers, came abreast of the hall, a command was given to halt. Then the ex-service men broke ranks and the attack was on. But the mob was met by shots from the hall. Warren Grimm was fatally wounded in the doorway, and Arthur McElfresh and Ben Casagranda close by.

Marcher Admits Soldiers Attacked First

Two days later, at the coroner's inquest, Dr. Frank Bickford, member of the American Legion and one of the marchers, testified: *"When the parade stopped in front of the I.W.W. hall I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow. But others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside."*

Into and through the hall the mob swarmed. Some of the I.W.W. prisoners were taken prisoners inside, some escaped via the rear. Wesley Everest, I.W.W. railroad man and ex-soldier, was pursued by the raiders. He fired back at them, and killed Dale Hubbard, nephew of the man who had instigated the attack. When Everest was captured, the mob strung him up twice. Repeatedly he was bayonetted, finger-nails tore strips of his flesh from the eyes downward, he was unsexed with a razor, and then his bleeding mutilated body was thrown into a jail cell within sight of the other I.W.W. prisoners. That night he was dragged behind an automobile a mile and a half and hanged from the Chehalis river bridge.

Coroner David Livingstone reported to an Elks meeting that Everest "broke out of jail, went to the bridge, and jumped off with a rope around his neck. Finding the rope too short he climbed back and fastened on a longer one; jumped off again, broke his neck, and then shot himself full of holes."

Mob Controls Town for Nine Days

That night and for several days there was a manhunt for miles around. The mob controlled the town; it took scores of citizens into custody, and grilled them; searched the homes of everybody suspected of sympathizing with union labor, without warrants; banished the Associated Press correspondent; and censored all news. For nine days and nights it put the I.W.W. prisoners through the third degree. James McInerney, who had been under fire at Everett, was taken out of jail with a rope around his neck, and the rope's end was put over a telephone pole and drawn up until McInerney's face became livid. The mob demanded a confession from him. McInerney told them to go to hell. "Guess we've got the wrong man," said the crowd, and took him back to jail. . . . Beneath Loren Roberts' cell window voices would sound: "Well, we got that guy Everest; we'll get Roberts next if he don't come clean." Roberts was made insane by this mental torture. For nine days Mike Sheehan had no more than 15 minutes' sleep. Tom Morgan was broken to the point where he consented to testify against his fellow-members. Morgan was held in jail several months, and when released left for parts unknown.

Eleven men were tried on a charge of having conspired to commit murder in the first degree, and for the slaying of Warren Grimm in carrying out the alleged conspiracy. Ten of these were members of the Industrial Workers of the World and the eleventh was their attorney, Elmer Smith, who had advised them that they had a right to defend themselves, even with guns, against superior numbers.

The trial was staged at Montesano, 40 miles northwest of Centralia, and extended from January 25 to March 13 in 1920. Judge John M. Wilson of the Superior Court pre-

sided. When the prosecution concluded its presentation of evidence, the court released Bert Faulkner, finding no case had been made against him. On March 12 the jurors retired to deliberate, remained out 20 hours, and then returned a verdict which Judge Wilson rejected as unacceptable under the law.

They had acquitted Elmer Smith and Mike Sheehan, had declared Loren Roberts insane, adjudged Eugene Barnett and John Lamb guilty of murder in the third degree, and found the others guilty of murder in the second degree. There is no such crime as third degree murder in the state of Washington, so the jurors were sent out to reconsider. Two hours later they brought in a revised verdict in which Attorney Smith and Sheehan were acquitted, Roberts was found insane, and the following were declared guilty of second degree murder: Eugene Barnett, John Lamb, Britt Smith, Bert Bland, Commodore Bland, Ray Becker, and James McInerney.

Verdict Is Contradiction of Charge

The verdict was in keeping with the court's instructions, but it was a direct contradiction of the charge against the defendants. They had been accused of conspiracy to commit murder in the first degree and the carrying out of such a conspiracy. But second degree murder is defined by Washington statutes as unpremeditated murder. If there was no premeditation there could not have been a conspiracy.

And with that verdict was a special plea from the whole jury saying: "We, the undersigned jurors, respectfully petition the court to extend leniency to the defendants whose names appear on the attached verdict." . . . Yet when Judge Wilson had the seven convicted defendants before him again on April 5 he dealt to them the highest sentence possible under the law—25 to 40 years in prison. Questioned about the case later that day, Judge Wilson admitted that the verdict was a contradiction of the charge. "But," he said to a newspaper man who had raised the question, "you've been around trials enough to know that lawyers don't always know the law, and even judges don't always know it."

Montesano, seat of Gray's Harbor county, was chosen as the trial-scene after the defense had asked for a change of venue because of high emotional tension and bitter prejudice existing in Lewis county, in which Centralia is situated. But as the weeks went on, the lumber interests carried their anti-I.W.W. propaganda into every corner of Gray's Harbor county, and the defense demanded a second change of venue. On January 3, 1920, Judge Wilson admitted that a fair trial of the case could not be had in Montesano, and indicated that he would grant the requested change. Five days later, he reversed his attitude and decreed that Montesano must be the scene of trial.

Judge Delivers Eulogy of Slain Men

From the first, the odds were heavily against the defense. Judge Wilson was obviously prejudiced. He had delivered a eulogy of the slain paraders at an Elks memorial service on December 7 in the very hall where the business men of Centralia had met to devise ways and means to drive the I.W.W. out of town. . . . The Lewis County Bar Association had pledged its membership not to defend any I.W.W. member, no matter what charge was placed against him. This was a clear violation of the oath which every lawyer takes when admitted to the bar. . . . Immediately after the Centralia tragedy, Attorney General L. L. Thompson ordered the arrest of all I.W.W. members found anywhere in the commonwealth. Eight hundred were thrown into jail. Only three attorneys in Washington dared defend I.W.W. cases. George F. Vanderveer of Seattle, former county prosecutor there, was retained in behalf of the Centralia men. He had been one of counsel for the defense in the Everett trial. Tied up with other cases, he could not take up the Centralia fight until two days before the date of trial. Meanwhile the prosecution, with unbounded resources, had two and a half months for preparation.

Six attorneys went into court for the prosecution. Herman Allen, prosecutor for Lewis county, was pushed aside, and the legal attack was led by W. H. Abel, previously mentioned as fighting the 1917 strike, and by C. D. Cunningham of Centralia, attorney for F. B. Hubbard. Each was retained on a $5,000 contract from Lewis county.

Many members of the American Legion were brought to Montesano, and were detailed to sit in the courtroom. Fifty or more were in constant attendance at the trial, their eyes almost continually fixed on the jurors. These Legionaires were paid $4 a day and expenses for this service, and were lodged in the city hall. Most of them bore side-arms. That the prosecution had a hand in arranging for the Legionaires' presence is evidenced by a telegram sent by Prosecutor Cunningham to Representative Albert Johnson at Washington, D. C.: "Ex-service men desire to wear uniforms at I.W.W. trial at Montesano. Is there any federal law to prohibit?" Johnson answered that "former soldiers have clear legal right to wear uniforms at I.W.W. trial."

There were two outstanding issues in the case: 1. Which side was the aggressor—the ex-service men in the Armistice Day parade, or the I.W.W. members who were stationed in their hall and at other points? . . . 2. Did Eugene Barnett fire the shot which killed Warren Grimm?

Right of Self-Defense Is Clear

The prosecutors contended that the industrialists had fired in cold blood upon the parade in keeping with a preconceived plan. The defense denied this, declaring that the I.W.W. members simply defended themselves against attack by superior numbers; that under the law they had full right to prepare for such defense, and to use guns if they had reason to fear violence. . . . Some of the industrialists awaited the expected mob-attack from the vantage point of windows in the Arnold and Avalon hotels near by on the opposite side of the street; others were on Seminary Hill, a thousand feet away. Bert Bland took the witness stand and frankly admitted that he was on the hill, and that he fired a rifle, but declared that he withheld his fire until he heard the shouts of the mob and the shots in the vicinity of the hall. In answer to criticism from the prosecutors, the defense cited various court decisions holding that a person having reason to fear attack from others feloniously inclined was not bound to remain upon his own premises and thus risk losing his life, but was privileged to defend those premises from a safer location outside.

Judge Wilson permitted the prosecution to introduce all evidence which tended to support the theory that the I.W.W. had conspired to fire upon innocent passing soldiers. But he refused to let the defense introduce any evidence which was offered to show that many Centralia business men had conspired to raid the industrial hall on Armistice Day. **He prohibited the defense from submitting to the jury evidence of the following facts:**

That 100 Centralia business men met in the Elks Club on October 20, 1919, and laid plans to drive the I.W.W. out of town.

That the county prosecutor and the police chief informed the meeting that the I.W.W. had committed no violation of law and could not lawfully be banished.

That F. B. Hubbard then declared: "This is a damned outrage. If I were chief of police I'd have the Wobblies out of here within 24 hours."

That William Scales, chairman of the meeting, said that while he did not favor raiding the I.W.W. hall, he was certain that no American jury would convict anybody who might raid it.

That there had been an attack on a hall previously occupied by the I.W.W. in Centralia, this attack being led by F. B. Hubbard.

That on this occasion the raiders dragged out the industrial unionists, lifted them by the ears onto motor trucks, and transported them to the next county, warning them never to come back.

That Blind Tom Lassiter suffered the loss of his news-stand and all his possessions by burning at the hands of a mob; and that Lassiter subsequently was kidnaped by business men on the main street of Centralia in daylight, thrown into an automobile, and dumped into a ditch in the next county.

That the I.W.W. had been warned that their hall would be raided on Armistice Day, asked for police protection, and were denied it.

That when they heard of this plan, the I.W.W. issued 1,000 handbills, appealing to law-abiding citizens of Centralia for a square deal; and that these handbills were carried to every house in town.

Four copies of newspapers which told of meetings of business men who were planning to drive the I.W.W. from town were excluded by the court.

Judge Wilson took the curious position that the defense must first show an overt act by Warren Grimm before he would permit introduction of any evidence tending to show conspiracy by him and his fellow-marchers. He refused to admit testimony concerning any utterance or action by Grimm in connection with the carrying out of the plan to raid the I.W.W. hall, on the ground that some special physical movement of the man must be shown a moment before the shooting actually started. It was not sufficient to show that Grimm was close to the hall and had fallen out of the parade ranks.

Two Saw Grimm in Doorway of Hall

Two defense witnesses testified that Grimm was in the very doorway of the industrial hall just before the shots were fired from inside. These were Guy Bray, 16, and Jay Cooke, 41. Bray is related by marriage to Lieut. Frank Van Gilder, second in command in the parade. Shortly before the procession started, Bray said, he saw Van Gilder walking with a large man in uniform. Bray asked who the man was, and Van Gilder said it was Warren Grimm. The witness described the parade. As the ex-service men halted, he declared, he saw two men break from the rear ranks and rush toward the hall. They kicked in the door, he said, and then the shooting began. "Van Gilder and the large man he had said was Grimm were then five or ten feet north of the hall door," Bray said. "I saw the large man put both hands to his stomach, and double up."

Jay Cooke testified similarly with regard to Grimm's presence in the doorway of the hall. As they left the courtroom after testifying, both Cooke and Bray were arrested on charges of perjury, and efforts were made to break down Bray's testimony by means of the third degree. But

obviously these arrests were made simply for psychological effect. The two witnesses were never tried for perjury, the cases against them being dismissed after the trial.

Testimony by Lieutenant Van Gilder for the prosecution placed Grimm half a block away from the industrial hall. Van Gilder explained Grimm's act of dropping out of the line of march by saying he had fallen back to remind the military sections to salute "the old soldiers in the reviewing stand," and later rejoined him at the head of the service men. He swore that Grimm was shot while facing southeast and while his back was toward the hall.

"Something seemed to jar him," Van Gilder testified. "He turned very pale. I said, 'Are you hit?' and he said, 'Yes.' I told him to go to the hospital and get dressed. He started across the street and when he had gone a few paces he bent over, his hands on his stomach, but went across."

In summing up the case, Attorney Vanderveer argued that Van Gilder's testimony was open to question on this point: that Van Gilder, a soldier, unhurt, did not even offer to help his mortally stricken comrade to safety. Any normal man in such a circumstance would have aided his friend, Vanderveer contended. If Van Gilder is to be accepted as normal, then one must conclude that Grimm wasn't at Van Gilder's side when the former was shot, but that he was where Bray and Cooke testified they saw him—in the doorway of the I.W.W. hall. Evidence concerning the fatal bullet, which will be detailed farther on, strongly supports this belief. Other defense witnesses declared they saw a large man answering Grimm's description coming from the direction of the hall door; he was holding both hands over his abdomen; they sighted him at several points between the hall entrance and the street corner.

But There Was No Reviewing Stand

Van Gilder had said that Grimm had dropped back to remind the marchers to salute the old soldiers *in the reviewing stand*. Joseph Smith of Chehalis, an overseas veteran who participated in the march, gave vital testimony for the defense on this point. While the parade was being formed, he said, the commander of the Chehalis division instructed

his men to be ready, when they reached the reviewing stand, to give the "eyes right" salute—a quick turning of the head. *They never came to any reviewing stand, Smith said, and evidently there wasn't any.* Along the march north from town, another marcher named Shields or Scales said to Smith: "You'll see lots of excitement after we turn to come back."

Later a man who had been pointed out to Smith as Lieutenant Grimm came along the line, Smith declared, and one of the marchers called out: "What about that reviewing stand?" . . . "We'll have eyes right when we get there," said Grimm. . . . "Will there be anything doing when we start back?" some other marcher asked Grimm. . . . "Sure there will," Grimm replied, according to Smith.

"While coming back," Smith declared, "Herman Gibbons, another marcher, said to me: 'We're going to give the Wobbly hall eyes right as we go by.' At the Wobbly hall this command was given. I saw the men break ranks, leap out, and run toward the hall. I saw them kick in the door. Then shots came."

"I Offered to Lead a Raid—"

But the strongest piece of testimony for the defense was given by Dr. Frank Bickford, member of the American Legion and marcher in the parade. At the trial he repeated the testimony he gave at the coroner's inquest: "When the parade stopped in front of the I.W.W. hall, I offered to lead a raid if enough would follow. But others pushed ahead of me, forced open the door, and then the shots came from inside."

No effort was made by the prosecution to shake Dr. Bickford's testimony. It let him go with practically no cross-examination; and neither of the special prosecutors, Abel nor Cunningham, made any reference to the Bickford testimony in his closing statement.

Eugene Barnett was accused of firing from a window of the Avalon hotel, some 300 feet south on the other side of the street from the hall, the shot that killed Grimm. Elsie Hornbeck, book-keeper in a garage opposite the Avalon, told

the jury she saw a thin-faced man in the hotel window on Armistice Day, shortly before the shooting; and after many helpless pauses and appealing glances at Prosecutor Abel, she identified Barnett as that man. She had sworn that she had never seen the man in the window from that wild day till she saw Barnett in court three months later; and made it appear that she was able to recognize Barnett solely because of the vivid impression his face made upon her memory on November 11. **But in cross examination, Attorney Vanderveer trapped her into admitting that she had twice been shown photographs of Barnett by the prosecution.** . . . And Barnett was not a thin-faced man, as she had testified. His face was oval in shape, as photographs reveal, both in November and during the trial. That is manifest even in a picture made of him after he had been in the hands of the mob for days.

James McAllister and his wife, proprietors of the Roderick Hotel, swore that Barnett was in the lobby of the hotel, only a few feet from the two of them, all during the rioting; and that he was unarmed. Other witnesses testified that he lingered in town after the shooting, and later in the day rode his horse ten miles to his home—at an easy gait. He was observed by numerous persons along the way, being easily recognized because he wore a big black hat and cowboy chaps, a costume in which he had previously and frequently been seen by many acquaintances. . . . Mrs. McAllister was taken prisoner by the mob on Armistice Day and held in a rat-infested jail 22 days, incommunicado.

Grimm was shot by an I.W.W., the defense admitted, but not by any of those on trial. The fatal bullet was fired from a 38-55 rifle, according to medical testimony for the prosecution. And such a gun was owned by John Doe Davis, who escaped in the confusion of the riot. The state itself was instrumental in proving this point; for it insisted on giving weight and credibility to a "confession" of Loren Roberts, the boy whom the defense contended was made insane by the mob; in that statement Roberts declared specifically that the man who fired from the Avalon hotel was Davis. Alienists were summoned by the prosecution to

show that Roberts was sane during the trial, but the jury found that the boy was insane and irresponsible.

Witnesses for the prosecution asserted that Ben Casagranda and Earl Watts, paraders, fell wounded around the corner from the I.W.W. hall. But certain established facts tend to refute this testimony—the fact that bloodstains were found on the sidewalk in front of the hall; that Casagranda and Watts were shot by hard-nosed bullets which went clear through their bodies; and that the only hard-nosed bullets found by the prosecution's own witnesses were lodged in buildings opposite the front of the hall. One may judge from these circumstances whether these men were shot by bullets fired by Wesley Everest, who was stationed inside the hall and who had the only gun which used hard-nosed bullets, or whether they were shot around the corner.

Two Men Carry Ropes in the Parade

Despite the barring of the mass of testimony offered by the defense to prove a carefully formulated plan for attack on the I.W.W. hall, Attorney Vanderveer did succeed in showing by various witnesses that two prominent citizens of Centralia carried ropes in the Armistice Day parade. These were Postmaster T. H. McCleary and the Rev. H. W. Thompson. When the state employers' association had wanted an extinct hanging law in Washington revived a little while before, Thompson lectured in many communities in behalf of that law. Prosecutor Abel asked one witness who had testified about the ropes if she knew "whether Mr. McCleary owned a cow and a calf." Seemingly he was trying to set up an alibi for McCleary. But the witness didn't know. McCleary himself testified that he had picked up "an old piece of rope" and used it in a playful tug-of-war with another parader.

T. W. Siddle, railroad brakeman, and his wife watched the parade move through the business section toward the I.W.W. hall. McCleary and Thompson both carried ropes and McCleary still had a rope when he came back after the shooting, Siddle testified. Subsequently Siddle saw a big blood spot on the sidewalk in front of the hall. Three other witnesses also declared they saw McCleary carrying a rope.

Thomas Meaden, tailor, testified that he was standing near the I.W.W. building, and heard Lieutenant Cormier, commander of the marching soldiers, order the column to halt and face the hall. "Then came cries of 'Let's go!' 'Come on!' and 'Let's get 'em!'" he stated. "At first they trotted in the advance on the building. Then they charged. There were about 20 of them in the advance guard. These were followed by the whole body of troops. I saw them reach the doorway. There was a crash of glass and wood as they battered down the door. I went toward the hall. I recall hearing then the shooting from the hall. When I approached nearer I saw a wounded man lying on the sidewalk just at the entrance to the hall. This was Arthur McElfresh."

Meaden's testimony was corroborated by Forrest Campbell, candy maker. Campbell said: "I saw Cormier stop the parade and almost at once a group rushed the hall. Two or three men were in the lead. They were running. I heard the glass crash and the door swing open. I saw McElfresh lying on the sidewalk in front of the place." Campbell said he heard men shouting: "Let's go!" and "Who's going to lead us?" just as the rush started. Later, Campbell said, he was taken to the American Legion headquarters and grilled for six hours. His statements then, it was shown, were completely in accord with his testimony at the trial.

Court Ignores Evidence About Mob Leader

Judge Wilson declared that Vanderveer must show a direct connection between Warren Grimm, the slain parader, and an overt act in the tragedy, before he could have a witness explain why the I.W.W. expected violence. "That is not the law," replied Vanderveer. "The law says that to prove self-defense we need only show substantial reasons for apprehension. If the defendants had reason to believe that they were to be attacked by a crowd, including Grimm, they had the right to prepare to defend themselves."

The court's ruling was made in the face of a preponderance of testimony showing that Grimm, or a man closely answering his description, was close to the I.W.W. hall, even in the very doorway, and that during the raid this man was

wounded in the abdomen. Grimm was the only man wounded in this manner.

When Elmer Stuart Smith, defendant, took the witness stand, he was prohibited by the court from answering these questions put by Vanderveer: "Did you appeal to the governor for protection against the raids?" . . . "When did you appeal? . . . "Did the governor respond to the appeal?"

During the trial Vanderveer found it necessary to ask for a warrant for a Mrs. Carpenter of Centralia, alleging that she had attempted to tamper with a defense witness. Helen Martini, 13, declared that Mrs. Carpenter had asked her if she couldn't forget some of the things she intended to testify. The woman admitted to Vanderveer that she had done this, giving the excuse that Helen was a Campfire girl and that she thought "it would be better if some things could be forgotten." Helen Martini was a vital witness. She testified that she saw the parade from a rear window of her home, and corroborated the statements of Jay and Ray Cooke that there had been a long break in the paraders' ranks just before the shooting.

"I'll Hang Every One of Them."

One juror was known to have been inimical to the defense from the beginning. This was Harry Sellers, a huge, flabby telephone company employe. On the day that Judge Wilson sentenced the defendants, Attorney Vanderveer presented an affidavit from a woman who declared she had heard Sellers say: "If I get on that jury I'll hang every goddammed one of them. For when they kill soldiers they kill your best friends." But this affidavit made no impression on the court, and no attention was paid to the jury's plea for leniency.

So seven of the defendants were sent to prison, and Roberts to an insane asylum, from which he was later removed to the penitentiary. The defense carried its case to the supreme court, and lost again. That was in 1921.

But as months passed, some of the jurors became troubled by conscience, and finally six of them signed affidavits expressing belief that all the defendants were innocent. These affidavits revealed that most of the jurors were terrorized

into returning a verdict of guilty; they had feared that in the event of a disagreement, "innocent men might have been hung."

Jurors W. E. Inmon and E. E. Sweitzer were first to come forward. Inmon was a donkey engineman and Sweitzer a farmer. On May 15, 1922, they took oath that during consideration of the case, *Juror Harry Sellers stated in substance: "Every one of them is guilty and ought to be hanged no matter what the evidence shows."* Inmon and Sweitzer averred now that "the evidence showed, as affiants verily believe, that all the defendants were innocent . . . and that not one of said defendants . . . killed, injured, wounded or harmed any one."

Jurors Admit They Were Terrorized

They declared they had believed "that in the event of a hung jury, a new jury would have been called and in the face of the hysteria that then existed, innocent men might have been hung; that rather than have this happen these affiants believed it was better to have a second degree verdict against seven defendants and acquit two, thus leaving the two free to work for the release of the others and leaving opportunity to spread the truth; that in the event of another trial and these affiants were to sit as jurors in this case, and were permitted to receive in evidence what they now know, their verdict . . . would be 'not guilty.'"

In an interview, Inmon added that one juror "was afraid of his life. . . . I remember when we . . . got first sight of the soldiers. . . . There were men in that courtroom you could-a knocked their eyes off with a pitchfork and never touched their noses. 'My God!' one of them said to me, 'they're here to keep us from being shot.'"

E. E. Torpen, retired farmer, in a sworn statement, declared that "when the jury retired . . . a ballot was taken and it was unanimous in favor of acquitting the defendants. . . . The jury finally decided on the verdict as rendered because of the understanding the jurors had with one another that they would recommend extreme leniency to the court in rendering his sentence . . . and this was agreed to by all of the jurors. . . . I verily

believe also that if these men had not been affiliated with the I.W.W. they would never have been convicted."

But after that first ballot calling for acquittal, the jurors began to discuss what it would mean to everybody concerned if they freed the defendants. Around the corner were the troops, drilling in the streets when the jurors went to meals. Out in the courtroom were the stern-faced Legionaires. And Sellers remembered that he was patriotic, and had a duty to perform regardless of the evidence. . . . Only a part of what happened in the jury room has been made public, but enough has come out to show the tremendous psychological pressure which weighed against those jurors. They were farmers and wage-workers and small business men, and they knew the power of the lumber interests to break them. . . . Afterward, when the hysteria had died down, the six got their courage back.

Presence of Troops Big Factor

P. V. Johnson, construction worker, was next to sign an affidavit. On May 29, he stated that "if the jury had been permitted to consider what I have since learned was a premeditated attack upon the hall, the jury would never have returned a verdict of guilty. It is my firm belief that the men are not guilty of murder in any degree; that Warren Grimm was killed while advancing upon and engaged in an attack upon the I.W.W. hall." Johnson said that "one of the most determining elements in securing conviction of the seven defendants was the bringing in of a large number of soldiers a few days before the conclusion of the trial; that these men were camped close to the court house and the jury was paraded in sight of them; that these soldiers were brought in to protect the jury, as the jury was led to believe; that we were informed that a thousand or more I.W.W. were in hiding in the woods near the town; that this tended to create a feeling in the minds of the jurors that the I.W.W. organization was composed of outlaws and that therefore the organization was on trial as much as the individuals. . . . I am making this affidavit because I want to see justice done, and it is my belief that justice is not obtained through lawless attacks on peaceful citizens."

On June 1, Juror Carl O. Hulten, farmer, signed a sworn

statement acknowledging that the affidavits of Sweitzer, Inmon, Torpen and Johnson "coincide with my views of said trial" and expressing his belief that "the defendants did not have a fair and impartial trial and there is not now in my mind an abiding conviction of their guilt of the murder of Warren Grimm; that the said trial was conducted under extreme excitement and pressure which made it impossible to conduct a trial in a normal manner and leave the jury free and unhampered in their deliberations."

One more juror cleared his conscience on October 20, 1922. U. G. Robinson, carpenter, foreman of the jury, took oath as follows: "During the trial . . . a squad of soldiers was brought into Montesano and camped diagonally across the street from . . . our jury quarters. Nearly always while we were out for exercise . . . we could see these soldiers either marching around the streets or at their camp. A number of the jurors believed that these soldiers had been brought in to protect the jury against some threatened assault by the I.W.W., and there were three or four jurors, as I now remember . . . who so feared such an assault that they wanted guns for their own protection."

Defense Searches For Movie Camera-Man

Search has been made without avail by the defense for two alleged eye-witnesses of the Armistice Day raid—a movie photographer and his assistant. In August, 1920, Walter Bland, brother of two of the defendants, was riding on a Northern Pacific train between Seattle and Yakima, and relates that he had a chance conversation with a man who said he was a camera-man for the Pathe Film Company. This man declared that he and his assistant were in Centralia on November 11, 1919; that they had set up their camera opposite the industrial hall; and that they made pictures of the raid, pictures which would have shown soldiers rushing the hall and soldiers dropping who were shot while breaking into the hall.

But immediately after the raid, the Pathe man told Bland, he and his assistant were put into jail and held six hours, and their camera was smashed into pieces. When the two were let out of jail, the photographer stated, they were escorted to a train and watched until they left town.

WHAT YOU CAN DO TO HELP

Only the combined action of the working people of the State of Washington can set the Centralia victims free. They can make their indignation felt in many ways. Such strong pressure must be brought to bear upon Governor Hart that he will no longer dare to ignore the facts in this case.

You can help this fight by acting upon the following suggestions:

1. Send money, so that we can put our side of the case before every man and woman in Washington State.

2. Write to the General Defense Committee signifying your willingness to co-operate.

3. Bring this pamphlet to the attention of all organizations of which you are a member, whether labor, civic, or religious.

4. Get those organizations to demand of Governor Hart that he unconditionally commute the sentences of the Centralia prisoners.

5. Have committees appointed to raise funds so that this pamphlet can be circulated far and wide.

6. Organize committees to carry our literature into mills. mines, factories, homes and everywhere in Washington State. Arrange routes so that the facts will be placed in every home there.

7. Send us mailing lists of people who ought to be informed about this case.

8. Advise the General Defense Committee of every move you make along these lines.

Do these things quickly. The eight innocent men involved have been imprisoned since 1919.

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Ill.

ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS

OR

"PRACTICAL SOCIALISM" AND
"REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS"

By B. H. WILLIAMS

PRICE TEN CENTS

Press of the
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

P. O. Drawer 622 New Castle, Pa.

Typographical and Press Work
On this Pamphlet Were Done By Members of
LOCAL UNION 297, I. W. W.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY
CHICAGO

ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS

OR

"Practical Socialism"

AND

"Revolutionary Tactics"

FROM AN I. W. W. STANDPOINT

By B. H. WILLIAMS

PRICE TEN CENTS

Press of the

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

P. O. Drawer 622 New Castle, Pa.

"INTELLECTUALS" AND WORKERS IN THE PARIS COMMUNE.

(From Lissagaray's "History of the Commune of 1871.")

Five deputies only signed the address for the election [for the Communal Council]. The rest of Louis Blanc's group had kept aloof from Paris for several days. These weaklings, having all their life sung the glories of the Revolution, when it rose up before them ran away appalled, like the Arab fisher at the apparition of the genie.

With these mandarins of the tribune of history and of journalism, mute and lifeless, contrast strangely the sons of the multitude—obscure, but rich in will, faith and eloquence. They could indeed "come down the steps of the Hotel-de-Ville head erect," these obscure men who had safely anchored the revolution of the 18th March. Named only to organize the National Guard; thrown at the head of a revolution without precedent and without guides, they had been able to resist the impatient, quell the riot, re-establish the public services, victual Paris, baffle intrigues, take advantage of all the blunders of Versailles and of the mayors, and, harassed on all sides, every moment in danger of civil war, known how to negotiate, to act at the right time and in the right place. They had embodied the tendency of the movement, limited their program to communal revindications, and conducted the entire population to the ballot box. They had inaugurated a precise, vigorous, and fraternal language unknown to all bourgeois powers. And yet they were obscure men, all with an imperfect education, some of them fanatics.

But the people thought with them. Where illustrious bourgeoise had only accumulated folly upon defeat, these new comers found victory, because they listened to Paris.

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

INTRODUCTION

The Labor Movement in America has undergone a severe shaking up since the advent of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905. Old ideas and methods of warfare have been put to the test of severe criticism at the hands of workingmen themselves, and the lines of the Class Struggle are appearing in broader and clearer perspective. Emphasis is being placed upon the constructive phases of Labor's problem as exemplified in Industrial Organization, rather than upon the hair-splitting distinctions and well argued though often ridiculous formulas of sectarian dogmatists. Cowardly and hypocritical "bourgeois idealism" wherein "the phrase surpasses the substance" is giving way to the **practical idealism** of the man in overalls, whose every-day environment enables him to suffer hardship and even, if necessary, to cheerfully go to jail, for a principle; but who, at the same time, never loses sight of the fact that the Labor Question is primarily an everyday problem of bread and butter, and that only by treating it as such, will its ultimate solution be at all possible.

Simultaneously with this coming to the front of the Industrial Union and its tactics, we see the old-time political socialist movement losing its tone. Under the tutelage of middle class and professional "intellectuals," for the most part without first-hand knowledge of the class struggle, the political movement is becoming more and more "opportunistic"; pinning its faith more and more to reforms, such as "labor legislation," "government ownership," "co-operatives," "taxation reforms," and other ineffectual schemes of "attacking capitalist society behind its back." At the same time it is hugging more closely to its breast the reactionary American Federation of Labor; adapting itself more closely to the tenets of craft unionism, and altogether losing its claim to the title, **"Revolutionary."** Accompanying this

process of emasculation is the inevitable revolt of proletarian elements inside this so-called political movement. Such revolts, however, are doomed to failure, so long as the actual basis for a revolutionary political movement is wanting, namely: class organization on the industrial field. The duty of the hour, then, for all revolutionists, is the upbuilding of the economic organization.

While it may be contended that the particular "reforms" or "steps toward socialism," dealt with in the following pages, are little likely at any time to absorb the whole attention of the working class, there is one phase of the subject which, like "Banquo's ghost," will not down. That is the question of **leadership.** The Industrial Union, however, points the way to its solution, also. Instead of the craft union "labor leader" with his autocratic powers and his constituency of indifferent or blind followers, or the "platform intellectual" with his crowd of "half baked" hero worshipers, the Industrial Union requires in its leading men **administrative abilities** only. That is to say, it demands at the head of the economic organization, men who have been and are living the life of the working class; who "embody the tendency of the movement"; who respect the constitution and are amenable to the discipline of the organization, and who possess the ability to administer its affairs in accordance with its purposes. This conception of leadership, in conjunction with the structural form of the economic organization itself, foreshadows the industrial democracy of future society—a society in which the individual will find his "freedom in labor" by serving to the extent of his capacity the interests of the collectivity.

To stimulate inquiry along these lines, rather than to attempt to "settle" the questions at issue, this work is released for publication at this time.

B. H. W.

New Castle, Pa., January 23, 1910.

ELEVEN BLIND LEADERS

(Address delivered before the Chicago Propaganda League of the Industrial Workers of the World, May 30, 1909.)

FELLOW WORKERS:

The subject I have volunteered to discuss with you tonight has recently formed the material of two lectures in this hall by prominent members of the Socialist Party. Mr. A. M. Simons' speech on "Revolutionary Tactics" was followed with one by Professor John C. Kennedy of Chicago University on the question of the value of political action to the labor movement. The two lectures were in a way supplementary to each other, and together contained about all that can be said in a general way in favor of "practical socialism" from a purely political standpoint.

The substance of both Simons' and Kennedy's answer to their I. W. W. critics is contained in the statement that "any organization or any line of action is good so long as it leads in the direction of the overthrow of capitalism." That axiomatic conclusion was hurled at the I. W. W. with all the assurance of a teacher who presumes upon the innocence of his pupils regarding such an obvious fact.

But then the speakers proceeded to name some of the "good" means to the end of a social transformation as they conceived it.

One means was the union. And Mr. Simons contended in his opening speech that the American Federation of Labor was turning in the direction of socialism. When confronted by one of his critics with the statement from the Wall Street Journal that the "A. F. of L.

constitutes the strongest bulwark against socialism in America," he replied with the admission that the A. F. of L. was not what he would like to see; and that if it modified its form and changed its tactics, that would be the first time in history that such an organization did so.

Both Simons and Kennedy mentioned as another essential means to the end the system of "co-operatives" as exemplified in England, Belgium and other European countries. Simons was doubtful about their practicability in America, but Kennedy was more hopeful.

Then "public parks," "state insurance against unemployment," "old age pensions" and the "feeding of school children" were mentioned as steps in the right direction, not to be despised by the working class.

Labor legislation, such as eight hour laws, employers' liability, and others, came in for their share of eulogy. Kennedy illustrated such "steps toward socialism" from alleged facts of English and German history, avoiding references to America's experience in such matters.

The substance of both speakers' argument was that the union is a good thing and the industrial form is better than the craft form; the ballot is an essential; municipal ownership is on the program; labor legislation is a step in the right direction; and "co-operatives" may help to train the working class to run the industries after the workers have captured the political machinery of the capitalist state.

The only point of departure between the two speakers was that while Simons was convinced that a "revolutionary crisis" is inevitable in the overthrow of capitalism, Kennedy was of the opinion that in America, at least, the transition from capitalism to socialism will be brought about by the easy stages above outlined and with comparative peace.

As these two speeches by Editor Simons and Professor Kennedy are so closely related in substance to a symposium on "practical socialism" recently appearing

in the Saturday Evening Post (issue of May 8, 1909), containing replies to a question by the editor from ten prominent members of the Socialist Party, I shall consider the two speeches and the ten replies together.

SYMPOSIUM ON "PRACTICAL SOCIALISM."

The editor of the Evening Post asked the question: "How will the Co-operative Commonwealth be brought about?" and supplemented that by another question: "Suppose that you should elect a socialist President and Congress, how would you go about transferring private property to public ownership?" In the issue containing the ten replies, the editor says: "We leave it to our readers to judge whether the preachers of this new gospel have a cure for social ills which they or any one else can apply practically."

First of the ten comes Eugene V. Debs, who, after making the statement that "no one on earth knows how socialism is to be introduced . . . nor, in fact, anything about it except that it is bound to come," proceeds to answer the above hypothetical question with the statement that if socialists gain the political power and are allowed to proceed peaceably they will doubtless begin by taking over as rapidly as possible the "essential means of social production and distribution, beginning with those most highly centralized and monopolized and most perfectly organized." He also assumes that "the new administration will be able to assure employment to all," and that a new national constitution will no doubt have to be adopted, which will abolish the Senate, take away the veto powers of the Supreme Court, and make Congress directly responsive to the demands and needs of the people.

Victor L. Berger expresses the hope that "both sides will take a lesson from history," and that the workers, instead of provoking a war and seizing the industries by force, will buy them outright from the capitalists.

Gaylord Wilshire says we're "not going to elect a

President, or Congress, or anything." That "we're all going to be socialists in the end," and that the dominant political party, when the time comes, will be forced to carry out the socialist program "unawares.".

Upton Sinclair says practically the same thing, only he gives more detailed information. A great panic is going to take place, and "then with hunger parades in our streets, and Maxim guns also; with strikes in every industry, and a socialist meeting on every corner—the great change will be made by whatever party happens to be in power at the time." All this, and more, including the "abolition of dividends" and the taxing of the "rental values of land and buildings" is going to happen in 1913, according to Sinclair.

"Barney" Berlyn is "practical" in that he does not commit himself to any detail of his proposed change. He simply says that "the election of a socialist administration would be the Social Revolution itself," and that "the complete transformation might take a generation."

John C. Chase, who has had some experience as a socialist mayor, says that with the acquisition of political power by the workers the trick may be done in either of two ways: By purchase or by force. In the former event, the government can "get the purchase price from the revenues of the institutions themselves."

Wm. Mailly favors "absolute appropriation." He doesn't think that "society owes anything to the present possessors of industry." But the process of appropriation will be gradual after the workers have conquered political power.

Robert Hunter doesn't think the transfer need cause any disturbance at all; that "in making such a transfer there is no need whatever for a single wheel to stop or for a single day of interrupted labor." "The necessities of life, such as bread, milk, meat, coal and clothing would be taken as much as possible, and as quickly as possible, out of the field of capitalistic exploitation." The process will be gradual, according to Hunter.

A. M. Simons starts out by saying that he has "been asked that question about seven million times." He then proceeds to answer it by saying that "municipal undertakings in co-operation would have progressed just as they have in Europe." Then the ownership would be extended to the most concentrated capital. Employment for the unemployed would force up wages and practically make private business unprofitable. The wage system, Simons thinks, would probably continue long after the arrival of a socialist regime, due to replacing an old system by one radically different.

Finally, National Secretary J. M. Barnes declares that he would "use the power of taxation—to the limit of confiscation, if you please—to change the ownership of wealth from private to public." Barnes quotes Benjamin Franklin in justification of such policy on the part of a socialist administration, and furthermore contends that his proposition is quite in accord with existing law and the present constitution.

There you have the symposium on "practical socialism," supplementing the two speeches of Simons and Kennedy before the Chicago Propaganda League of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"INTELLECTUAL" SPOKESMEN FOR THE WORKERS

It is not my purpose, in replying to these vagaries of "political opportunism," to spend much time with what might be construed as mere personal attacks upon the group of "leading socialists" who have thus taken part in this symposium in the name of socialism. Still I am reminded of the substance of what Wendell Phillips said in an anti-slavery speech. When accused of being too harsh in his attacks upon public men who upheld slavery, the great orator replied that the rank and file were more often influenced through their feelings and sentiments than by sober reasoning and facts, and that in order to force the mass of men to take notice of events, it was often necessary first to shake their faith in their

misleaders—to drive the harpoon of truth through the rhinoceros hide of a Webster or a Benton. That psyehologieal principle thus enunciated by Wendell Phillips finds its justification in the material fact that men are products of their environments, and that changes in the mode of living of individuals are usually aceompanied by changes in their hopes, aspirations and ideas. Guided by this principle, we are called upon, then, not merely to condemn the individuals, but to explain the ideas, of the above-mentioned "leading socialists."

Not one of the eleven men who thus presume to speak in the name of the working class is or has been in recent years an active participant in the daily struggle of the workers in industry. Some of them never had that experience in wage slavery. Two are "millionaire socialists"; one is a teacher in Rockefeller's University; four others are editors (two of the four have been for many years); one is an employer of labor in a small factory; one is a professional novelist and writer; and two are paid attaches of the Socialist Party*.

The editor of the Saturday Evening Post says they represent all elements. In justice to fact, he should have added: "All elements except the proletarian—the wage slave proper." And that reminds me of a story, a well authenticated tale of socialist agitation in the West. The incident happened about ten years ago. The scene was a Colorado mining camp; the occasion a socialist mass meeting of "rough necks" and "horny hands"; the speaker a well known "intellectual" and erstwhile "sky pilot" with a white waistcoat and a melodramatic manner. As the hour for opening the meeting arrived, the expectant audience of miners who had assembled from all parts of the surrounding country, watched the curtain rise, and saw that the stage was perfectly dark. Presently a dusky form was seen moving

---

* Since 1909 there has been some shifting of occupations of the eleven, but not toward wage slavery.

slowly toward the front of the platform, and a deep vibratory voice pronounced these words:

"I come, to speak for a class that CAN not speak for itself! (one light turned on.)

"I come, to speak for a class that WILL not speak for itself! (more lights.)

"I come, to speak for a class that DARE not speak for itself!

"I DARE (all lights flashed on) to speak for the working class!"

The "sky pilot" in this story typifies the eleven "leading socialists" who have thus presumed to deal with the question of "socialism and its revolutionary outcome." I shall endeavor to show you that no one of the eleven possesses the genius to grasp the proletarian standpoint of the question, and that their "practical socialism" amounts to a travesty even upon capitalist politics and is, therefore, the wildest of utopian dreams.

NO MENTION OF AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION.

None of the ten replies to the Saturday Evening Post's question contains mention of an economic organization of the working class in relation to the proposed transformation from capitalism to the Co-operative Commonwealth. Simons, in his speech before the Propaganda League, May 9, ridiculed the idea of the Union's "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," as the I. W. W. Preamble puts it (1).

---

(1) A more recent statement of Mr. Simons' emphasizes this position. In a letter to William English Walling, published in the International Socialist Review for January 1910, Simons writes: "Personally, I have great sympathy with industrial unionism, but not as a panacea. I think its most deadly enemy is the man who talks about it as a means of getting the co-operative commonwealth. We are not organizing unions in the future or in the past but NOW, and for the purpose of fighting the class struggle." It will be remembered that Mr. Simons was one of the signers of the original Industrial Union Manifesto, and even boasted in his speech before the League of having written the greater part of the Manifesto. It is credibly reported that a great novelist, Sir Walter Scott, employed an amanuensis!

All of these "leading socialists" apparently conceive the transformation as the exclusive task of a political party, in control of the governmental machinery of the capitalist state, using that machinery to legislate or otherwise bring into existence the Co-operative Commonwealth.

I shall leave this phase of the problem to the conclusion, and proceed first to deal with the proposed "reforms" or "steps toward socialism" advocated by Simons and Kennedy in their speeches before the League.

First let us consider that "step towards socialism" known as

"CO-OPERATIVES."

The system of socalled "co-operatives" finds its highest development in the little country of Belgium. These consist for the most part of various agencies of production and distribution set up in competition with other capitalist institutions of similar character, and floated by money contributed from the savings of workers and middle class "socialists." The "co-operatives" were initiated by the Belgium Labor Party and are affiliated with that socialist political organization. A percentage of the profits realized by these establishments is regularly turned over to the Party for propaganda purposes. According to the Report of the Belgium Labor Party for the year ending December 31, 1906, the "co-operatives" numbered at that time 117 establishments in 24 different sections of the country, with a capital invested of several million dollars.

It must be borne in mind that Belgium is a very small country, no bigger than the single state of Maryland, with no such field for large industrial development as in this country or the larger countries of Europe. Even there, however, we find that the dominant industries, such as mining, transportation, and large manufacturing, are in control of the capitalist class, which thus maintains its industrial and political supremacy over the Belgian working class. Add to this fact the com-

paratively weak syndical or union movement, and we find that conditions for the workers in that country are essentially the same as in other capitalist countries. Furthermore, the "co-operatives" retain all typical features of like capitalist institutions of exploitation. "Profits" on one side implies "wages" on the other. That foreshadows trouble between worker and employer: As was pointed out by one of the critics of Professor Kennedy—a Belgian recently from that country—it is a frequent occurrence for workers employed in the Belgian co-operatives to go on strike for better conditions.

Just how far these institutions will be able to proceed in the competitive struggle with the capitalist class dominant in the field of "business," is a matter for the future to determine. But we may safely predict that their continued survival for any length of time will depend upon their comparative insignificance together with the necessarily restricted development of Belgian industry.

The main point urged in their favor is that "co-operatives" are training the workers for collective operation of industries in the Co-operative Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, the evidence shows that they are only training functionaries, with middle class instincts, in the arts of "profit making" and exploitation. Critics of the "co-operative" idea have frequently pointed out that this system has emasculated the revolutionary socialist movement of Belgium and made that country the classic land of "political opportunism." That contention is emphasized by the fact that unionism plays a subordinate role in the socialist movement in Belgium. Out of 145,781 affiliated members of the socialist party at the close of 1906, only 35,624 were members of unions which form practically all the syndicalists of that country. Further facts, tending to show the emasculation of the Belgian socialist movement will appear later when I deal with the question of labor legislation.

Outside of Belgium, in the larger European countries, "co-operatives" play a very insignificant role as an

economic factor. In the United States they are for all practical purposes an unknown quantity. The reason for this will be obvious to any student of American industrial conditions.

Imagine, if you can, a "co-operative" steel mill, or any number of such mills floated with the pennies of the workers, trying to compete with the billion dollar steel trust which, in addition to possessing the most highly perfected machinery for manufacturing steel products, also controls the sources of raw materials and the transportation facilities related to that industry! Or, imagine a "co-operative" railroad set up in competition with the great transportation systems covering the whole country like a spider's web, and owned and controlled by a half dozen magnates who are likewise the heads of other great trusts! Or, think of a system of "co-operatives" designed to manufacture and distribute food products in competition with the beef trust!

Such propositions are obviously ridiculous, and suggest that "co-operatives" in America must necessarily be limited to the proportions of the peanut stand or the push cart. But even that suggestion calls for some allowance, seeing that the push cart has also been trustified—that even the fruit peddlers of the great cities are under control of the big commission merchants.

So we may safely predict that "co-operatives" are not destined to play any part in this country toward bolstering up the decadent middle class, and training "middle class socialists" to the qualifications of "good business men."

I will dismiss that phase of the subject touched upon by Kennedy and Simons, and pass on to the more significant question of

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

A recent publication of the Bureau of Labor at Washington contains some information regarding the system of municipal ownership prevailing in Glasgow,

Scotland, that is worthy of notice in this connection. Among other things we are informed that the net profits accruing from the operation of the city-owned street railways amount to fifty per cent annually of the net receipts. The revenue thus realized results in a substantial reduction of taxes of property owners in that city. The same document shows that the work day for municipal railway employes has been reduced from twelve to ten hours, and that wages of conductors range from $7.00 to $9.00 per week (2).

It is difficult for one versed in the ways of capitalism to see any vital distinction here between the relationship sustained by the workers and their city employers of Glasgow, and that of the workers and their private employer of the municipal railway company of Chicago. The only possible distinction is, that while the Chicago street railway workers are organized and in position to strike against their employers, those of the city-owned railways of Glasgow have no union in the same sense.

But even that distinction as a general proposition fades away when we turn to France and view the recent movements of government employes in that country. Fifteen thousand postal, telegraph and telephone workers in Paris last March went on strike against their

---

(2) "Municipal Ownership in Great Britain, by Frederic C. Howe, Ph. D., Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 62, January 1906." The following quotation will help to emphasize the contentions made above:

"During eleven years of the municipal operation of the tramways there has been no friction between the department and its employes, who now number 4,352. On the taking over of the system by the city in 1894 the hours of daily labor of traffic employes were reduced from twelve to ten, while a still further reduction to 54 hours per week of six days was made later. In this, as in the other departments, the policy is to pay a fair rate of wages and to grant considerate treatment to the employes. By such means the employes are attached to the service and efficient men are secured for the department. All attempts to unionize the car employes have been unsuccessful."

government employer, which had been maintaining toward them exactly the same relationship as any private oppressor and exploiter. Since that event, the movement among government workers in France has become more general, embracing in its scope such categories of employes as teachers, prison wardens, employes in the mints, and even those working in the supply and commissary departments of the army. Some of these, and other divisions of state and municipal employes in France, recently signed a manifesto protesting against the attempts of the Clemenceau ministry to suppress the movement toward organization of government employes, a movement which asserts the right to strike, as well.

The government employes of France are also taking steps to bring about affiliation of their bodies with the unions of private industry organized in the General Confederation of Labor. These events in France, together with comments by union speakers and papers, show that the syndicalists of that country recognize no vital distinction between employers, public or private (3).

Wherein, we may then inquire, does the extension of capitalist governmental functions to industry in European countries constitute a "step towards socialism?"

---

(3) The revolt against government employes is not confined to France. In far away New Zealand, the "paradise of workingmen" and the "land of government ownership," we note the same thing. A recent issue of the Weekly Herald, of Wellington, N. Z., has this interesting item:

"Much is being made of the strike at the State coal mine. Apparently it has been assumed that the employment of workers by the State deprives men of the right or inclination to strike. A purely fallacious assumption. The State is very often a worse master than the majority of private employers, and under the State, as under a private employer, the worker has a right to sell his labor to the best advantage. That's what the miners at the State coal mine are doing. They know the Arbitration Court, as at present constituted, to be Dead Sea fruit. They cut themselves clear of the Act, and set out to get a better return for their labor."

Since the above appeared (1910) numerous writers and investigators, notably the socialist, Charles Edward Russell of the United States, have pointed out in detail the essentially capitalist character of "government ownership" in New Zealand.

Only in the same sense as the development of the Standard Oil corporation in America from its small beginning of fifty years ago to the giant "octopus" of the present day, constitutes a "step towards socialism." The forces of economic determinism were in play in both cases.

Economic necessity compelled the bureaucratic capitalist government of Russia to build the Trans-Siberian railroad at a time when private capital hesitated about carrying out such an enterprise. Like timidity on the part of private capitalists in Australia compelled the government of that backward and isolated country to take the initiative in developing various industries. An expensive bureaucracy in Germany and Austria, necessitating large revenues, forced the governments of those countries, in lieu of taxing to death the middle class, to resort to government ownership of railways, salt mines, and other enterprises.

In the United States, on the other hand, no such development has taken place, although trustification of industry has proceeded to a greater extent than in any other country. True, the United States government has assisted the process of centralization by means of land grants to railroad corporations, by irrigation projects, by ship subsidies, etc., which have aided the American capitalists to seize and develop the natural resources of the country; but with the exception of the postal system, government ownership in any important industry has not been resorted to in the United States.

From this brief analysis we conclude that "government ownership" is but a phase of capitalist development identical in essence with that of private monopoly or trustification of industry. The training of the wage slaves is essentially the same in either instance, and the same necessity of those slaves organizing as a class against their employers would exist under complete government ownership as it does under partial government ownership and under privately owned industries.

The transition from Capitalism to Socialism cannot

be effected through "government ownership." As I shall show you presently, that transformation can be brought about only by means of a working class organization designed for that purpose and shaped in accordance with economic evolution.

Another "step towards socialism" suggested by Kennedy and Simons is that of

LABOR LEGISLATION.

Kennedy argued from the history of the English "Factory Acts" to prove his contention that "labor laws" had resulted in much benefit to the working class of that country, and that they were a vital part of the political program of the workers. He referred to Karl Marx' "Capital" as authority for this conclusion, but did not produce from that book the facts showing the movement in detail and the underlying forces that impelled the capitalist class of England to alleviate the working conditions of their slaves.

Marx shows that conditions in the factories of England in the early years of the nineteenth century resulted in a frightful degeneracy of the English workers in many industries. This threatened the industrial supremacy of England, and called forth loud protests not only from the organized workers, but also from various reformers and philanthropic employers who were not so directly affected as those against whom the "Factory Acts" were aimed. But Marx also shows that these factory laws — particularly those limiting the work day for children, were desperately opposed by the capitalists, and were generally worded in such a way by Parliament that they could be easily evaded after they were passed. I quote from Chapter X, beginning with page 307, of the Chas. H. Kerr & Co. edition of "Capital":

"According to capitalistic anthropology, the age of childhood ended at 10, or at the outset, at 11. The more nearly the time approached for the coming into full force of the 'Factory Act,' the fatal year 1836, the

more wildly raged the mob of manufacturers. They managed, in fact, to intimidate the government to such an extent that in 1835 it proposed to lower the limit of the age of childhood from 13 to 12. In the meantime the pressure from without grew more threatening. Courage failed the House of Commons. It refused to throw children of 13 under the Juggernaut Car of Capital for more than 8 hours a day, and the Act of 1833 came into full operation, It remained unaltered until June, 1844. In the ten years during which it regulated factory work, first in part, and then entirely, the official reports of the factory inspectors teem with complaints as to the impossibility of putting the Act into force."

Marx goes on to show that the manufacturers invented a "relay system" in accordance with the provisions of the new law, by which they could put children to work whenever they needed them at different times during the day, with the understanding that the children should not be worked more than eight hours altogether. He continues: "In a great many of the factories the old brutalities soon blossomed out again unpunished. In an interview with the Home Secretary (1844) the factory inspectors demonstrated the impossibility of any control under the newly invented relay system."

Meanwhile the unions began a vigorous agitation for a ten hour work day, and the "free traders," who were then working for the repeal of the "Corn Laws," promised in return for the workers' support, to pass a ten hour bill as soon as free trade should be established.

In 1844 the 12 hour day was legalized in England, and finally, after desperate struggles, the Ten Hours' Act came into force May 1, 1848. But just about that time occurred the revolution in Paris; the English workers' political and industrial movement that had sustained the agitation for a shorter work day went on the rocks of reaction; and so the employers utterly disregarded the law. After reducing wages 25 per cent. the manufacturers for two years until 1850 had a free hand and

brought back all the old conditions against which the workers of England had fought for thirty years. They finally got the Ten Hour law declared null and void by the courts. Later on, with better organization of the workers, and a higher development of machinery, the 10 hour day became more or less general in English industry.

Marx concludes from these facts that "the creation of a normal work day is, therefore, the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class. As the contest takes place in the arena of modern industry, it first breaks out in the home of that industry—England. The English factory workers were the champions, not only of the English, but of the modern working class generally."

Karl Marx' "Capital" was published in 1867, and since that time the experience of the labor movement in every capitalist country has shown conclusively that so-called "labor laws" are a delusion and a snare so long as there is no economic organization of the workers powerful enough to enforce them directly in the industries.

In the Report of the Belgium Labor Party to the International Socialist Congress, held at Stuttgart, Germany, 1907, I find mention of all the more important "labor laws" of that country. I have already referred to the comparatively weak syndicalist or union movement in Belgium, as shown by that same report. The Belgium Labor Party counted 145,781 affiliated members, and cast 469,094 socialist votes in 1906. Yet the Report shows that none of these labor laws that might be of value if enforced, are effective. For example, to quote from the Report:

"The law instituting inspection of labor conditions: That inspection is absolutely illusory. The inspectors, chosen by the government, are more often guardians of the capitalists' interests than of the workers' interests. The employer is always notified in advance of the coming of the inspector, which enables him, superficially, to put his factory in order."

Again, quoting from the same Report: "The law regulating labor conditions of women, youths and children: When it is understood that this law authorizes the employment of children of 12 years in factories; when it is seen that little children toil through long work days in certain industries; when it is known that the law does not touch domestic labor, the worst of all, one can but conclude that such protection is illusory, especially since we have no law limiting the hours of labor of adults."

And so on, with all laws whose enforcement would interfere with the interests of the master class. Such laws are all "dead letters," according to that Socialist Report.

The history of the United States is conclusive on this point. In 1866 a labor organization known as the National Labor Union was founded in Baltimore, Maryland. Within two years it had gained a membership of 640,000, and had given a powerful impulse to the agitation for an eight hour day. Largely due to this economic movement, Congress in 1869 passed a law granting an eight hour work day to certain divisions of government employes. Prof. Richard T. Ely, in his work, "The Labor Movement in America," published in 1886, says that the National Labor Union only lived about three years, dying of the "disease known as politics," and that the eight hour law of Congress remained a dead letter on the statute books. Less than two months ago, the Associated Press reported an interview between Samuel Gompers and President Taft, in which, among other requests made to the Chief Executive by Gompers was that of a "more strict enforcement of the eight hour law for government employes."

Prof. Ely concludes from the facts at his command in 1886 that an eight hour day will only be obtained by a "general refusal to work more than eight hours" on the part of the American working class.

The experience of Colorado in the eight hour movement is another case in point. For more than ten years,

from 1894 to 1905, a "civil war," very little "dissembled," was carried on between the miners of the Western Federation and their exploiters, of the Mine Owners' Association. During that period Colorado, in a technical sense, separated herself from the Federal Union, by openly setting aside the fumdamental law of the land in the interests of the mine owners.

In 1898 an eight hour bill passed the legislature of Colorado, providing that eight hours only should be a legal workday for all underground workers. This law was to go into effect in 1899. It was taken to the Colorado Supreme Court, which pronounced the law unconstitutional. The legislature then initiated a referendum for an amendment to the State Constitution that should authorize or rather instruct the legislature to pass an eight hour bill in accordance with the provisions of the amendment, if carried. The election of 1902 resulted in a majority of 46,000 votes in favor of the proposed amendment. The session of the Colorado legislature which followed that election, resulted in a "dead lock" between the Senate and House on two different eight hour bills, and the legislature adjourned without having complied with the "will of the people."

Meanwhile the movement on the economic field, conducted by the W. F. of M., was threatening to bring about a universal eight hour day for men in the mines, mills and smelters, without the aid of the legislature and in spite of the opposition of the executive of the Colorado state government. The "civil war" ended for the time being with the "Cripple Creek campaign" of 1903-1904, which resulted in the miners' being defeated and in seriously crippling the Western Federation in Colorado.

Finally, the legislature of 1904-5 passed an eight hour bill which became a law the same year (1905). This law, even if enforced, leaves conditions as bad if not worse for the miners than before it was passed, because it is construed to provide for eight hours' actual work underground, which does not include time required to go

to and return from work. Furthermore, in those sections where the workers have no union strong enough to protect them, as in the coal mining districts, the Colorado eight hour law is a dead letter.

The limitations of this lecture forbid me to go into further details of this question of "labor legislation," although the material on the subject from all capitalist countries is rich and suggestive. That material and the facts already brought out point to the conclusion:

First, that "labor legislation," in the last analysis, is but an echo of the economic movement of the workers, exerting pressure through their unions upon the capitalists and the capitalists' government.

Second, that such "labor legislation" is a hollow mockery where the workers are unorganized or insufficiently organized to protect themselves directly in the industries, and

Finally, that all so-called "immediate demands" of the workers, such as the eight hour work day, employers' liability, limitation of child labor, protection of machinery, etc., can be obtained and made effective only through the action of a united and powerful movement of the working class on the industrial field.

The law-making, law-interpreting, and law-enforcing departments of government are but committees to safeguard the economic interests of the ruling capitalist class. To expect such committees to make and enforce laws in the interests of labor, so long as the working class remains unorganized or divided in the shop, is to expect the impossible. In that case, the "pressure from without," as Marx puts it, is wanting: and history shows conclusively that the ruling class will not relinquish one iota of its power until forced to. In the words of the historian, Ridpath, "The iron jaws of privilege never relax until they are broken."

MINOR "REFORMS."

Passing over such "steps toward socialism" as

"public parks," "municipal playgrounds for children," "old age pensions," "insurance against unemployment," etc., some of which might be good in themselves, but are subject for the most part to the same strictures as so-called "labor laws," I come to the final phase of the argument, which hinges on the question raised by the Saturday Evening Post, and touched upon in the replies of the "ten leading socialists." That question is:

HOW IS THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH TO BE BROUGHT ABOUT?

The Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World declares that "it is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." That to this end, "the army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown." That, furthermore, "by organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The first question that naturally suggests itself in connection with this proposition is, "What, in its fundamentals, constitutes capitalism or capitalist society?"

Capitalism is a state of society based upon territorial and property relationships that have become international in their scope. The territorial unit is known as the nation, which is usually subdivided into states, counties, townships and municipalities, and which maintains international relations with other nations of similar territorial formation. The nation embraces the whole body of people within its boundaries, divided into "citizens and non-citizens." The citizens are those who, by birth or naturalization have been admitted to membership in a given territorial organization embracing the nation.

Theoretically, all citizens are assumed to be on an equality as far as "rights," "duties," and "privileges" of citizenship are concerned. Out of this territorial formation, inherited from the past, a complicated system

of government has grown up, ostensibly designed to administer equitably the affairs of the people within the given territory. The machinery of that government consists of the legislative (or law making), the judicial (or law interpreting), and the executive(or law enforcing) departments. Theoretically, again, the government is supposed to be of, by and for the whole people. That theory might hold good on the basis of territorial relations alone.

But property relations in capitalist society inevitably enter into the situation, resulting in a modification of the "purposes of government," and in an entirely different division of the people. That division is not territorial; it is **economic.** A part of the people become distinguished from the rest by reason of the fact that that part own and control the land and the machinery of wealth production. But "labor creates all wealth." Consequently that division of the people who possess nothing but their labor power are compelled to sell that labor power to the owning class in order to get access to the means of life. Thus capitalist society becomes divided into economic classes—the capitalist and the working class.

The capitalist class buys the use of the social labor power of the working class, and in the process of wealth production extracts a surplus value from the product of labor. That is to say, the workers on an average produce not only the equivalent of their wages, but also the value of the raw materials, the value of the wear and tear of machinery, and surplus value besides, which accumulates in the hands of the capitalist class in ever greater volume as the system develops. The result of this process is that the capitalist class becomes relatively more powerful in an economic sense, while the working class becomes relatively more dependent, as the system develops. So that economic relationships become more pronounced, and territorial relationships less significant, as capitalism proceeds in its evolution. The "government," supposedly of, by and for all the people, becomes more and more

adapted to serve the interests of the ruling class, and finally becomes merely a committee to protect the economic power of the masters and help keep in subjection the working class.

The antagonism between the two divisions of the people takes the form of a class struggle, in which the capitalist class seeks to subjugate the working class, and thereby to get more and more of the product of labor, while at the same time the workers endeavor to keep more and more for themselves in the form of higher wages, a shorter work day and better conditions generally.

The class struggle is fought out primarily in the workshops—on the industrial field. There, the capitalist class, in obedience to its economic interests, seeks to control the social labor power of the working class; there, the working class disputes that control with the capitalist. Hence we have strikes, lockouts, and other manifestations of the class conflict.

It is on the industrial field that the unity of the classes first takes shape, and it is a well known historical fact that all so-called political movements of capitalism grow out of the economic movements of the classes. The possession of economic power is a pre-requisite to the possession of political power; for political power, as defined by Marx, "is but the organized power of one class to oppress another class."

The capitalist class controls the legislative, judicial and executive departments of the national government today because it controls the social labor power of the workers in industry. Let the workers organize as a class on the industrial field, and the political as well as the economic power of the capitalist is at an end. Not before, nor otherwise.

Now the Preamble of the I. W. W. says "it is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism." It does not, like Debs, paraphrase Taft with his "God knows!" and say that "no one on earth

knows how it is to be done''; nor does it, like Berger and other ''leading socialists'' propose to ''buy out the capitalists'' or ''confiscate their property by taxation,'' or compete with them by means of ''co-operatives,'' or depend upon illusive ''labor legislation'' as ''steps towards socialism.''

In clear and unmistakable language, the I. W. W. Preamble points out the logical and necessary process by which the workers are to pave the way to, and finally arrive at, the goal of the Industrial Commonwealth:

THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION.

''The army of production must be organized.''

What is the army of production?

Does it consist of the workers in a given territory, such as the state of Illinois, the county of Cook, the municipality of Chicago?

The army of production consists of the entire working class, grouped according to the forms and conditions of capitalist industry. It embraces, for example, the miners, not as an independent entity, but as an integral part of the whole body of the working class. Mining cannot be carried on by itself. Mining requires machinery and timber. So the miners are dependent upon and related industrially to steel, metal and machinery, and lumber workers. Miners must be fed: they cannot live upon muck, or ore, or coal. They are dependent for food upon the producers of food stuffs in agriculture and manufacturing. Miners must be clothed; and are thus compelled to look to the textile workers and to those of kindred industries. Miners must be sheltered; and the lumber and building workers supply that necessity. The products of the mines have to be transported; and so the transportation workers on land and sea play their part in the process.

That process of wealth production today is a **social process**—international and world-wide in its scope.

The army of production must be organized, then,

not as independent divisions of miners, of lumber workers, of builders, and of others; but as a whole, with all parts related and inter-related one with another.

It must be organized "for the every-day struggle with the capitalists," that is, for contests of power over wages, hours of labor, and shop conditions. Active resistance and aggression develop power; and so the every-day struggle in the shops is essential to the process of uniting and drilling the working class.

The army of production must be organized to "overthrow capitalism." not by "buying out the capitalists" or "taxing" them to death, or voting or shooting them out of existence; but by replacing the capitalist system of class owned and controlled industry by the organic structure of Industrial Democracy—that is, by the socially owned and socially controlled system of industry.

That transformation cannot be achieved by politicians, whether "socialist" or any other kind, who may be placed in control of the governmental machinery of the capitalist political state. That transformation from Capitalism to the Co-operative Commonwealth can be brought about only by "forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," that is, by building up the organized form of the Industrial Commonwealth within the framework of capitalist society.

There is no other way; and those who imagine that the capitalist class will peaceably or otherwise surrender the industries to an unorganized working class, are hugging a dangerous delusion.

On the other hand, that the capitalist class will refuse to surrender them to an industrially organized working class, is inconceivable, whether or not at the same time the working class is in possession of the governmental machinery of the capitalist state.

CONCLUSION

On the above principle hinges the vital difference be-

tween the so-called "practical socialism" of the "political opportunists" and the genuinely **revolutionary tactics** of the Industrial Workers. The revolutionary industrial unionist may be "impractical" in the eyes of professors and other "intellectuals" among socialists, who are safely removed from the arena of the class struggle in the shops. He may be impractical in their eyes because he refuses to chase will-o'-the-wisps through the mazes of "political opportunism" that can only result in landing him and his class in the swamp of reaction.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary industrial unionist sees clearly that his tactics are historically sound and practically efficient in the long run, no matter how difficult may be the pioneer work.

And he has no illusions as to the difficulties in the way of building up the industrial union movement. He knows that oftentimes his activity means for him the blacklist; it means the long weary tramp for a job; it means misery, self denial, the prison, the policeman's club, the soldier's bullet—for many of his kind.

But again, let me repeat: there is no other way. And no matter how painful the process may be, it is but a continuation of what has gone before—of the age-long struggle that can end only with the triumph of the working class "organized to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown."

SYNDICALISM AND SOCIALISM

(From "Solidarity," April 27, 1912.)

Just now the Socialist Party journals of the United States are waging a most persistent campaign of confusion on the subject of "syndicalism." Giving these socialist writers the benefit of the doubt we conclude that the confusion is the subjective result of their parliamentary and vote-catching vision rather than the result of their deliberate purpose to confuse working class readers. In either event their conclusions are highly amusing.

The latest effusion along this line is by Shaw Desmond, "British correspondent of the Coming Nation," and bears the title, "Socialism vs. Syndicalism." In announcing the article, Editor Simons says it "gives for the first time a full and fair discussion of syndicalism and its relation to socialism." Mr. Desmond, in common with Ramsay McDonald and nearly all other socialist writers on the subject, bases his argument upon a weapon or war method of syndicalism rather than upon the economic organization itself. The following quotations from Desmond's article will help to make the point clear:

"The syndicalist talks strike in season and out of season---advocates sabotage, welcomes conflicts with the armed forces of the law, eschews the ballot box and goes all out for the bullet." . . . "Between syndicalism and socialism there can be no final agreement. To teach the workers that their sole line of advance is by the strike is bad teaching---the ballot box can do more than the bullet---to use the latter is to play into the hands of the enemy who are better equipped and better armed. When socialism and syndicalism have settled their account with capitalism, they will then have to settle matters between themselves unless, as seems probable, it will be recognized by the proletarians of the world that the dual weapon of strike and ballot box is infinitely more effective than the use of either alone."

Some of our readers will no doubt be cruel enough to conclude from the above that Mr. Desmond is simply playing the Coming Nation's readers for a lot of innocent suckers. We shall decline to accept that conclusion, but prefer rather to assume that Desmond is a victim of that peculiar obsession that logically goes with the "parliamentary socialist who is a firm believer in federated trades unionism" (the kind of unionism in this country at least and apparently in England too, that offers no menace to parliamentary jugglers). In other words, he is unable to distinguish syndicalist ORGANIZATION from some of its active manifestations.

In order to make Desmond's logic clear, let us put HIS shoe on the other foot---the foot of the pure and simple ballot boxer: The ballot boxer talks vote in and out of season; advocates labor laws, government ownership, and other equally futile propositions, abhors possible conflicts with the armed forces of the law, eschews the strike, sabotage and other industrial weapons, and goes all out for the ballot box. Therefore, he concludes, spontaneous ballot box action alone will emancipate the working class and bring about socialism. No need whatsoever for political organization to take charge of the situation after the votes are counted. No need at all for previous preparation through organization; just votes alone will suffice. The obverse of this childish simplicity is Desmond's idea of syndicalism.

It may be there are some syndicalists who hold to the creed of "spontaneous working class action through strikes," etc., alone, without regard to industrial organization, just as there are unquestionably a still larger proportion of pure and simple ballot boxers who have faith in the revolutionary magic of mere "votes for socialism" regardless of any organization behind them. But such is not the case with syndicalists in general. When Durand, secretary of the Coal Heavers' Union of Havre, France, was sentenced to death about a year ago, the C. G. T. of that country threatened a general strike in all industries if their fellow worker was not released. Now, the masters and their government lackeys needed not and would not have been alarmed over that threat alone. They had means of gathering information to determine whether or not the organization of labor in France was sufficiently powerful and equipped to make good that threat. The masters decided that such was the case, and Durand was saved from the

guillotine and later, under pressure of the same threat, was released from custody altogether. It was the ORGANIZED C. G. T., with power to stop the flow of profits by paralyzing industry, that saved Durand's neck from the knife. Far from pinning their faith to the strike alone, the French syndicalists have been steadily perfecting their organization through all the years, until today the C. G. T. is justly regarded as a menace to the industrial and political masters of France.

Desmond says the syndicalist "goes all out for the bullet." Where did he get that? What syndicalist literature has Desmond discovered where its author advocates "going all out for the bullet?" Where has he seen such "exclusively bullet" tactics made use of by syndicalists? Surely not in France or Italy, or even in miserably oppressed Spain, which some German and English and American "intellectuals" are in the habit of referring to as the "rawer" countries, possibly because these Latin workers resent oppression more quickly and violently than do the "civilized planers" of the North? In all these Latin countries, however, the syndicalists have shown that they are essentially peaceful, orderly and long suffering; and only under great provocation have any number of them resorted to retaliation in kind against their brutal masters. Here again the syndicalist's instinct for organization—One Big Union and the responsibility of each member thereto—has asserted itself over mere "mob" action. Mr. Desmond should pursue this phenomenon a little farther. He might, from the mists of his mountain view, discover a fact, namely, that syndicalists are the greatest sticklers for organization in the world; that while they may believe in and practice local autonomy and freedom of action of the individual units, in order to vitalize the capillaries as well as the arteries of the economic organism—they also believe in and practice an ever broader unity and solidarity of their one big union in order to generalize their struggles and enable the workers to meet the capitalists at one and the same time and at all points of the compass.

Mr. Desmond may also discover, if he pursues his investigations far enough, that this syndicalist process denotes the logical evolution of the new social system—from below—out of the depths—building upon the firm foundation of working class initiative and constructive genius, and leaving behind the old spirit of dependence upon "authority" and the "saving grace" of outside classes. In other words, it denotes the practical fruits of working class awakening, of working class consciousness, of working class action—terms which have been bandied about the lips of socialists for more than half a century.

If socialists are now ready to abandon the fundamentals of their own philosophy and as Desmond suggests, become "the policemen of the syndicalists," so much the worse for such socialists. SYNDICALISM CANNOT BE POLICED. It will force recognition against a conspiracy of silence; it will thrive and wax fatter under persecution and misrepresentation. Its all-conquering program may be summed up in one sentence: Individual, local, national, and international working class initiative, unity and solidarity, in order to take and hold the world and all therein for the workers. Let the capitalists and their socialist "intellectual" allies beat it if they can.

B. H. W.

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU

Printers and Publishers of Industrial Union Literature.
Read the following:

PAMPHLETS

"The I. W. W.; Its History, Structure and Methods." By Vincent St. John. Price 10 cents.

"Why Strikes Are Lost; How to Win." By Wm. E. Trautmann. Price 5 cents.

"The Farm Laborer and the City Worker." By Edward McDonald. Price 5 cents.

"Eleven Blind Leaders; or Practical Socialism and Revolutionary Tactics." By B. H. Williams. Price 10c.

"Patriotism and the Worker." By Gustave Herve. Price 10 cents.

LEAFLETS

"Political Parties and the I. W. W." By Vincent St. John.

"Getting Recognition." By A. M. Stirton.

"Two Kinds of Unionism." By Edward Hammond.

"Appeal to Wage Workers, Men and Women." By E. S. Nelson.

"Union Scabs and Others." By Oscar Ameringer.

"War and the Workers." By Walker C. Smith.

"Why the A. F. of L. Cannot Become an Industrial Union." By Vincent St. John.

Each of above leaflets, 15 cents per hundred;
$1.25 per thousand.

Address all orders to

I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU,

P. O. Box 622, - - - - New Castle, Pa.

READ THE

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Published Every Week in Spokane, Wash.

Fearless and Uncompromising

Breathes the Spirit of the Great West

$1.00 PER YEAR

Canada and Foreign, $1.50 per Year

Address

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Post Office Box 2129, Spokane, Washington

FOR INFORMATION

Pertaining to Industrial Unionism and the I. W. W.,

such as

HOW TO ORGANIZE LOCAL UNIONS

Of the Industrial Workers of the World

For Constitution, By-laws, Literature, etc., write to

GEN. SECRETARY I. W. W.

Room 518, 160 N. 5th Ave., - Chicago, Ill.

Order Now

"THE I. W. W. HISTORY, STRUCTURE AND METHODS"

By VINCENT ST. JOHN

10 Cents per Copy $5.00 per Hundred

Address

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau,

P. O. Box 622, New Castle, Pa.

SUBSCRIBE FOR

SOLIDARITY

EASTERN ORGAN OF THE I. W. W.

A Revolutionary Weekly
Advocate of One Big Union
International In Scope

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION:

United States: - - - - - - - - - - $1.00
Canada and Foreign; - - - - - - - - 1.50

Address

SOLIDARITY

P. O. Drawer 622, - - - - New Castle, Pa

THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE CRIME OF BLOODY SUNDAY

WHAT HAPPENED BEFORE THE EVERETT MASSACRE

A review of the activities in Everett prior to the events of Bloody Sunday, Nov. 5, will serve to give a better understanding of that tragedy.

On the First of May, 1916, the Shingle Weavers' Union called a strike in the Pacific Northwest and by August the strike had been won or called off in practically every place but Everett. In that city the Jameson Mill was the bitterest foe of unionism, and before the mill gates the union maintained twenty pickets.

On Saturday, Aug. 19, the Everett police searched every picket to make sure that they were unarmed; and when that fact was determined, the Jameson Mill owners turned loose their entire bunch of thugs and scabs upon the defenseless men. The pickets were unmercifully beaten.

That night there was another clash between the pickets and the scabs, who were aided by the police. In the melee, one union man was shot in the leg.

No attempt had been made by the city to stop I. W. W. speakers from speaking on the streets until after the Shingle Weavers' strike had been on for some time. James P. Thompson had spoken in Everett several times during the winter and spring of 1916.

James Rowan was arrested on, or about, August 2nd, on a trumped-up charge of selling literature without a license. He was given 30 days, with the choice of leaving town. He chose to leave town. He was not told how long he was to remain away from town and he afterwards came back. This was the first attempt on the part of the authorities to suppress Free Speech. They were not so boldly ruthless at first; they used the absurd pretext of charging absence of a license when selling literature.

On August 19, the I. W. W. opened a headquarters at 1219½ Hewitt Avenue, but made no attempt to hold street meetings. A large number of workers in Everett were very desirous of hearing James P. Thompson speak and therefore asked the Seattle locals to arrange a meeting for him in Everett. The date was accordingly set for August 22nd, and the meeting was to be held at the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues, the usual place for street meetings. On Monday, Aug. 21, the police notified L. Remick, who was in charge of the hall, to close up the place or he would be arrested on charge of vagrancy. Remick closed the hall up and came to Seattle on Tuesday morning. The members of the Seattle locals felt that there would be no interference with the Thompson meeting and decided to go ahead with it.

On Tuesday night as scheduled the meeting took place. Thomp-

son was arrested after speaking about 20 minutes. Fifteen police officers were present and in turn they arrested James Rowan and Edith Frenette as they attempted to speak, and after stopping several local speakers the police surrounded 14 other I. W. W. members and marched them off to jail. A delegation of about 800 citizens marched to the jail and expressed their indignation at the high-handed actions of the police. The prisoners, with the exception of Rowan and Beck, were deported to Seattle without any legal process having been taken. Rowan and Beck were released later and they remained in Everett. During the balance of the week street meetings were held and there was no trouble of any kind.

The orderly work of the I. W. W. continued with no disturbances of any kind until on Thursday Sept. 7, when six more I. W. W.s were arrested. Edith Frenette was released, but the others were given 30 days each on a charge of vagrancy. On Friday Fred Reed was arrested and given 6 months.

On Saturday, Sept. 9th, Sheriff McRae, backed by some of his vigilante committee which had been secretly organized, left Everett in a launch to meet the launch "Wonder," which had been chartered by members of the I. W. W. for the purpose of going to Everett. A volley of shots was fired at the "Wonder," and its captain and 20 members of the I. W. W. were arrested. The men were unarmed, as had been the case in all previous arrests. After the I. W. W. men had been placed in the jail they were severely beaten. The I. W. W. hall was unlawfully invaded and the secretary, Dan Emett, and all members present were arrested. All these men were denied the jury trials they demanded and were given from 30 days to 6 months.

Instead of being allowed to serve out their sentences the prisoners were turned over to the vigilante mob, sometimes on the jail steps and even inside of the jail. The men were then brutally beaten and deported.

On the Monday night following these outrages further attempts were made to speak upon the streets. Harry Feinberg spoke first to about 1000 people. His signed statement of what happened is in part as follows:

"Three companies of deputies and vigilantes, about one hundred and fifty thugs in all, marched down the street and divided into three companies. One of the deputies came up and told me he wanted me and grabbed me off the box.

"They took me up to jail, took my description, my money and valuables, which were not returned. By that time Fellow Worker Roberts was brought in. A drunken deputy came in and grabbed me by the coat and dragged me out of jail with the evident permission of the officers. The vigilantes proceeded to beat me up on the jail steps. There were anyway fifty vigilantes waiting outside and all of them crowded to get a chance to hit me. They gave me

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY

a chance to get away finally and shot after me, or in the air, I could not tell which, but I was not hit by any of the bullets."

James Rowan was again arrested without warrant, searched and thrown in jail, after which Sheriff McRae and a deputy took him to a lonely spot out of town and released him. Almost immediately following his release Rowan was set upon by a gang of masked and armed men and was beaten with gun butts and clubs after having been stripped of his clothes. (Many saw both Feinberg and Rowan on the day following this trouble and can testify to the fact that both men had been brutally handled. The cuts and bruises on Rowan's head and back were especially severe.)

The statement of W. Roberts is as follows:

"I took the box after Fellow Worker Feinberg had been arrested. The crowd were extreme in their hostility to the lawlessness of the officers. I told them to keep cool, that the I. W. W. would handle the situation, in their own time and way. They arrested me, and, right there, they clubbed me on the head. They brought me to the jail, where Feinberg was at the desk. They took me out of the jail and threw me into the bunch of vigilantes with clubs. They started beating me around the body. One of them said: 'Do anything, but don't kill him!'

"Finally one of them hit me on the head and I came out of it and as I was getting away they shot in the air. A bunch of them then jumped into an automobile, came after me and again clubbed me. One of them knocked me out for ten minutes, according to one of the women who were watching.

"While we were in the jail, two men we did not know were brought into the jail with their heads cut open. The vigilantes were clubbing women right and left and a young girl, about eight years of age, had her head cut open by one of Sheriff MacRae's Commercial Club tools."

Quiet again reigned in Everett following these brutalities. A few citizens were manhandled for too openly expressing their opinion of mob methods and several wearers of overalls were searched and deported, but the effects of bootlegged whiskey seemed to have left the vigilantes.

On Wednesday, Sept. 20, a committee of 2000 citizens met at the Labor Temple and arranged for a mass meeting to be held in the public park on the following Friday. The meeting brought forth between ten and fifteen thousand citizens, who listened to speakers representing the I. W. W., Socialists, trades unions and citizens generally. Testimony was given by some of the citizens who had been clubbed by the vigilantes. Recognizing the hostile public opinion, Sheriff McRae promised that the office of the I. W. W. would not again be molested but as he had lied before he was not believed.

On Tuesday, Sept. 26, despite his promise, McRae and a bunch of vigilantes entered the I. W. W. hall and seized Earl Osborn who was temporarily in charge. No warrant was issued and instead of taking Osborn to jail, McRae placed him in an automobile and after driving six miles out of town started him toward Seattle on foot.

On Sunday Osborn again entered Everett in company with James P. Thompson, Mrs. Thompson and Geo. Bradley, and after speaking to an enthusiastic audience of 1,200 people the little party returned to Seattle.

From this time until Oct. 30 no vigilante violence was noted, but scores of workers passing through Everett were held up and searched and, after illegally being held over night in jail, were deported from the city. Those who had money were forced to pay their own fare.

Then on October 30 occurred an outrage greater than all the preceding ones—an outrage exceeded only by the wanton murder of the I. W. W. men on the steamer Verona. Forty-one I. W. W. men, entirely unarmed and accused of no crime, were taken from a boat on which they were passengers and at the point of guns were searched and abused by a mob of deputized drunks. They were then thrown into automobiles and with armed guards, who outnumbered them five to one, were taken to Beverly Park, a lonely country spot, where they were forced to run the gauntlet of the vigilantes who rained blows upon their unprotected heads and bodies with saps, clubs, pick-handles and other weapons. In this mob of 200 fiends were lawyers, doctors, business men, members of the chamber of commerce, "patriotic" militiamen, ignorant university students, deputies and Sheriff McRae. As a result of the peaceful attempt to assert a constitutional right, forty-one members of the I. W. W. were sent to Seattle hospitals, with injuries ranging from bruises to internal injuries and broken shoulders. To these dastardly actions, as to all others in the past, the I. W. W. did not respond with a single act of retaliative violence on the persons of those who were responsible.

The answer of the I. W. W. to this damnable act of violence and to the four months of terrorism that had preceded it was a call issued through the Industrial Worker for men to enter Everett, there to gain by sheer publicity that right of free speech and peaceable assemblage supposed to have been guaranteed them by the constitution of the United States. Then came the tragedy on the steamer Verona on Sunday, November 5, the latest outbreak of employers' mob-violence, as a result of which five workers are dead and over a hundred in jail.

Workers! Remember Everett's Bloody Sunday! Remember your fellow-workers in jail! Rally to their aid! They depend upon you!

EVERETT PRISONERS' DEFENSE COMMITTEE,

Sec'y-Treas., Herbert Mahler, Box 1878, Seattle, Wash.

Evidence

and

Cross-Examination

of

J. T. (RED) DORAN

in the case of the

U. S. A.

vs.

Wm. D. Haywood

et al.

PRICE 15 CENTS

394

PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

LIBRARY CHICAGO

Evidence

and

Cross-Examination

of

J. T. (RED) DORAN

in the case of the

U. S. A.

vs.

Wm. D. Haywood

et al.

394

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

June 28th, 1918
10 o'clock A. M.

JOHN T. DORAN

one of the defendants, called as a witness in his own behalf, having been first duly sworn, testified as follows:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY Mr. Christensen:

Q.—What is your name?
A.—John T. Doran.
Q.—Where were you born, Mr. Doran?
A.—New York City.
Q.—Speak a little louder, will you?
A.—New York City.
Q.—New York City; how old are you?
A.—Thirty-eight.
Q.—Thirty-eight. You are a member of the Industrial Workers of the World?
A.—Yes, sir.
Q.—How long did you remain in New York City after birth?
A.—All through my childhood and young manhood, young boyhood.
Q.—Received your education there?
A.—New York City.
Q.—How old were you when you went to work?
A.—Why, I went to work on my own initiative at the age of about sixteen.
Q.—When did you first affiliate with any labor organization?
A.—I was about seventeen, a little older, a few months older, perhaps.
Q.—What organization did you affiliate with?
A.—The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, of A. F. of L.
Q.—How long did you continue to be a member of that organization?

A.—Why, I was in good standing I believe when I was arrested on this charge.

Q.—You have been a member of that organization for about nineteen years?

A.—All of that.

Q.—When did you come into the Industrial Workers of the World?

A.—As soon as I discovered they were in existence, about a year after they were formed, 1906 or perhaps the early part of 1907. I joined a Propaganda League.

Q.—What was the reason for your going into the Industrial Workers of the World at that time?

A.—Well, I had been around the country a good deal at my trade, and I found that conditions on the jobs were so poor that something was necessary, and I found that the organization with which I was affiliated did not properly protect me, was unable to protect me, and for that reason, after becoming acquainted with the philosophy of the Industrial Workers, I accepted it as a practical program and became a member.

Q.—Now during your membership, have you spoken for the organization?

A.—For the last seven years, I have been especially active for the organization, that is, speaking for them.

Q.—Did you speak for them during the summer of 1917?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Up to the summer of 1917 you were a paid lecturer or simply volunteered your services?

A.—Up until the fall of 1916 I received practically nothing from the organization. I do not suppose I received in the form of compensation up till 1916, in October, $25, tho I always put in considerable more money than that; I was active all the time.

Q.—And you contributed to the organization?

A.—I used to work every day and go out on the

soap box at night if the weather permitted, and if I worked steady, got in a full week's pay, my wife and I agreed that we could afford to pay one day's wages to further the move, and that was the policy we followed up to the fall of 1916.

Q.—Now where were you in the summer of—you worked at your trade all the time, did you?

A.—Yes, I worked at my trade. Sometimes I had to work at anything that I could find; the stool pigeons used to keep me on the jump at times.

Q.—Well, you mean that you had to seek different positions right along because of your activity in your organization?

A.—Activity in the A. F. of L. organization and activity in this organization, caused me to constantly be discriminated against, and it was one continuous round of box cars and knocking about, in order to keep myself and my family.

Q.—You are a married man?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How long have you been married, Mr. Doran?

A.—Thirteen years, I believe, this year.

Q.—You were married since you became a member of this organization?

A.—No, thirteen years I have been married.

Q.—Where were you married?

A.—I was married in New York City, in St. Jerome's Roman Catholic Church, by Rev. Father Meckla.

Q.—Now were you in Index last summer?

A.—I was.

Q.—Were you working there?

A.—I worked in the blacksmith shop of the Index & Galena Lumber Company last summer.

Q.—When did you quit work?

A.—When the strike came on, which was, as near as I recollect, about the 17th or 19th of July; I am not quite sure of the date.

Q.—Did you go out and speak for the organization there?

A.—When we went on strike; the boys elected me as one of the strike committe in Index, and the day following that or perhaps the second day following the walk-out and my election as one of the local strike committee, and at the request of the Everett bunch, I went to Everett; then to Seattle and made two or three trips back to Index in the course of the next ten days or so, and then went on about the country speaking.

Q.—You mean by "about the country" in the northwest, in the region—

A.—The lumber struck district.

Q.—I see. And you delivered speeches then, about how many speeches did you deliver?

A.—I haven't any idea as to the number. They used to keep me busy, sometimes two meetings a day, sometimes three, and growled that I did not make four.

Q.—Well, did you make the camps?

A.—I made the communities in which the companies centered their business activities, and consequently centered the activities of the workers. I did not go very often right into the bunk houses, in some of these camps.

Q.—Now did you observe conditions in your travel about the northwest in the lumber camps?

A.—I certainly did.

Q.—Now prior to July, 1917, when the strike was called, had you gotten around that territory also?

A.—Yes, sir, been over the same district practically before there was any strike, in the fall of 1916 and the early part of 1917.

Q.—Now how many camps would you say you made during this period, immediately prior to the strike, during 1916 and the fall of 1917?

A.—Well, I made practically—

MR. NEBEKER: Just a minute, what do you mean, 1916 and the fall of 1917?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: The spring of 1917, pardon me.

A.—I made practically all the larger camp communities; for instance, I made Monroe, I made Aberdeen, Hoquiam, Tacoma, Seattle, Everett, and all those places.

Q.—Describe the conditions that you found prevailing, typical of those camps you found?

MR. NEBEKER: I object as a conclusion. Let him state what his observations were and what he saw, but not give his conclusion as to whether they were typical.

A.—Well, I found that camps as a general construction camps, were pretty much the same sort of unsanitary, abominable places in which the men thing, whether they were strictly lumber camps or were forced to live. Many times there was not any hay, much less mattresses; usually a box shaped affair that a man if he had blankets could throw them in there and sleep, and if he had no blankets he could do the best thing he could. The grub usually was not—well, if was mighty poor, to say the least. Of course conditions varied in different places. As the men had some semblance of an organization, some semblance of economic power, they forced, or conditions were better than where they had not any organization and had not any organized economic power, but on the whole sanitary conditions were poor, little or no provision made for bathing, and dirty, filthy, animal life in abundance; animal life, you had to pack with you, if you visited one of these camps, you took some of it away with you usually, in spite of everything you could do.

That, as a general condition, was what my experience has been, not only in lumber camps, but in all those camps.

Q.—How long did the men work?

A.—Some of them could stand it for months, sometimess it was so rotten they could only stay a short while; they were short stake men.

Q.—What was the period of workday, how many hours?

A.—Ten and twelve; understand, they would say ten hours lots of places, ten hours a day. That meant ten hours on the job. The job might be a mile or a mile and a half away, over a trail very often, and the actual time put in from the bunk house in the morning to the time you returned to the bunk house was very much more like twelve.

Q.—Now, when you went after the strike was called to make your talk , what subject did you talk on?

A.—Well, used what I am pleased to call a subject, a chart, and I delivered what I call a chart talk, using crude illustrations—a blackboard and a piece of chalk. I have been using that for about four years—about four years. I found that the average slave with little or no imagination—

MR. NEBEKER: This is not responsive. I object. Just wait until he gets to making his chalk-talk.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: What was the subject—industrial conditions?

A.—Yes, sir, I adopted a title, after I had heard it given by some one else, Professor McMann of the University of Washington State.

MR. NEBEKER: This is objected to as heresay.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, what title did you give it?

A.—"Exposition of Political Economy."

Q.—Now, your talk there, did you make any study of industrial conditions and economics and statistics as a basis for the talks that you made?

A.—Absolutely; my own experiences as a worker, and everything I could find that I considered authentic and reliable, such as Industrial Relations Report, or Government documents. Any time I said anything I tried to be as nearly correct in my statements as it was possible for me to be, and I relied upon reports and literature that I considered authorative.

Q.—The talk that you gave, was that substantially the same at the various places where you—

A.—Always the same; that is, I did not recite it poll-parrot fashion, but the substance did not vary.

Q.—Now, were you ever requested by any local to make a tour of the country and deliver this talk?

A.—Several times the organization—that is, local organizations have requested that I be routed throughout the United States. With the exception of one time in Seattle, last year, in the month of April and I never considered it because of the fact that I could not live on what the organization was able to pay and keep my family, so I never undertook it, excepting in last April, 1917, when Local 382 voted for me to go on the road with the chart at that time I agreed to go. The strike came on the plans were not carried out.

Q.—Well, what salary did you draw when you went on the road and made these talks?

A.—I got $18 and paid my own expenses, and borrowed enough to live on from my friends, usually.

Q.—Now, Mr. Doran, tell us in substance the talk you made in traveling around the country? This is the talk you made during the summer of 1917 subsequent to the strike.

A.—Yes. I always used notes, that is, notes in this way, I would take, in order to carry out a continuity of thought, to remind myself as I would go on, I always used notes. Is it permissible to use them here?

Q.—Well, if it covers the things that you talked about.

A.—Absolutely the same as I used every meeting.

"Now, Fellow-Workers, you have heard a good deal about the I. W. W.," this is as I gave it, that is the idea.

Q.—Exactly.

A.—You have heard a good deal about the I. W. W. and you know what people say about us. You know that the newspapers generally credit us with

being a lot of murderers, a lot of irresponsible, dynamiters and so forth.

I am an I. W. W. I am an I. W. W. for a reason, just the same as hundreds of thousands of other working men have become I. W. W.'s, and it is because of the fact that your position and mine as workers, our interests are in common—it is because of the fact that I am interested in having you understand really what the I. W. W. is. I want to talk to workingmen, for workingmen.

Now then I come out here tonight to talk to you on industrial unionism, as one worker to another, not intending to give you a whole hatful or headful of economic language, but to talk to you as I talk to you on the job, to talk to you as I talk to you in the jungles, and on the box car, to talk to you and reason to you just as we reason in these contemptible bunkhouses or wherever we may be.

Now, then, the I .W. W. does not ask you as working men to do a single solitary thing that you do not already do. We do not involve in our propaganda any new morals, if it is a question of morality with you. We ask you to do in the interest of humanity, in the interest of yourself and your wife and your babies, just what you now do in the interest of these excess profits of the Masters, and it is because that is true and because you have already justified the moral of things that the I. W. W. advocate, that I am going to draw pictures for you. I am going to prove to you that you do believe the stuff. I am going to prove to you that you do practice these things, but that you do it—you do it for your own misery on the one hand, and the excess luxury on the other of the masters.

Now, then, in order to make clear to you the situation, I briefly want to outline, is this: We are living under a system that we call "capitalism" and you and I know what it means to you and I; you and I know what it means to millions of our kind. You and I know what this poverty and suffering and deg-

regation and crime means, because we see it; we experience it; we feel it. That is the product of capitalism; all that you see about you, your penitentaries, your poor houses, your pestilence, everything—is the product of capitalism.

This is a matter of fact, it is axiomatic, if you will: Things as they are represent the amount of intelligence exercised by the mass in their own behalf. When you know what you go through, and what I go through, I think it fair to say that we have not exercised a whole lot of intelligence, at least those of you who have remained outside the I. W. W. I am doing the best I can. I am an I. W. W.

Now, then, we I. W. W.'s suggest something. We suggest doing away with capitalism. Why? Because we find it objectionable. We suggest tearing it down, but we are not destructionists. We propose to tear it down but we propose to put something in its place and what is that thing we propose to put it up in its place? Socialism.

Now, what is Socialism? People tell you that Socialism is all sorts of things, or, rather, that it embraces all sorts of things—free love, for instance. Now, it does not anything of the kind. Socialism is a system just as capitalism is a system. Capitalism, on the one hand permits persons or groups to own privately the things that are necessary and socially operated; through that private ownership the destinies and the control of the mass might be maintained.

Socialism says—Socialism as a system—we propose to own socially the things that are socially necessary, such as the machines of production and distribution and the earth; it is ours by right. Everything that is, that is worth while, Fellow Workers, belongs to your kind and my kind.

They talk to you about knowledge. What is knowledge? Knowledge is the sum of our human experiences down the ages, and who has had any experiences that are worth while? Only we who

work. Only they in the past who have worked.

Listen. This is something that you might just as well get into your head now as forty years from now. You have got to understand it sometime.

I want to give you the law of economic determination:

Man thinks in terms peculiar to the manner and condition under which he makes his living.

Given groups, thinking in like terms, create their own environment. Now, crudely, that means what I will illustrate for you this way: Men thinking is terms peculiar to the manner and conditions under which he makes his living—take a group of miners. What are the terms in which they figure things about them? In the terms of the mine and the mine experiences. They think in terms of the conditions under which they make a living.
they think in? Terms peculiar to the condition of the conditions under which he makes his living.

Take a bunch of sea-faring men, what terms do sea.

Take a bunch of lawyers: What kind of terms do they think in? In terms peculiar to the sophistry of law.

Take any other calling; take any other group of men; each thinks in terms peculiar to the manner and conditions under which he makes his living.

Now, then, we, as workers on the one hand, tink in terms of workers. They, who do not work, think in terms of workers. They, who do not work, have got to understand things as they are and for that method by which we hope to establish this system of reason I am going to make clear to you further the socialism.

I think that you recognize the reason, or if not yet you will in a few minutes, I hope: Socialism is a system under which we hope to own and operate socially the things that are socially necessary. Now, that is the end. We have got to get that end. How do we hope to go about it?

There are two methods suggested: One the method of the political socialist, which I , as a workman, as an I. W. W., reject, for the good and sufficient reason to me that it is chimerical, it is impractical, it won't work.

On the other hand there is a method known as Industrial Unionism, which I, as a workingman, have accepted. Now, I propose to explain to you the system that I have accepted. But here, realize this: This is all preparatory to going into these explanations. Recognize this: We live socially; we operate socially. We are absolutely dependent upon each were not for the activities of your kind throughout other. You could not live overnight, perhaps, if it the world. As a matter of fact, as you stand clothed —in what? Did you make your coat? No. Will you make the bread that you will eat or the food that you will consume? Do you make the bed in which you lie? No. Yet you need these things. Now, you are organized by your own deeds and things that you need are social products. Commodities as produced—for instance we will raise all of the coal in Pennsylvania, perhaps, and all of the wheat in North Dakota, but miners, with only coal and farmers with only wheat would be in a pretty fix, wouldn't they? There must be some methods, some arrangements by which exchanges can be made. Without wasting too much time, I want to say briefly that the instution through which exchanges are made are known to you as a business.

Now, I am going to take a business and build it up here for you, and then pull it all apart and show you where you fit—see? That is my purpose, to build up a business, show what it amounts to and where you get off at under the present program.

Listen. I emphasize this business stuff particularly because we have all had ambitions. I know when I left school, and I am just as human as some of you, even though I do not look it, I recognize that when I left school, my ambition and my hope and

my desire was to go into business. Well, I learned to manipulate tools, and when I got a job, why, then I got a few sacks of tools together and I went into business. We all hope to do that, because business, —we have been taught to believe, seeking economic security, we have been taught to believe that a business represented security.

Now, it does not under the present program and there is a reason for it. Do not misunderstand me in this thing. I, as an I. W. W., attribute this to what? That is, I attribute our position to what? To the machinations of a few individuals; to the machination of the single individual? No. We are the victims of a system. I will show that as we go on, I will show you the relation of you and your boss.

Now, let us go into their business, because we all hoped at some time or other to have a business looks like: Down on the bottom of the mass, this line represents you, your kind and my kind. Now, when I say your kind and my kind, just realize that you do not have to, necessarily have to have a shirt of this kind. You do not necessarily have to be an electrician worker or a logger.

When I speak of your kind and my kind, I speak of our class, the workers .Our class is made up of what? Bookkeepers, stenographers, clerks, janitors, printers and so on down the line; all sorts of workers.

Now, this great mass of men and women on the bottom here, represented by this line, their activities in any business are governed by another element and that element is known as the straw-boss element, and then supervising the activities of the straw-boss element, we have another element, and that is known as the foreman element; supervising the activities of the foreman is the general foreman, the superintendent, the manager, the general manager, and then the economic waste, the profitholders, the bondholders, the people who do not do anything.

In this business, for the time being, I want to as-

sume the position of economic waste; in other words, I want to be the boss. I want to be the guy that clips the coupons, that gets it all out of your hide, and I want to show you how he operates.

Supposing now, that I am hiring as boss, this group, this ordinary rank and file element. There are two things that determine what I will pay; what are those two things? One is an army of unemployed, and the other is, roughly the value of a commodity. I determine, or rather, those who come to me seeking a job, competition with one another, competing against one another, they determine what the value shall be, but there is one thing principally that determines what I shall pay this lower group: There is a big bunch of men looking for work. The standard rate of wages in the community is $2; that is an accepted thing, for purposes of illustration. We will say that this lower group is hired at $2 a day. First of all, the unemployed determine the job conditions of this bunch. I have often heard men in the craft union say, good, honest, sincere fellows, just as good square union men as ever lived, but who did not have an understanding of their position and their own interest, I have heard them say, "We have got control job; she is a good clean;" there is no such thing in the face of an army of unemployed.

The unemployed tend to determine job conditions for this bunch first, and this lowest paid worker determines, or tends to determine the compensation of all these workers.

You understand here now, that I have included too, this general manager as a worker. Do you get that? Some of you fellows figured he was just a brainstorm running loose, did not amount to anything. He is not. He is necessary. He represents the executive ability necessary to the handling and conductence of this business. I include in this thing every man, woman and kid that does anything useful in nature. I do not, of course, consider an accumulation of profits as useful, at least not to me and my kind.

Now, then, this lowest paid worker determines the compensation of the others. I have gathered a group of men, women and children to make up this lower mass. Now, I want some straw bosses. What do I want straw bosses for? Why, I want straw bosses to take care that these people get lots of profits for me, and how am I going to get straw bosses? Well, the first thing I will do, I will offer a bribe. I will offer 50 cents additional to the straw boss. I will give him four bits more a day, $2.50, and all you guys are working to be straw boss, yet the straw boss that that bunch has on the job, and you all want to be straw bosses. Why? Do you like the name? Do you like the term? No. What you do like, Fellows, is this: This additional four bits, because that means so much more socks, so much more pork chops, and a great chance for your kids to live, a better opporutinty for you to get by, and that is the reason you want to be straw boss, because of the material interest in this thing.

Now, then how do I go about picking out this straw boss group? That is something you want to find. Now, suppose that this meeting to-night is divided off into three sections, and this first five sections here represent fifty men, ten in each section, represent the fifty employes here. I want to pick a straw boss out of each one of those five sections. How do I go about it? Well, they know how they can get a pull with the boss, don't they? Of course, they do. Please me. How will you please me? By sleeping on the job? How will you please me? By taking good care that there is no accident occur to your fellow workers? Nix. I am not interested in that. How then, will you please me? By setting me a rapid pace, by tattling, telling tales, being mean, small and contemptible with those you work with. The man that is most successful as a speed merchant, as a tattler, as a stool pigeon, altogether as a contemptible worker, is the man that can best represent my interests. So it is he who gets the job of straw boss, usually,—not always.

Now, then, from the straw-boss group I pick a foreman, gauging the value of the foreman the same way. The value of the foreman to me is determined by his ability to make profits for me. If human conditions, human considerations interfere with my profits, then he is absolutely to disregard them. If you do not believe it, try being a straw boss or a foreman, and see how quick you will get canned if you take into consideration the welfare of your fellow workers, in contrast to the welfare of the boss' dollars.

Now, then, having chosen straw bosses that way, I pick a foreman the same way, and I bribe him. I give him another four bits, and I have a $3 foreman.

A JUROR: Mr. Doran, will you stand over there?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: You are standing between the drawing and the jury.

THE WITNESS: Can you see now?

THE JUROR: Yes.

THE WITNESS: I have bribed the foreman and I am paying now $3 a day. If I have a $3 foreman, I have got what? $4 general foreman, a $5 superintendent; a $6 general superintendent; an $8 manager and a $10 general manager. Why? Do you suppose for a minute I am going to pay $5 for a foreman to herd a lot of men at $2 a day? It isn't necessary. The compensation of this supervising the activities of others is determined by the compensation of the group immediately beneath, or the group to be supervised. Now then, the lowest paid worker, the compensation of the lowest paid worker tends to determine the compensation of all workers; and the gauge of value of each of these men occupying and holding their respective positions—this is an important thing, fellows—get this clear,—the gauge of value by which these men hold their position is the ability to make profits. Now then; we I. W. W.'s suggest something different. We suggest a new program. We say, "What will you do for yourself?" "Organize." "Organize which, organize who?" "Organize all the workers," But, you cannot go to

this scissorbill straw boss that is pounding his fellow workers on the tail and talk organization to him. Why? It is very true his economic interests are identical with the economic interests of this rank and file bunch. It is very true that the foreman's interest—in fact, all of these useful workers have interests in common, but you cannot tell this bunch here that their interests are the same as the bunch on the bottom. You cannot make them see it. Why? Because they are chock-full of that bourgeois of boss morality which says that the master and slave have interests in common. Therefore, we organize who? We organize this bunch. (Indicating.) We just go around and make you guys, got to come in while the water is fine. Put your name down on a card. Everything is lovely. You sign up. We get enough of you organized, and then what do we do? Well, the first thing we do, boost the wages, and we make this job $3, rank and file. The ordinary workers are getting $3 compensation now. I want to make this point clear, and I will cover it a little later on, but I want to emphasize it for you now that money increase or the wage increase is not the important issue with you. The basic issue with you is destruction of competition; the doing away with your competitors; doing away with the army of the unemployed, and we will go into that as we go along, but I want to emphasize it here. As the result of organization we increased this pay of the rank and file to $3 a day. If I get $3 a day, what kind of a straw boss have I got? Why, I boost him, too. $4. If I got a $4 straw boss I have got a $5 foreman, a $6 general foreman and an $8 superintendent and $10 general superintendent, and a $15 manager. Isn't that so? Of course it is so. You have seen it operate. Now then, here! We have organized these workers. We have got them all to stick together to boost job conditions. Their activities tend to boost what? They tend to boost everything here and nothing there. (Indicating.) Now they will tell you—I want to put something down here for a note—they will tell you that

the masters and slaves have interests in common. They told me that and they will tell it to you; "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay." I used to swallow that stuff right straight along and I remember one experience, years ago, that on a gang where we were doing some work, a little local,—a little gang difference arose as to which was the better man; and one great big burly brute, he was the better man all right enough, but we didn't think so, or some of us were foolish enough to believe that we could stay with him, and we were battening arms, and we had in the city of Pittsburgh—it was in the summer,—it was hotter than—well, the climate they tell you about in the Bible. Well, we went on battening on arms that day, and this fellow in the lead. We had been in the habit of making 20 or 25 or perhaps thirty under favorable conditions. That man put on 68 arms that day. Most of us tagging him close second or third. We had been doing a fair day's work when we were doing twenty. After that, 68 arms was a fair day's work, and the pay did not go up a bit. Not a bit. They told us that the master and slave have interests in common. Now then, let me show you how the compensation of this crowd here (indicating) determines the compensation of all this crowd here, but inversely this crowd. (Indicating.) Suppose that this business is doing $100,000 worth of business a year. $100,000 of business in excess of all overhead expense; in excess to funds for depreciation of machinery, insurance and so forth and so on. There is $100,000 clear out of this business. Now then let us suppose that on the $2 basis of compensation for the lowest paid worker, that the labor time for one year—the labor time of all the workers from the general manager to the mucker—the labor time for one year represents $50,000. Now then, if the labor item for one year's wages of all these people represents $50,000, and you are doing $100,000 of business in excess of all other charges, the difference between the two sums is $50,000. For

whom? Why that is for this guy up here. (Indicating.) That is for the boss. That is for me.

Now then, suppose that as we have shown here, we organize a little. We get this bunch organized and increase the wages to $3 for the lowest paid worker. We are still doing $100,000 worth of business in excess of all charges and all overhead expenses. Now, then, the labor item on this new basis has jumped to what? It has jumped to $75,000 a year. And $75,000 a year from $100,000, leaves what? $25,000. $75,000 labor item here and $25,000 gravy for the boss. Suppose we don't organize now. Suppose that we refuse to organize, you have what they call a panic. Suppose there is a vast army of unemployed and you fellows have not sense enough to protect your own interests through organization; workers in competition one with the other; workers in competition one with the other will tend to drive down this pay. You know as well as I do when you have hunted a job. Suppose you have seen an advertisement in a paper; "Wanted, five men to clean boilers." You go out there and there is only three men there. You can come pretty close to getting what you want. You go down there, five men to clean boilers, and you see five hundred looking for the job. You know that you don't get anything like enough to buy doughnuts. You know that and I know it.

Now then, in competition one with the other, this is driven down to a dollar a day. If we have a dollar a day gang we have a dollar and a half straw boss, a $2 foreman, a $3 general foreman and so on up. Now we are doing $100,000 worth of business a year. $100,000 worth of business and no organization. The slaves in competition one with the other, have beaten the rate of wages down to on this basis the labor item for one year amounts to what? $25,000. $25,000 from $100,000 leaves what? $75,000. For whom? For this guy up here. (Indicating.) Don't you see just exactly, as your wages go up here his profits go down

there. (Indicating.) Just exactly as your wages go down here, so do his profits go up there. (Indicating.)

Then they have got the nerve to tell me,—I am one of those working stiffs,—and they have got the nerve to tell me that the master and the slave have interests in common.

And speaking about this—as I have often had the boss tell me,—speaking of this fair day's wage for a fair day's work, I believe in being absolutely honest; I try to anyway, as honest as a man can be under the dishonest system that we have, and I say, "A fair day's work for a fair day's pay." All right. I have got a mighty bum job and mighty bum pay. To be absolutely honest with myself, I have got to give exactly the kind of work I am paid for. If I suited myself—if I can't be square with myself, how in the name of common sense can I be square with my neighbor? A man does not understand honesty here who does not understand it over there. (Indicating). When I have a bum day's pay I give a bum day's work in order to be honest—to show physically—if I am on a job where the pay conditions are bad and the general living condition bad, I have not sufficient phyisical energy to deliver anything else but the value of what he gives me.

Now then, suppose that we have organized this. You will still say, "In this business we need a foreman. We need straw bosses, and we need the men to handle the executive work, the supervisors and so forth." What are you and the I. W. W. going to do? Tear this thing all apart and leave it there? Nix; nothing like that. We cannot at this time organize those men, because they are the products of that capitalistic idea, and think that they have to do anything and everything in the interests of this crowd. (Indicating.) Psychologically, they are enemies of ours. Economically, their interests and our are identical. Now we cannot to anything with them, but when we have organized this bunch on the bottom

(indicating), what do we do? We have got to have straw bosses. Well, where will we get them? We will pick them out of our gang just as the boss now picks them, but we will pick them in a different way. We will pick the most efficient man in the crowd to be straw boss, and we will pick what we consider to be the best representative brain in the crowd. And what will the gauge of value be? Ability to make job conditions easy and simple. The man that we choose as straw boss out of our gang will be a man who, actuated by human impulses, will be able to carry on efficiently the production that is necessary; to do the work that is necessary, but also to do it with the least possible expenditure of human energy, and with the least possible to the human units involved. Now then, we choose the straw boss that way, and we pick the foreman by the same moral. We choose the general foreman by the same gauge. We choose our salesmanager and our general manager and all the rest of them, because of their absolute ability to deliver the goods; because of their ability to see things that are necessary.

Listen! See how these two morals work. The present moral—the capitalist's moral, production for profit. It counts the human element nothing. What does it mean? Brother against brother. Sister against sister; father against father. Don't you believe it? Let me show you. Suppose that you are my boy and you are working for me in a gang, and I am your straw boss, foreman or superintendent. Now, then, if you are my boy, it is a cinch—at least we will suppose that I am the ordinary father and you the ordinary son. It is safe to say that my interests will center themselves in you and your welfare. I will give you the squarest deal possible on that job. But say, if you don't cut the buck; if you don't do the work, how can I hold my job as foreman or straw boss? If I allow you to shirk this, can I hold my job? No, sir. Why? The relationship is there. You are my boy and I should give you a fair deal. I am

anxious to give you a fair deal, but I cannot do it. I cannot do it because this influence that stands up above will sever me from my job if I try it.

Now listen, fellows: The relationship, morality, nationality, religion, Lodge, Church nor nothing else plays any part in this thing. Suppose that I am your boss and I belong to one lodge here. You are a slave down here and belong to the same lodge. You go to the same church or live in the same general section of the earth. Does that make any difference in our relationship? Not a particle. I may fill you full of bunk and tell you what a fine fellow you are for the job, and shake hands with you and ask you when you are going to lodge and when you are going to church, and all this, that and the other thing, but when paymaster comes around, I haven't got anything to say about the pay envelope. It is just the same as all the rest of them. Now then, as fellow-lodge members or church members or members of any other sectional creed, listen: As my province boss goes up, yours as slave, goes down. Therefore, nothing enters into this thing except the question of your class organization. I will prove that now as we go on. But the moral of this capitalistic program, the gauge of value is the ability to make profits; and that makes what? Here are human beings, good fellows; friends of mine. Personally, I have a number of friends who occupy positions of this kind; just as good men as I ever saw. I know general managers and superintendents that I would be glad, as men—as men—independent of my class status, glad to know them; glad to converse with them; glad to exchange ideas with them; all around good fellows in my estimation. Yet, when I work for them they certainly have to pound me where I live; they certainly have to take advantage of me. Now then, the first gauge here—their value is determined by their ability to disregard comfort and secutiry here. (Indicating.) This bunch is chosen because of their ability to disregard the comfort of the others, and so on clear to the top. (Indicating.) And at the top

you have what? You have the general superintendent, the general manager, the men who at one time may have been the actual bench worker, giving orders to shoot you down or to club you in a strike. That is the product of that moral.

Now we I. W. W.'s in choosing our straw bosses, our foreman and general foreman, and so on clear to the top, gauging their value by the ability to make job conditions easy and simple, that results in what? This fellow is chosen because he makes the ordinary bunch comfortable. This bunch is the high expression of that self-same humanitarianism. This is the high expression here and here. (Indicating). And at the top, you have the most efficient men for making living conditions worth while. And when you get down to it, what is your problem here? You face a problem from the day you come into the world until the day you go out of it, and it is always the same. It never changes. Your problem is to live, and to live as easily and comfortably and as securely as possible. You face that problem. Now then, this whole discussion is a discussion having to do with that problem. The high-brow talks of economics; the average, ordinary working stiff gets scared to death. Economics. You and I, who have given some attention to the subject, perhaps we understand it, but in your language—the language of the job, what is economics? What does it mean? What does it amount to? Something about it. Economics is simply the science of living. So fellows, we have got to be mighty scientific to get by now-a-days, don't you think so? That is all there is to this high-brow stuff. They confuse you with words that you do not understand. They confuse you with a lot of fancy language and other things. For instance, there is one thing that they tell you, and they have told me this for several years. I believe it was in 1915 that a government agent reported that there were ten million people suffering from pellagra, in this country. Now, what is pellagra? A boil on the neck, or something of that sort? The ordinary worker don't know.

Pellagra is slow starvation. Ten millions of people suffering from slow starvation in this country, and say, that is not the tragedy of the thing at all, though bad enough. The newspapers that commented on that situation in the self same issue, they had articles written by eminent professors, telling your kind and my kind that we eat too much. Pellagra is slow starvation, yet they have the colossal nerve to tell us we eat too much. The pity of it is that most of you fellows believe it. I have seen fellows, very plain that they were suffering from malnutrition, or every evidence that they had not proper foods, say, "Well, I think I do eat too much. I am going to Fletcherize. I am only going to take one doughnut in the morning instead of six, or three or four." That is the tragedy of the thing, that you believe this stuff. Now here that brings up the question that is of vital importance. I am a worker. You trust me with your life. You will go on a job with me and permit me to make an electrical connection with you on a line that means instant death. You do not question me. You will trust your life with other workers. You do it every minute of the job. Every day that you live and work. You don't question us that way. I don't question you and you don't question me, but just as soon as I, working stiff, get up here and talk to you in the language of the working stiff, you want to know what he is getting out of this, what he is getting out of it. "Who put him up to this sort of stuff. I don't believe it anyway. I saw Professor so-and-so's article and it says different." Who is the professor; the fellow that you trust with your life? No. He is one of the guys that fills your kids with a lot of false ideas, and then your kids go out and sustain the system that he defends. That is one of the tragedies of the thing.

Oh, here is a very important point; a mighty important point. It should be gotten over right now. I am the boss. They talk to me about law. They talk to me about order. They talk to me of decency. If you can conceive of a program with a greater ideal,

with a finer program than the I. W. W., I want to know it and I want to know it quick. I want to join it; join in the move; join in the furthering of the scheme. But the I. W. W. represents to me today the finest expression of all that there is good possibly conceivable in the human breast. The I. W. W. represents ease and comfort for children and women. The idea of girls today, but into motherhood tomorrow. What were they brought here for? Why did they come into the world? To propagate their kind. Aenemic, drawn, over-worked and under paid; deined the most sacred calling of the family, the privilege of propagating the kind. Then they have nerve enough—they have nerve enough to question us. We want children. We want homes. We want babies; not the kind of babies that they want us to have; starved, miserable, scrawny little creatures. We want full grown healthy developed children, and we will have them. And we I. W. W.'s will bring them here, because we will change the system that makes degradation and poverty possible. Now they talk to me of the law involved in a thing of that kind. Listen. I am your boss. I am the man that pays you and I am paying you $2 a day. I am paying you $2 a day. I make law for you. And when I hand you $2 a day, what do I say to you? I say to you, "Here, you can have a wife. You can have babies, and if you have them you can feed them and you can take them to a picture show, you can give them clothes, you can give them the things that they need, but you can only give them two dollars' worth. See? I determine for you. I am your absolute master. I make the law of life for you, two dollars' worth is all that you can have. I am your boss. Now why am I your boss? I am your boss because you and your kind are silly enough to believe that I should have the right to privately own these things that are socially necessary and socially operated. And unless you believe in that right—as long as you will concede to me the privilege of economic superiority, then that long you will be slaves. I will make every law for you,

and I circumscribe every act. I tell you even when you eat and whether you can be buried in a potter's field or not. If I have only paid you $2 a day, they will bury you in a potter's field. If I paid you $6 probably they can pay for a $20 plot. Everything is in my hands and the law of life for you is made by me. You fellows have got to make your own laws. You have got to get down and attend to business and get down soon. Where is this law of life for you made? It is made on the job. Practically at the point of production. Why has the boss exercised direct action? I force you to obey my will. How? When I want to cut your wages from $2 a day to a dollar, do I ask the bunch of mush-faced politicians to do it for me? Do I go to the Senate or Council Chamber to do it? No. I walk in on the job and I say to you: "Listen, I have been paying you $2 a day for ten hours. From now on it is a dollar a day." You will say, "I don't like it." "All right, if you don't, move. We will get somebody else that will." Your life is made for you right there by him. Now when you organize, when you get down to cases, when you organize, the only thing you have—your economic power that you have, you exercise direct action on the job. What do you do? You make your law. You raise your wages. Does the politician help you? Is he necessary? We have nothing to do with him. Tend to your own affairs. You have in your hands the power that he has in reference to the world. You are the only people in the world that are worth while. So, as far as your law is concerned—well, you have to make it. You have got to make it. In making that kind of a law, what kind of a law is that you make by boosting your wages? A law that is a benefit to mankind. Let us understand one another right here. What do we mean by law? Law is the uniformity of things; a rule established by authority. That is what law is. Of course a lawyer and others will try to scare you with a lot of Latin phrases about law, but that is really all it is. It is simply a rule of action established by authority; uniformity of things.

Listen. There is a rule of law in your church which says the pew rent is four bits a month. Well, you go to church. You pay—you obey the law, and you pay four bits a month. There is a law in the union that says the dues are four bits a month. It is a rule of action; uniformity of things. You obey the law. You pay your dues. There is a rule of society that says "Thou Shalt Not Kill." You are not going around killing anybody. You obey the law. So on all through things. Law is simply a rule of action, and the rule of action that we propose to establish — the uniformity of things is the uniform that knows no poverty and knows no misery.

Now this kind of institution in the last few years has established itself into a different sort of thing. This is ordinary business. Now, as a rule of the introduction of modern machinery and efficient systems—as the result of competition among business men, as the result of a desire for markets, certain changes have taken place. Those changes, no man can stop them. They are peculiar to the advancement made by the mechanic. As a result of the modern machinery and efficient system, these changes have taken place and we can now deal with a modern institution called "Industrialized Business." I will show you what has happened in the last fifty years or so, and incidentally show you why it is harder for you to make a living, and incidentally prove that portion of our preamble which says: "The centering of the management of industries into fewer hands make trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the master class." As if we had a bunch of business men here tonight, it would give these little business men an understanding of why they and their little businesses are hitting the grade so heavy. It will make them understand the utter futility and utter hopelessness bucking the program of this kind.

Now let us take for the purposes of illustration, let us deal with the article called steel. Now in the production of steel we have what? Well, we have

a number of operations necessary. For instance, we have chemical laboratories necessary in order to determine as to whether the raw materials are of the proper kind, and so forth. We have the chemical laboratory. We have the machine shop. We have foundry plants. We have transportation, or teaming, or anything; anything to transport the material necessary. We have power plants. We have the carpenter shop. Now, we have a number of other departments perhaps. A number of other operations are incidental to the production of steel. But at one time or another, in the manufacture of steel, they used to use these businesses as separate institutions and determine what was necessary and what was not. This machine shop was a separate institution. This was also separate (indicating.) But some genius, about forty years ago, came along and he says, "this laboratory, machine shop, foundry, transportation power and everything, carpenter shop, and so on, are all necessary and incidental to the manufacture and production of that article known as steel. Therefore, we want markets. The thing for us to do—competition is too keen. The thing for us to do is what? "Be efficient. Consolidate these interests that are directly interested in the production of steel, allied one with the other, by the nature of their own activities." And a group of men got together and they said, "Here, we will take this laboratory, machine shop, foundry and so on, and we will whip them all together into one industrial business. And when we have those businesses organized under one head, the first thing we will do is eliminate a lot of economic waste." Economic waste of what kind? Well, for instance, in the handling of the ordinary business, as I have just shown you, there is an army of all kinds of employees; janitors, clerks, bookkeepers, stenographers, mechanics, laboratory and so forth and so on; teamsters and so on. In the handling of the ordinary machine business, there is pretty much the same sort of affairs; the same sort in every one of these individual businesses. When they group

all this business under one head, then what do they do? They find that there are a number of workers, in this business, duplicating the activities of the workers in that business. (Indicating.) And that, and that, and that, and so on; that in the total there are a great army of workers which duplicate the activities of the other. That, my friend, is economic waste, and therefore that economic waste, if we are efficient, must be eliminated. So these men got together and they eliminated the economic waste. They put the office in the centre. Then they do what? They have the janitor force; the whole operating and supervising force directly under one head, and above everything else they had the close co-operation between these several units, each necessary to the production of steel. The consequence was that they produced steel at a price that permitted them to control the market. That is what they were after. Now then, there are two other elements to be considered is the thing. One is the small business, and the other is the worker; your kind and my kind; see how it affected him and see where we get off under this program. Incidentally, let us take a look at the little business man and see where he got off at. See why he has howled for years since. He doesn't know what is the matter with him. This combination, they produce the steel, and at a price that permitted them to control the market. Now, they tell you that the competition is the life of trade. Competition the life of trade! In a social system, when the very nature of your system—the very nature of the instrument through which you produce the things that you must have in order to live, is highly co-operative. As man has developed the modern machine, as the need for hand labor has gone out, as the labor instrument has been centered in the fellow on the machine, so has he need for the control of that instrument centered into the hands of fewer and fewer. Co-operation! That is well and good. Fine. The only thing. But they teach you and I that competition is proper. They will co-operate as far as

possible, but they will teach you to fly at my throat, or I to fly at yours. Look! What is your standing in society? What is mine? I go to the same cheap restaurant; I live in the same poor, miserable district that you do. I live and associate with you entirely. Then what in the name of common sense—why should I fight you? Why should I compete with you? Only because you and I have become familiar with our own interests nor our own affairs. Now then, here. Well, they recognized this, and what took place? Here is a little business operating as a laboratory. Here is another little business operating as a separate unit, a machine shop; a foundry, a carpenter shop, and so on. The business that the combination of these individual units would produce would be what? The article would be steel, wouldn't it? Of course. That is what they are producing. Now then, this group—this business has a number of workers and their activities all each are reproduced here and here (indicating), and the overhead expenses are great. These individual units operate separately in the general production of steel, and it means the cost is high. This small business man then loses his market. When they lose their markets, they throw out their employees, and the kick that they registered was what? They kicked against this (indicating), industrialized institution that the business men of this country for years have erroneously called trusts. That is not a trust, That is simply industrialized business. This small business man has kicked against this industrialized unit. Why? On the basis that it is not efficient? On the basis that it is not of extreme value to society? No. Their basis for their kick was personal, material welfare. These small business men, when you say, "Here, you are selling steel; the product of your individual firms. Here, your price is so and so." And you say, "I wouldn't pay that price; I can buy direct from this industrialized institution for forty per cent less." "Yes," you say, "yes," unfortunately that is so, I regret to admit that is so, but then I

cannot sell at that price." And they do not question the right of this institution. They do not question its efficiency or its value, but they question why it should be permitted to exist, because their individual, economic interests are menaced. Now let me show you that the ordinary workers are in the same relative position. Take the laboratory worker. We have got a form of organization here known as craft unions, of which I am and have been a member for a good many years. Craft unions, the laboratory workers would be organized as laboratory workers. The chemists as chemists; clerks, as clerks; stenographers under that head. Laboratory under that head, and machinists under the head of machinists; foundry men under the head of foundry operators, carpenters under the head of carpenters, and so forth and so on, according with their craft identity; their craft occupation. Now let us understand one another right here. What do we mean by craft men? What is a craftsman? What do you mean by the use of the word? A craftsman is one who because of his ability to manipulate his hand tools, tools of a given kind, is conceded to be an expert in that particular occupation; and he is therefore called a craftsman. As a carpenter theoretically operates and manipulates his hand tools in the work of wood, so he is conceded a craftsman. But craftsmanship is something different from what the labor posseses. What is it? It is skill. Now then, remember that. Craftsmanship is called skill. Skill becomes private property. It is not the possession of all workers. A craftsman is in possession of a certain kind of property. A thing called skill, and he bargains for and sells, collectively, what? His labor power? Yes, but he don't figure that. He bargains for and sells collectively his skill. Carpenters make a place for carpenters. The carpenters' union permits only carpenters to join that union, and so on. Now here; craftsmanship has ceased to be. The carpenter trade has ceased to be, in face of what? Modern machinery. Efficient system. If I were hiring a man today, you might

come to me and tell me that you were a first class carpenter, you could take the trunk of a tree and fashion it into anything; tables, Newel posts; stairs; cabinets, anything that I wanted, and I say to him, "I would not hire you, though you may be the best craftsman in the United States," and the reason why I would not hire you is this: I can go to the mill where a boy stands over an intricate machine and that machine turns out more Newel posts and banisters in ten hours than you would turn out in ten years. Modern machine has done away with the craftsman.

Take the printer. I have knocked all over this country with printers. Printers are supposed, because of their occupation, or were some years ago,—they were supposed to be pretty much of a migratory nature. They used to drift around from place to place. Although there is ten times as much printing done as there was done, yet the number of persons engaged in the printing trade is less relatively and proportionately than it was twenty years ago. The old time printer used to walk into an office and would take his stick and set up a whole lot of type. Some worked on headings; some on something else, but it was a hand operation. A printing plant was run by practical craftsmen; printers; men who knew the printing trade. Now you walk into a printing plant today and what do you see? Why, a young woman sits there at a lin-o-type. She sets up more type in eight hours than eight printers would set by hand in eight hours. Where are the seven other printers or eight printers?

They go on a flock of box cars somewhere out into the desert and look to make the way stations so they can make some little small town gossip sheets. You walk into an office and there is a young woman sitting years ago they used to train men to do clerical work. We had a bunch of men especially trained as accountants. We had men especially trained as bookkeepers. We had men especially trained for other of these operations. Today what do you find? You

walk into an office and there is a young woman sitting at a typewriter. It has a special carriage on it. She pounds out the entries on these loose leaf ledger pages and when it is done she puts it into the book. The bookkeeping is all done; the accounting is all done. She draws eight or ten or twelve dollars a week and the $150 expert is looking for a job scabbing on shovel stiff somewhere. Generally speaking, the girl is manipulating the work that was formerly handled and performed by these thousands and thousands of workers. For fear that the girl might make a mistake, they even have got the fool proof apparatus to check up her brain. She sits there when she is counting the numbers. She don't take time to count them even. She sits there and knocks at a Burrough's Adding Machine and jerks out a sheet from underneath. No mistake possible. Can't make a mistake.

THE COURT: Ten minutes recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

THE COURT: Proceed.

THE WITNESS: Craftsmen have organized on the basis of their craft interests. That is, the carpenters have organized as carpenters; bricklayers, as bricklayers, and so forth and so on; the laboratory workers have organized there, and the machine shop workers there, and the foundry workers there (Indicating), and each organization represents what? Each organization represents a little unit in itself. Only machinists are members of the machinist union, and only members of the carpenters trade are members of the carpenters' uion. Though it requires the services in the production of steel of great numbers of machinists, and great numbers of foundry workers, great numbers of transport workers, power plant operators, carpenters and so forth. They each organized as little units, and each little unit is an automanous body; privileged to do just as it likes with the regard to the rest of the organization. The consequence is this: the machinists have trouble in the steel plant, and the machinists vote to strike.

The carpenters haven't got any trouble, and though they are in the same plant, they stay on the job. Now, then, when you organize, the fact that there is an army of unemployed always ready to take the place of the employed workers, and scabs are recruited from the army of the unemployed, or from some source. The machinists, while on strike, the machine shop in the steel plant is filled up with scab machinists, union transport workers, power plant operators, carpenters, and so forth, all remaining on the job. Now, no one questions the value—no one questions the efficiency of this industrialized method of doing business. The ordinary labor official knows that the industrial system of production is higher. He does not question that, although the bricklayers' union in 1913, I believe voted from its own meagre treasury five hundred thousand dollars. Think of it, what an enormous sum. Five hundred thousand dollars. That money was raised by subscription and assessment, and the purpose of it was to buy a brick yard in Texas. The union bricklayers wanted to have a union brick yard. They bought a union brick yard. They hoped to have a union brick yard laid out by union bricklayers. They failed to realize scab transport workers, and perhaps scab laborers, and perhaps scab miners had a part in the production of the things that made the brick and permitted the use of the brick. However, this is the point: The bricklayers did that for this reason: They had been a tight little craft union for a great many years, in building buildings, viaducts and aqueduct systems and things of that kind, and it had been the policy to use bricklayers. Now, then, with the introduction of modern machinery came what? Came the loss of the bricklayers' skill. When modern machinery came in, with it, came the concrete mixer, and with it came the system of building reinforced concrete structures, and with that, the introduction of the most efficient method going, and the loss of work that was formerly done by the bricklayer. The bricklayer proposed to stand in the way of modern ingenuity.

He proposed to stand in the way of modern efficiency and development in order to maintain his craft or skill property privilege. He failed to realize that the big, raw-boned unskilled laborer with a steel wheelbarrow in his hand today is in possession of that which has replaced the skill of the bricklayer. He fills it with concrete, fills it with cement, sand and broken stone and so forth, and dumps it into a steel cylinder. The steel cylinder is whirled rapidly and concrete is made. The concrete is dumped out —poured into crude wooden forms. They are building a bridge or an abuttment somewhere. The mixture is allowed to remain a matter of a week, or so, and then after a week they knock off these crude forms and there stands, as a monument to the skill of the unskilled, one in possession of the modern machine, the thing that has done away with the need for he bricklayers' skill. They bought a brick yard and hoped to beat the system that way; just as the farmer hopes to beat the system. I have got something for you on the farmer that I want to get into you. I propose to get it tonight for this reason, that they have a broad difference of opinion between the working man and the farmers—the working man in any industry. And just as the farmer hopes to beat the system, so did the bricklayer hope to beat the system. Instead of organizing on class lines, and organizing into one class union, all of the workers that were necessary to the production of things that eliminated the needs, the bricklayer proposed to do this purchasing.

We I. W. W.'s say: "Listen. What is the good of buying railroads? We don't want to buy railroads. We dont want to buy brick yards nor the mills nor the factories. We don't have to indulge in a co-operative plan or a co-operative program. This is what we mean to do, organize the slaves in the brick yards, and then we own the brick yard; organize the slaves on the railroads and then we own the railroads. Organize the slaves everywhere, and all these things are ours. But to buy them and attempt to compete

with the capitalistic masses, it is nonsense. We are not there. We cannot cut the buck. These men organized this way, though, they recognize the fact that they operate in an industrial unit, and they are powerless to protect themselves. Now, the men who are at the head of these labor unions, who are they? The machinist union with a bunch of machinist officials . These men have supposed to studied economics; at least they are supposed to have studied the things that are of interest to working men. The foundry men's union have foundry officials. The carpenters' union have carpenter officials. Now, one of two things is true; either the officials of the carpenters' union or the machinists' union or any other in fact of the individual crafts union is an up-to-date workman and can intelligently represent the workers of his organization, or else he is not. If he is strictly up-to-date, if he knows what he is paid to know, then he knows that this industrial system of production is the proper and necessary and the operative system. If he does not know that, he is in business as a labor faker; one of the two things. Either he knows that this is absolutely the condition, or else if he does not know it, he hasn't brains enough to represent men in the situation that absolutely calls for the knowledge of the true state of affairs. Now, these labor skates do know that the industrial system of production is the system under which we operate. They know that as well as I or any I. W. W. knows it. But they have, like the small business man, they have material interest. They have a little interest of their own that prevents them telling the rank and file followers the truth. Here. The machinist officials know that this is so. Then you, as a working man, say to me, "Why don't they tell it? Why don't they do as they are paid to do?" They don't dare to for the same reason that these people grumble about it. As long as there are separate unions, there is separate pie cards. As long as all of these unions are whipped into one industrial union, as soon as this becomes one industrial union, then that instant you

do what the bosses did when they organized this institution. You eliminate economic waste. You have one set of union officials, where you now have a set of officials here, and here, and here, and here (Indicating.) Each group is afraid to say anything about the truth, for the reason that each group expects to get the can if it becomes one union. Do you see? They have their own jobs and they realize that if they tell the truth they lose their jobs. Therefore, they say nothing about it, in face of the fact that that is demonstrated on every hand. Now, we I. W. W.'s understand something. We understatnd that every man, woman and kid incidental to the operation of that unit is necessary to the union to defend their interests in that unit. We I. W. W.'s say that every man, woman and kid that is on that job is there because he is necessary. The boss is not a philanthropist. He tells you so, but he is not, actually. And they are all necessary to their union. They are necessary to the one business union, to produce. They are necessary to one union of workers to defend, and this in the language of the I. W. W. is the bosses' branch industrial union. This is, in the language of the I. W. W. what the I. W. W.—workers' union will be. And, by the way, that reminds me of a thing that I should emphasize here. The I. W. W. What do you mean by the I. W. W.? "I want work." "I want whiskey." You have heard them say that. The I. W. W.'s—every man in this industrial system of production—every man, woman and child that operates today, though they may disdain to connect themselves with the organization that I belong to, though they may entertain the desire to discredit it, the fact remains that all of you fellows that work for a living and all of you wage workers are I. W. W's right now. I will prove it to you.

The system of production is what? The system of production is the industrial system. You, if you are wage workers here, you are industrial wage workers, and the system and its ramifications are as wide as this world. Therefore, you are industrial

wage workers of the world. I. W. W. A whole lot of you have not sense enough yet to carry a card in the union. Eventually you will have to. There is no two ways about it. You have got to come in. Either that or drown. It is the only way out.

Now, then, the labor skates do not tell—understand, I don't say this in bitterness. I do not say this holding any personal prejudice or any animosity toward the men of the A. F. of L. I carry a A. F. of L. card. I have worked all day on my job and have gone out to my union meeting at night to try to put over this educational propaganda. I realize this, that there are many—yes, vast hords of working men, just as honest, just as sincere and just as purposeful, perhaps, as I am. Their ideas and their purposes, and their sincerity and their honesty does not take the same form as mine does. They do not understand the thing perhaps, as I understand it. But I cannot question—question the man that strikes with me? The man that will walk off his job? The man that will go on strike to improve his baby's condition? The man that will take a flock of box cars and suffer the hardships of a trip across the desert or the mountains? The man that will suffer the abuses of police force, and militia and other subverted forms of authority. Do you mean to say that I question his honesty? Not a bit. He has struck with me a good many times. The thing that I question, the thing that I can't understand is his intelligence. That is all. I question his intelligence. I don't blame—although there are many mercinary labor skates, as we call them—I don't blame them near as much as I blame you and blame myself. I pay the bill. Your condition is what you make it. You make your condition. If you think in terms of your own interest, if you think in terms of class interest, then you will enjoy it. As long as you think in terms of prejudice and bias and brutality and so forth, things incidental to this system, then you must suffer. But you say that the labor skate did this, that or the other thing, well, while he is not a paragon

of virtue, while he is productive of many wrongs, while some of them right now in this lumber strike are functioning as industrial police, the fact remains that we are all workers and do not at any time permit the boss to inject venom between you, the industrial unionist, you and the A. F. of L. rank and file member.

Now, then, here: These men who are the heads of these unions, many of them are sincere. Many more of them are insincere. They have one function. The only function that the craft union officil can fulfil today intelligently and consistency is what? He gets paid as long as he is an official. Where does his money come from? The machinist union furnishes the machinist officials with a piecard. The carpenters' union furnishes the money for the carpenters' union officials. As long as there is a carpenters' union there will be finances. As long as there is a machinist union there will be machinist finances; and because their jobs are, and they are dependent upon these individual groups, therefore, these labor skates see to perpetuating themselves, and they operate as industrial police.

One of the things that was brought forcibly to my mind in connection with my own trade was this: I am an electrical worker. My card is paid up. I come into towns where they are supposed to have job control. As a matter of fact, we have never had it for years; but where they are supposed to have job control. I come into town and I have got a paid up card in my pocket. I am of a good many years' standing and there is nothing against me. Nobody charges me with theft, or murder, or anything like that. I come into a town and I go to the union headquarters. "Anything doing?" The business agent looks me over, and he says, "What is your name?" "Red Doran." Um-hum; I don't know whether there is anything doing or not. You can go out and rustle." So, I show him my card and I go out and rustle. I find a job; somebody that is willing to hire me. I am told to come back tomorrow. "Have you seen the

business agent?" "Yes." "Well, go and get a card from the business agent so it is all right to go to work. Everything is fine and dandy, and you can go to work tomorrow morning." Then, I go back to the business agent and I say, "Well, I have found a job." "Where?" Then I say, "Judge Thompson's job." "Oh, is that so. I didn't know they were using any men over there." I say, "Is that so. He told me to come down here and get an O. K. from you and I could go to work tomorrow." He says, "Now, listen Red, you know the by-laws. We have got a lot of idle men here in town. You can't go to work as long as we have any local idle members." I can't go to work because I am Red Doran, the agitator.

Willie Smith comes into town. He has got a card. Willie goes down and he sees the business agent. The business agent lets him go and rustle for a job. He gets it. The company hires him. He comes back to the agent—back to the business agent for a card to go to work. The business agent, he knows that Willie Smith never opened his mouth in his life; that he never growled at anything the boss said. He never asked for what was coming to him, but will stand for anything. Can he go to work? You bet your life. The business agent wants Willie and all of his relatives on the job, because, as long as Willie is on the job, Willie will pay dues, and as long as there are dues coming in, the pie cards will be paid for the officials.

The officials function—the only function that they have under the crafts form of organization is that of industrial police.

Now, then, I want to talk to you—sō much for the steel. I want to call your attention to something that the masters recognize and that the workers have not come, many of them, to recognize, and that is this: A commodity is not a finished product until it is actually in the hands of the consumer. From the raw material comes from the ground—the natural resources—until it is actually in the

hands of the consumer, the article is in the course of production. Now, still people question that. The masters understand it and actuated by the same desire that they were actuated in here (Indicating)—efficiency, elimination of waste, some of the big steel mill proprietors, devised a combination of businesses; and that combination, my friends, is the modern trust.

Now, I will explain that to you to show you the position in connection with the trust, where you get off at and what it means to you and what it amounts to for you and for your boss. I have shown you, the single business that we have gone to the industrialized business. The steel mill. All right. Now, in the producton of steel as a commodity, what have we got to consider? We have got to consider raw materials. Where do the raw materials come from? Why, they come from the mines. All right. Now, then, Mr. Garry and his associates, or some of the steel officials decided that as long as they had to pay the prices to other capitalists who owned the mines, they were indulging in economic waste. They were not keeping for themselves all the profits that there were in the business. Therefore, they decided to take over the mines, and they hooked up the mine with the mill. Now, they had the materials from the ground to the mill. But after they had connected themselves up that way, they found there was another thing they had to consider. What was that? It is the transportation. They found that the raw materials had to come from the mines through the medium of the transportation department, to the steel mill. Now, everything looked as though it were fine and dandy. They took it out of the ground. They transported it to the mill, and there at the mill they manufacture the raw materials into the finished article, steel. But it was not finished, because it was still in the steel mill, so they had to organize a distributing agency. That distributing agency was what? The big subsidized construction companies; the big subsidized shipyards; the big

subsidized industrial plants of one description or another that could use the output of the steel mills. Now, then, they had in this question—they had the raw material and everything from the mine, through the transportation industry into the mill where it was fashioned, and eventually distributed to the consumer. All right, so much for the combination as affected by the industrialized business kings of the country. They had trustified all industrialized business here. What about the workers? Do you remember? If you don't, I do—do you remember the steel strike in Pennsylvania—do you remember how Mr. Garry decided that no two bosses could exist in the same establishment? On the same job at the same time? No two absolute bosses. Mr. Garry recognized the fact that if he was going to run that business, he had to run it. If he was not going to run it, then the unions should run it; but as long as there was any question as to who was doing the running, either one or the other was to get out or it had to be settled. So Mr. Garry, having studied your weaknesses as you have not studied his,—Mr. Garry decided upon what? The elimination of the craft union man. How could Mr. Garry decided upon the elimination of the vast army of working men? This is the way he did it. I will assume the position of the craft union man in a steel mill. I am a rougher or a roller. My job is to take a steel neck and pass it through the roll where it is crushed and rolled into the proper shape or form. I am a roller. I am a rougher, as the case may be. I receive a pretty good salary. I get $7 a day, perhaps $6 a day. I am a rougher. I poke it through the rolls. Jim here, is my helper. Jim is my side kick. He is an unskilled laborer. I am organized on the basis of my skill as a rougher or roller. Jim, he does not belong to my organization. Why? Well, you see I am superior to him. Jim is just an ordinary common working stiff, but I am a roller. Jim though, when I have no tobacco, I will borrow his. When he has no lunch he will borrow part of mine. When Jim's wife has a

baby, my wife goes over to help and to administer to the wants. When Jim's kids gets the measles, so do mine; we all live in the same neighborhood. We all suffer the same. We go to the cheap play houses. We go to the cheap theaters, and we visit together and we live together. We die together. We work together. But organize? Organize? Where do you get that stuff? "I am a rougher; he is just a working stiff. Organize in my union? Nothing doing." Such was the situation in the steel mill, and Mr. Garry, through the activity of his stool pigeons, determined upon the destruction of labor unions and Mr. Garry decided to ferment trouble. A strike was agitated. I and my kind, secure in my knowing—or the knowledge that I had of my own superiority, we went out on strike. We were not going to stand for this. We decided as roughers and rollers, to strike, and walk out of the plant. When we were going out of the plant, why, Jim was going too. The man at the door says, "Where are you going?" "Why" he says, "I am going out on strike." "You are going out on strike? What for? You have got nothing to strike for." "Well, I am going out with Red. Do you think I am going to scab on him?" I get magnanimous, and I say, "You are not scabbing, Jim. You are not a rougher or roller. Stay here. Fine and dandy. It is all right." And I tell him to stay. Jim still doesn't want to stay, he wants to stick with me. He works with me and he wants to go with me. But Jim has all this time harbored secret ambitions. Jim has always hoped some day to be a rougher or roller. Why? Because Jim draws three dollars a day and I draw six. Jim sees as the only thing out, the road to economic security, the job of roller or rougher. So the boss' agent at the door, the superintendent says, "Listen, Jim, you are foolish to go out. Red don't want you to go. Another thing, you are not organized. If you go out on strike—Red is organized as a rougher, and when his union officials deal with this company they will deal on the base of roughers' interests. They won't deal on the basis of you common

laborers. You will not be considered in the thing. The thing for you to do is to stay on the job, Listen, Jim, you always did want to be a roller, didn't you? Sure you did. You wanted to learn to handle the machine, and you wanted to develop and have knowledge of the game." Jim says, "Certainly I did." "Stay with me, now. You stay on the job. You are getting$3 . Of course, you are not as good, you realize, as Red, but I will pay you $4 for a start, and just as soon as you make good, you will get the other two." Jim thinks on the one hand, what? No interest with me. I have disdained to have anything to do with him. And, on the other hand, what? Gratification of his ambitions. $4 a day now and six in the future. Here is a raft of kinds on the one hand, and they haven't got what they want, and Jim's ambition on the other is to give it to them. $6 a day and he can give it to them. Jim listens. Jim is human just the same as any other human being. Jim listens and Jim stays. I walk off the job, me and the rest of my kind. I go over to our union hall and for the first time in a long time I have a holiday. We knock around and we have picnics and one thing and another for a little while, and then suddenly become conscious of the fact that the mill has not shut down at all, and we are out of it. We have left it, and still it runs. Then, we think. What happened? Jim is on the job. The mill is still running, and it keeps on running, and we decide to send a committee over to see Mr. Garry. Our committee walk in to Mr. Garry. We have come to see you in connection with the strike. "With what?" "In connection with the strike." "What strike? What are you talking about?" "Why, the roughers' strike." "Roughers' strike. Why, there is a roughers' strike? I didn't know there was any strike on. Of course, we understood that some of our employes just voluntarily walked off the job, but I didn't know anything about a strike. I have got no time to deal with committees. Come on, gentlemen, move out." The committee comes back over to the union, and, of course, the stool

pigeons are busy. Discontent is rife. Funds are getting low, and me and my kind, we are punished, and we think that something is wrong somewhere. Panic stricken in a few weeks or a few months, depending on our resources, and our personal greed,—a few weeks, or a few months, why, we consider declaring the strike off, and finally we do declare the strike off. Then he goes back to look for a job. The strike is off, and I walk into the mill. "Good morning; any chance to get a job working?" "Why, no, nothing doing here." "Well, the strike is off now, I just thought I would come back." "No, sorry, nothing doing." Meantime, you know we have got kind of hungry. I have taken up a few notches in this thing. Another week goes by and I have taken up another notch. I go around again. "Mister, I would like to go to work. The strike is off. I haven't any work." "Don't be bothering me." The third week I go back again. "Now, I have got to get work." "I am very sorry, I have not any time to bother with you."

The fourth week. "Mister, please, I have got to have work. I have got my wife and family. I am on the hummer, and I have got to get work. You know I am a good roller, and you know that I am a good rougher, and I must have a job." You know, "I am perfectly competent." So the superintendent figures awhile, and he says, "Listen, Red. I don't know. I might put you back to work. Of course, I hope that you have learned your lesson. You see you would not pay any attention to what we told you. I am your boss and interested in you, and yet, in spite of the fact that you have always found me perfectly honest and fair with you, you let these blamed labor agitators twist and tie you around their fingers and cause a lot of disturbance here in this mill. Now, you have lost out. Now, you are down and out. Now, your family is suffering and perhaps you have learned your lesson. On the strength that you have, and because I sympathize for your babies, I am going to let you come back to work, Red." Tickled to death. Beat it down into the rolling room and just about the

time I am ready to start, he says, "By the way, I forgot something. Listen. When you left here you were drawing $6 a day. Now, you realize the company does not need you. We do not have to take you. It is simply we are looking out for your welfare and the welfare of your babies. We don't want to see any unnecessary suffering, but since you have been gone, Jim has been doing the work and I have been paying him $4 a day. Now, of course if you want to go back to work, it is a matter of indifference to us, but if you want to go back to work, why, of course, we cannot consider for a moment giving you any more than we have given Jim. The scale is $4 a day, now, otherwise it wouldn't be fair to Jim." Well, I have got to eat. $4 a day is all I can get, I usually get six, well, I will take it on. Jim looks at me, and he says, "Here, I thought you was a rougher." "I am. I was a rougher until you scabbed on me." "Yes, you was a rougher, but you were getting $6 a day, and I am getting $4 now, and you come in and scab on me." They get Jim, a laborer, and Red, a rougher, at logger heads fighting with each other. The situation is ideal for the promotion of Mr. Garry's business, but mighty hard and the pressure is pretty heavy on the stomachs of Jim's children. That is what occurred in the steel mills, briefly. I don't want to give it all to you. I could take you through every bit of it. I have experienced it all.

They tell you, and perhaps some of you have commented on it. I heard men say,—they have told me, "Red is bitter at this system." No, I am not bitter at this system particularly. I am too good natured to be bitter. That is a cinch, but I have every reason to be bitter. If you had seen—if you had seen as I have seen some of the petty small tricks that are pulled, and all of the human suffering that I have seen in an attempt to make a living for myself and my kind, then you too, perhaps would feel as I feel. Though, above it all, the bitterness that I hold is an intelligent bitterness, if any. I do not wish at this time, nor never have, and that is one of the reasons

why I joined the I. W. W.—I never have wished for a violent outburst against people who are not solely and wholly responsible for my condition. I am a product of the system. My purpose is to change that system, but I do not propose to change it through agencies that are valueless. For that reason I adopted the I. W. W. position. The I. W. W. recognizes this, if it recognizes anything: That emotionalism is the controlling factor in men. That intelligence is the guiding factor. If I live in a community where violence is indulged in, I have my life to defend. Where violence plays a permanent part, I am not safe. Therefore, I do not believe in indulging in violence.

If any bitterness that is attributed to the I. W. W. organization, it is—it is an intelligent resentment of conditions as they are.

Now, Mr. Garry, having disrupted the organization of the workers in the mills, found himself face to face with what? The same sort of an affair in the mines. There are two organizations in the mines, the Western Federation of Miners who were mining the ores, and the Metal Mine; and there was the coal miners union. Now, the condition in the Western Federation of Miners was what? They had an aggressive organization, and it must be broken up. Through the agency of stool pigeons, spies, and local situations, the union was made impracticable. The same thing, the worker of the coal program. Here is this situation that exists in connection with the miners activities. The miners are organized on what is known as the district form of organization. They are all organized in the Miners Union. All of them organized in the Miners Union, but they are organized in district form. Districts are declared with regard to the handling of their district business. The consequence was this, that the district in the northern part of one state would be on strike, while the district in the southern part of the state, as in the case of Colorado, both mines united and controlled by the same interests, this means the miners remained

at work, producing the necessary materials, while these men were out on strike; these poor tools, showing you how good the working man is at the bottom. These upper fellows tried to meet the needs of their striking brothers in the north by turning their own meagre pocket books to send supplies and food stuffs to the strikers and their families.

And these poor fellows, showing how good the working man is at bottom, these poor fellows tried to meet the needs of their striking brothers in the north, by draining their own meager pocketbooks to send supplies and food stuffs to the strikers and their families, but when this bunch was properly beaten, because of this division in their organization, then this bunch would go out on strike, and that bunch would produce all, and the consequence was that the miners' organization has disintegrated, falling of its own weight.

Now then, the same thing held true in regard to the transport workers. Here is your Lake Carriers' organization out here on the Lake front,—I don't say that part here—I always refer to the Lake Carriers' Association, because it is part of the steel mill program, but I am in Chicago now, the Lake Carriers Association out here on the Lake front, carrying the steel from the mines to the mills.

How are the operators on those boats organized? They were organized as pilots, longshoremen, cooks, waiters, seamen and so on, like Heinz pickles, 57 different varieties of unions, all operating on the one job. The strike was first provoked among the cooks and waiters, the marine cooks and waiters. This is what happened: The cooks and waiters went out on strike; scabs and Chinamen were recruited from Duluth, Detroit and other Lake ports. The scab would go in the fo' castle, prepare his stuff and the union crew, made up of the captain, mates, and the seamen, with the scabby cook, a sailor would come in the fo' castle and look the cook over and say, "Go on, old scab, don't come near me," but he would beat it right over to the table and eat the stuff that the

cook cooked, and they would choo-choo and go on to sea.

Then it wasn't very long until the cooks' union became a matter of a joke. Then the longshoremen scabbed as they did in this last strike down in San Pedro in 1916; some of you fellows remember; you were in it, and in 1916 the sailors scabbed on the longshoremen this way, and they did it on the lakes, too; there were members at San Pedro, members of both unions. Men who were carrying longshoremen cards and also carrying a card of membership in the Seamen's Union. They went out on strike as longshoremen and then they went up to the Sailors' Union Hall, laid down their card, paid their dues and got a permit to go to work as sailors, handling the cargo on the boats that they refused to handle as longshoremen. And that ain't all of it, fellows. Listen, you saw this, and I saw it. That isn't all of it. This is what happened, too. These self same scabs, there self same union seamen scabbing on themselves as union longshoremen, donated out of their seamen's wages one day a week to help the strike of longshoremen. Now what do you know about that? That is an absolute fact, and that same thing took place here on the Lakes. They had union longshoremen scabbing on the sailors. The union captain would look over a scabby sailor and say where did you ship before, somewhere on the canal? Listen, he abused the non-union crew, but he still gave them orders, and when the sailors became non-union, then the mates were forced out and he got a scabby mate, and he worked under a union captain, and bye and bye the whole thing went to smash, as it must properly go to smash.

The engine man on board, the union engineer, he makes me sore because, as you know, I have been an engineer for many years,—had to,—the union engineer makes me sore. When they force his fireman out on him, a scab would come in and the engineer would sit in the engine room and look back in the fire room, and say, "Come on, scab, hurry that

coal, you don't know how to make a fire, who told you you knew how to fire?" The fireman doing the best he could, keeping steam up as best he could, and the union engineer criticising him will have his license in that engine room, and open up his trottle and take the boat out to Duluth or Buffalo or some other port, open up the throttle and take her out, under his privilege as an engineer licensed by the Government, licensed to break the fireman strike.

The firemen all got licenses as soon as the engineers went out, and then the engineers were on the hummer. The firemen opened the throttle, and so was broken the craft unions on the Lake.

Now then we see what the steel trust,—this is not an industrialized business now; this is the trust in formation. The steel trust now, had what? They had the mines under control because they had manipulated the condition of the workers' union there. They had this under control because they had manipulated the situation there. There is another point you want to remember in connection with that: Do you remember how they injected these, oh, "Welfare" programs; they won't pay you the wages, and they tell you how they are going to take care of your wife and babies, and they will open up club rooms and their scabby headquarters; you remember that sort of thing; well, that is what they did to compensate for the workers' organization. They now had all three here, and it was effective opposition.

There was one other thing now that met their advancement and that was what? That was the men employed in the distributing agency. Who were they? They were the building trades workers. They were the men organized in the building trades departments of the American Federation of Labor, principal of which was the structural iron workers. The structural iron workers were a good staunch, earnest bunch of working men, men who took their lives in their hands every hour and minute of the day; they work swinging way out fifteen or twenty floors above a street on a narrow line. A man thinks in terms

peculiar to the manner and conditions under which he makes his living, and these men took a chance with their lives every day, every hour; everybody knew what a dangerous occupation a structural iron worker's trade was, and when they were forced on strike, psychologically reflecting their activities on the job, they took chances too. Unfortunately, foolishly, they indulged in violence that had to destroy their union, but the violence that the structural iron workers indulged in at no time or never was a counterpart for the murderous schemes and plans of the paid agents of the masters, who sought to provoke and discredit, provoke the iron workers and discredit their activities. One thing,—never let these moralists talk murders with you; they murder your kind and mine in industry, two million a year, and then, as in the case of the structural iron workers in the Los Angeles Times Explosion, and I as an I. W. W. do not justify that, and we as I. W. W's do not believe in that program, no I. W. W. does,—yet the simple truth of the matter is that the crime of the misguided McNamara boys at no time weighed with the crime of the Erector's Association, or any of the rest of these combinations of good and righteous business men.

Now then, the structural iron workers' organization, they went on strike. The steel frame was raised by scab structural iron workers and the good union cement workers came along and put around these steel columns concrete; and good union painters would come along and they would paint over the concrete, and a good union carpenter would come along and put in the surbases or the marble workers, covering up and hiding the scab-built structure,—all done by union labor, and when the iron workers in retaliation indulged in violence there, their organization went to smash.

Now, listen, twenty-one men were blown to kingdom come, or somewhere else, in the Times explosion. The McNamara boys went to the penitentiary. The structural iron workers' union has not amounted to

much since, although as men, the structural iron workers were the men who took more chance in one minute, one hour in their lives, all in the interest of humanity, than all the Garrys ever did in the interest of humanity.

Now, then, this is the situation; they had the striking department open; the steel trust now dominates the whole situation. They have it from the ground through its various stages of development, and through the distributing department to the actual users. That is a condition of industrialized businesses. That is the modern trust.

Now, then, there is another agent enters into this. They don't only use steel in the United States, they don't only use steel in Mexico, they use steel all over the world, and these steel companies have been developed all over the world. There was one thing more remaining for modern capitalism to do, and that was to develop its international aspect. That was the thing that proved conclusively that your capitalist's program cannot possibly be a national program; that your capitalistic program and they who make up these combinations, cannot be nationalists in any sense of the world; they must be international because of their international interests. These various national combinations organized them under the one head, the modern business element became your modern international capitalisms.

Now, briefly, my friends, this is the ground work; this is the thing that you and I see. This is the program that has been developed about us. This is the industrialization of business and the trustifying of industry that has taken place as the result of the introduction of the modern machine. This has all been done in the interests of profit. We I. W. W.'s ask you to do exactly—what? Nothing different. We do not ask you to organize differently from the way you are organized now. All we say to you is, in your single industrial communities, organize into an industrial union. Your interdependent industrial unions organize into one big union—one big union of the working

class, the I. W. W., the purpose of which is the abolition of poverty, the abolition of poverty through the abolition of the cause of poverty; not that you do not go to church or comb your hair in the middle; the cause of poverty is not because you drink five glasses of German disturbance each day. The cause of your poverty is profits, profits—the incentive of this private system of ownership.

Say, why don't they try to own the air? They can not cut her. They need it; they can not cut her. Why don't they own privately the sand of the beach? No. They want to own privately only those things that are socially necessary and through that ownership they are able to exploit you, because of your needs.

I talked this in Seattle one night, when I first came up here, and a young woman, I knew something about her, knew something about her circumstances, and she said to me, "Red, this stuff is good, it is first rate," and she said, "I don't know but what I agree to a very great extent with you I. W. W.'s, but this thing I do not agree upon, I do not agree with your concept of private property. You fellows do not believe in private property, you I. W. W.'s, and I believe in private property."

I thought to drive home a lesson; I thought to make her think, so I said to her, "Listen, I am going to show you that we I. W. W.'s are the only ones that do consistently believe in private property, and you, you who accept the bourgeois morality, you do not believe in it at all. You do not believe in private property at all." I knew something of this girl's circumstance, I knew she worked in a store, and I knew something of the compensation paid store workers, so I said to her, "Now listen, you say you believe in private property. You have on now a dress; that belongs to another man. That dress isn't yours. You don't want to own privately your own dress. That dress is the property of one of these excitement plan houses, fifty cents down and fifty cents

every time they catch you. You don't believe in private property when you go to eat. Where do you go to? You go to another man's restaurant. You eat on another man's plate; you use another man's knives and forks and you sit on another man's stool, and when you go to sleep, where do you sleep? In another man's bed. You pay $3.50 for a room for the privilege of crawling into another man's home, and you believe in private property. No, you don't, not for a minute. I believe in private property. I want my own home. I want all of the things that are necessary to my personal, physical comfort. I want all the things that are private in character, to be owned by me privately for my exclusive use, but I want you to own privately all the things you want to, your own clothes and all the rest of it. Your capitalists' moral, your bourgeois idea, precludes any idea of that. There is no hope. We want to own socially only the things that are socially necessary, and privately the things that are privately necessary."

Now then, having laid the groundwork for this, having started you as I have along the line of reasoning consistent with the program and the philosophy that I represent, I am going to bring you down to the ground where you live, in this strike—right where you live. We have got a strike on. I was working in the shop just as you were working in the shop. You know what you went through in camp; you know what the conditions were in the mill; you know about it just as I knew it. Now I am going to show you what this strike amounts to. I am going to explain to you several things that have not been explained before. I am going to explain to you the utter futility, the utter hopelessness of the program as suggested by Mr. J. G. Brown. I am going to show you this scheme of his is not a practical thing, and above everything else I am going to emphasize to you—for you, rather, the need of industrial solidarity, not only as I tell you of it, but as you actually see it used, and as organized against you by the

organized capital that is involved on the other side of the strike.

Now we will take up, in starting to do this—I will take up three lumber companies, for purpose of illustration. I will use three; I might use thirty; I might use as many as there are companies, but three will carry out the idea, and in illustrating here I will show you that you are up against a pretty stiff industrial combination, and that your craft union organization cannot possibly—now I propose to prove that to you—cannot possibly protect you, either during this strike or any other of like nature. I am going to grant you something in connection with this; I am going to grant you something that has never happened: I am going to grant you a condition existing, a perfection of organization, a craft organization that has never existed. I am going to concede a solidarity of workers that has never existed in the craft unions and I am going to prove to you that you are beaten. You are beaten without a show in the world.

Now let us take three of these big combinations. They may be lumber woods, shipping concerns, they may be mining outfits, they may be anything; the illustration applies with equal force to any and all lines of industrial activity, but in this particular case I am talking and using the lumber outfit for the purposes of illustration.

Now let us take three big lumber companies, let us take the Weyerhouser outfit, the Jones outfit and the Thompson outfit. All three of these outfits are operated by their respective owners. The Weyerhouser outfit operates the Weyerhouser business and all questions that are peculiar to the Weyerhouser business are settled by the Weyerhouser Company. Every question that has to do with the individual concern of that Weyerhouser outfit is settled by the officials of the Weyerhouser business. The same way with the Jones outfit: Every question that has to do with the Jones business, every question that is of vital importance to that company is settled by the officials

of that company, and the same way with the Thompson outfit.

Now then, questions that are of vital importance to all of these outfits, these lumber companies, operating in the lumber industry, where are they settled? When Weyerhouser's faces a question that is beyond him, if Jones or Thompson face questions that are beyond them, and their officials, how do they settle differences and questions? They settle their differences through the industrial union of the lumber barons, and that industrial union of the lumber barons is known under the head of the Lumbermen's Association. Weyerhouser belongs to that; Jones belongs to it and so does Thompson, and so do all the other lumber outfits belong to the Industrial Union of the lumber barons.

Now then, any question that is industrial in nature, any question that is of a vital importance to that industry, is settled through the medium of that industrial union, all of these outfits having representation.

I want to show you now what takes place, assuming that these plants are organized as solidly in the A. F. of L., I am going to grant you that this Weyerhouser outfit is organized solidly, every man, woman and kid on this job is organized in the A. F. of L. It is organized of course, in accordance with their craft union idea; the engineers in the engineers' union; the bookkeepers in the bookkeepers' union, and so on, but they are all organized solidly and they all decide to strike. These other two are all organized solidly, but these men and women on this job decide to strike, and they walk out. When this plant goes on strike, what happens? This is the first thing that happens: Weyerhouser's representative on this job comes over to the industrial union of masters and he says, "Look here, Jones, look here, Thompson, my men and women have gone out on strike; they have tied up my business; they have got me shut down tight. Every one of them have walked out. Now, listen, Jones, listen, Thompson," this is what Weyerhouser says, he says, "Listen, Jones, Listen, Thomp-

son, my people have gone on strike, and not because you love me, not because you belong to the same lodge, not because you live in the same neighborhood and go to the same church, you must take care of my business for the reason that our interests are identical as owners and operators of these lumber companies.

You must take care of me, not because of a moral obligation, but because of a class interest; you handle my orders, you handle my business during this strike, or else I will grant the demands of those workers, and if I grant the demands of those workers on my job, then instantly the workers on your job will force you to grant similar increases."

Therefore, Jones and Thompson decide to protect, —what? To protect their mutual class interest through the agency of this industrial union, and Jones, and Thompson, though they may be competitors for the local market, though they may be in competition seemingly, one with the other, for local markets, yet these two will take care of the Weyerhouser's orders and Weyerhouser's business until these workers are beaten, or until strike breakers and scabs can be secured. Now, what happens? That is, what takes place on the business side of the institution? What takes place among the workers?

This bunch of workers come down and see Jones' workers, They are all organized; they come over and see Thompson's workers. They say, "Look here, fellows, we are out on strike, we have got them all tied down tight" and Jones' men and Thompson's men say, "That's the dope, that's the system, stay with it, stay with it, we will appropriate $100 a day or $10,000 from our treasury; stay with it and beat that outfit into submission."

Some of the Weyerhaeuser outfit who happen to have I. W. W. tendencies will say: "While we are out on strike and you are going to give your moral and financial support, listen; Jones and Thompson are supplying the market of Weyerhauser. I tell you what you fellows do, you fellows come out on

strike with us; let's put them all on the bum; recognize the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all." These A. F. of L. men say: "No, them I. W. W.'s them Anarchists, them irresponsibles trying to put things on the bum, trying to mix things all up. We are working for Jones; Jones is a good boss; we are working for Thompson, Thompson is a good boss. We have an agreement with each of these outfits, and we recognize the validity of these agreements. We are men of purpose, integrity, and we are going to stay by our agreement," and they do. They go on producing lumber until this force is split, or these men and women driven back on the job—scabbed to death. This becomes an open shop. After this becomes an open shop, now, what takes place?

Now, then, this one over here will go out on a strike, and this open shop and this union shop, through the agency of the Lumbermen's Association, will take care of Thompson's business while he beats his slaves into submission, and that becomes an open shop, and then there are two open shops exist, these two open shops will take care of this business, of rAfteethismwilowunotaiersrcecthesareherthcaflkget the union shop, and this union shop will become open, and this is the way that they destroy the effectiveness of craft organization. That is the way that they make it inoperative in the interest of the workers, beating them, one organization against the other. Now, the I. W. W. does what? The I. W. W. organizes just as the masters do. The I. W. W. says, "Here, this is Weyerhaeuser's job." "All right. Every man, woman and kid on the Weyerheauser job organizes into a union of that particular job, and all of the questions concerning that particular job are settled by the workers on that particular job. All the workers on this job are organized into one union and all of the questions peculiar to that particular job are supplied by the men on that job, and the same way here (Indicating). But questions of vital importance to this whole industry, where are

they settled? They are settled in the Union Hall, in the I. W. W., the Workers' Union; just as the lumbermen's association is an industrial union of the masters, so is this an industrial union of slaves.

Now, then, we have got it under I. W. W. control, and let us see how it works? This is the way it works here, fellows. You know we have got them on the run right now. We will keep them on the run. This is the way it works:

The Weyerhaeuser bunch go out on strike; conditions on that particular job are bad and the men and women go out on strike or are forced out, or for any other reason leave. As soon as they leave, what happens? Weyerhaeuser, of course, rushes over here to the Lumbermen's Association, and he says, "Jones, Thompson, take care of my business, not because you love me, but because we belong to the same class. Look out for me. If you don't I will have to grant what they want, and if I do, why you will have to come to the same thing." And while Weyerhaeuser's agent is doing that, what took place in the Workers' Union?

A bunch of these slaves out of this job came down into the Industrial Union of Workers, and they say, "Look here, you fellows on the Jones job, look here you fellows on the Thompson job, we are on strike at Weyerhaeuser's, we have tied her up; we have tied her up because of abominable conditions. We want to increase the pay, decrease the hours or we want more money, whatever it may be, we have tied that job up. Now, listen you fellows on this job, and you fellows on this job, not because you love us, not because you go to the same church, not because your skin is of the same texture, or color, but because you are of the same class, you fellows stick with us, or, by Jingoes we will lose and anything we lose on this job you will lose on those jobs"—clearly a question of class interest. So these workers being intelligent in their own affairs, they decide to go on strike with Weyerhaeuser's slaves, and what happens? Jones' slaves come up to him and say,

"Look here, Jones, we are all out, going out on strike," and Thompson's slaves the same thing. They say, "What is the matter? Any trouble in this mill?" Jones said, "No trouble on this job, is there?" "No." "I am a good boss," Jones says. You are a good boss; no trouble on this job; everything fine and dandy on this job, but there is trouble over here on the Weyerheauser's job." Jones and Thompson say, "What have I got to do with the Weyerhauser job, I don't know anything about it." "You belong to the same class and as long as Weyerheauser's slaves are having trouble on the Weyerhaeuser job, so would you have trouble on the Jones and Thompson job."

Immediately Jones and Thompson get busy; They say, "Look here, Weyerhaeuser, what is the trouble? Our men are going out on strike. Our men have tied up our plant; everything is at a standstill. You are having trouble with your slaves. We cannot afford that. You have either got to settle with your slaves or we will be forced to take over your markets and drive you out of business. We have got to grant these demands and we have no voice in the matter until you settle this trouble satisfactorily with your slaves first."

Now, then, what is the situation? Under the A. F. of L. form of organization, we had one bunch of workers out on strike; we had two groups of organized workers backing up three industrial groups —three groups of industrialized masters beating one group of workers into submission. That is your A. F. of L. plan, class unions backing up good boses, beating these slaves into submission.

Under your I. W. W. plan, what have you got? You have three united groups of workers forcing two groups of parasites—well, to knock the hell out of the other one. That is the way the thing stands. We pit these interests, not against ourselves and against our time, but against themselves, in the way that they have successfully, up till now, pitted us one against the other.

Now, then, there are several questions involved in this strike here, of vital importance, and seemingly logical: The boss suggests, for instance, he suggests granting, as in the case of the job that I was on—the strike, as you know is the strike for the eight-hour day; it is a strike for better conditions on the whole. That was a camp that was 100 per cent organized. I was in a camp that was entirely wobbly-ized. The boss said there, "I will grant you the eight-hour day; I will grant you anything." I said, "Now, your attitude will pay in the long run, but your attitude at this time in nowise affects the eight-hour situation. You are a member of the Lumbermen's Association, and you are willing to grant the eight-hour day. You are willing to concede all of the things we ask. But you, as an individual member of the Association are, on account of your class interest, a menace to we who work for you. We got along with you well here, it is true, but we cannot accept the eight-hour day for you while the eight-hour day remains an open question elsewhere, and the reason we cannot accept that is the same reason that your Lumbermen's Association has threatened, according to your own statement, has threatened to throw you out of its organization if you grant our demands. You tell me that your Lumbermen's Association refuses to permit you to remain in membership if you break any of its rules, and one of its rules are in this case that you do not grant the demands of the strikers, but you are willing to scab on your own association, grant these demands, and you wonder why we are not willing to take them up and show you our position in the matter clearly; The Lumbermen's Association is organized industrially. It embraces this whole country and all kinds of outfits belong to it. Now, here, we will say are the Everett mills; here are the Index mills, here is the Seattle mills, and the Ballard mills and the Hoquian mills and so on innumerably. They have several hundred, I suppose a thousand; I don't know what the membership is, I don't care. But, "Here is each one of these units, each one of

these plants, all of these plants have memberships, in what? They have membership in the Lumbermen's Association. Now, then, the Lumbermen's Association, their purpose is what? Why, to gather together, to promote their mutual interests. What are their mutual interests? Mostly prices. What kind of prices? High prices for disposal, and low prices when they buy. Their business is to regulate and control the sale of their commodity, and regulate and control all of the things that affect that commodity. Now, then, among other things, the question of the strike has arisen, and it has been—it is of long standing; several months before this strike came on, there was all kinds of talks in the camp of strike, and of the possibility of strike, and whether the workers thought they would be able to succeed, to successfully improve their condition. The lumbermen recognized this thing. They knew it was talked. They have their stool pigeons everywhere and they decided in their own association, under the leadership, so I am told of Mr. Grammar, the Secretary of the outfit, they have decided they would appropriate five hundred thousand dollars for advertising, for publicity, for general campaigning, and you know that they are now spending a whole lot of it, and that appropriation was to fight off the eight-hour day. They recognized that if they could get—that is, to fight off the eight-hour day as a whole, as an industrial idea. They decided this, they would fight, and they decided that if the mill owners in Everett could talk the slaves into taking the eight-hour day there, and they would refuse to grant it at Index, and maintain the ten, and they would get it, say in Seattle, get the eight-hour day in Seattle they would refuse to grant it at Ballard or Bellingham and refuse to grant it in Hoquiam, then, they would have three —a couple or three or twenty, as the case may be, of these small units, or large units, as the case might be, governed by local color and condition; they would have these several units operating on eight-hour basis. Of course they would have them

producing. What? They would have them producing lumber to supply the demands of all, or as nearly supplying the demands as their production would permit, spread out over them all. That would have meant what? That would have meant inevitably in time that these mills, these towns that stuck out for the 8-hour day, the slaves would have been starved into submission, they would have gone back on the ten hour basis. When they went back on the ten hour basis, what would take place in the eight-hour mills? Then the Lumbermen's Association would, through the individual membership and the individual owners of these mills, would notify their slaves there that they could not continue to operate on the eight-hour day because they were in competition with the ten hour people, and if the slaves would not stand for ten hours in those mills, all right, they would fire them anyhow, and these mills would supply the demands until the ten-hour scab crew could be organized.

Now, then, the price of lumber is determined the same way. They fix their prices; they regulate what they will sell for, and the conditions of sale. We, I. W. W.'s, when they offer us the eight-hour day, knowing this to be so, being in touch with our communities just the same as the Lumbermen's Association, having the same ideas exactly in mind that the industrial kings have, we said, "No, no eight-hour day anywhere unless it is an eight-hour day everywhere; an injury to one is an injury to all," just the same as the lumber baron says, when the demands for lumber came on, when the lumber barons got together in their Lumbermen's Association, and you have seen it, they have jumped the price of lumber that used to be ten, twelve, fifteen dollars a thousand, they have jumped it to a hundred and five dollars, and in some instances higher.

They regulate the price and they are respectable, decent, law abiding citizens for doing it, but you and I, you workers, when we get together and we regulate the price of our commodity, well, they tell you

that long-haired, wild-eyed, free-lovers, and irresponsibles of every description. We I. W. W.'s know what we are doing. The thing that we are doing today, the thing that we are doing now is winning the lumber strike. We have beaten down to their knees the lumber barons, a group who up till this time have done—what did they do here the other day? They defied the President of the United States in his request for an eight-hour day. They defied the governor of this state; they have defied every agency, but their own little interests here, and we, we wild-eyed irresponsible I. W. W.'s, we have beaten them into submission. We have got them on their knees. Stick with it, and we will take them all the way down the line. These camps will be fit to live in; we'll have baths in them; we'll have good grub; if we don't have good grub, and baths, then they don't run the lumber camps, because we are going to settle it.

Now, this is a test of strength between two great big powerful institutions: Here is the Lumbermen's Industrial Union on the one hand, a big powerful institution, because of its protection of organization. Here is a powerful institution on the other hand, powerful because of the protection of its organization. Which of these two will win in this struggle? Between these two classes the struggle must go on until the workers of the world take over the industries and operate them in the interest of society, and so on. This is the struggle of these two, which will win? We cannot lose, and this is the reason we cannot lose: We are the workers. We produce the things that keep society alive. Our organization is necessary to society. These people cannot win if we continue to exercise solidarity, because they are unnecessary to society, and society in its needs will force the issue. The government will take hold of this thing, the government or society, actuated by the social demand, will take hold of this thing. We cannot lose. These people must lose, but the solution

of it all lies with you. If you continue to exercise industrial solidarity, well and good. The others, if you don't, the other outfit wins. When they win it is starvation and misery for you. When you win, your kids are fed and clothed, and if you stay winning long enough, if you continuing exercising industrial solidarity, there is nothing in this wide world to stop you putting this outfit into overalls and watch them work.

Now, then, in the several sections involved in the strike, we are face to face with a situation that is of vital importance. We have a number of small farmers, commonly refered to as stump ranchers. Now, these men have come into possession of a mortgage to a small patch of ground, from which the larger trees have been removed, and nothing remains but stumps and wreckage. These men are attempting to pay for thēir so-called homes. These plots of groud have been purchased from the lumber associations, usually on the long time basis of so much down and so much everytime you get anything. Now, there is a lot of you fellows here that are strikers of the stump ranch variety. The only element that we find scabbing on us of any importance at this time is the stump ranch farmer. I was down to Port Angeles a short time ago, and at Port Angeles when I came into town, it is a community made up largely of little ranchers, ranchers, farmers, stump ranchers, and so on, when I came to town I was that horrible Red Doran, that I. W. W., they were absolutely convinced that I was going to steal all of the stumps out of their ranch. I was going to tell their wives, and eat their kids, and there was nothing to it. They knew it.

Now, I went in there, and a good many of these men were scabbing on us, and I said, "Look here, Fellows, this is a square deal. You are out on a stump ranch trying to make a living and you cannot make her go. I am in a blacksmith shop trying to make a living and I cannot make it go. Now, it is

a dead moral cinch that we both work, ain't it? 'Yes.' All right, I tell you what to do, you give me an opportunity to explain the I. W. W.'s position to you and I am willing for you to continue to scab if I don't prove to you that the longer you stay on a stump ranch the less chance you ever have of owning a stump ranch. If I don't prove to you that a good sized farm with a big plot of ground operating as most of them are operating, with mighty few exceptions, the longer a farmer works on a farm, the harder he works on the farm, the less chance he has to meet his mortgage. If I don't prove that to you guys, go on back and scab, and I won't say anything about it." So, recognizing that was my only chance, and appealing to them on that ground, I succeeded in getting a sufficient number of them to agree to listen to me, and I pulled my farmer talk, my stump ranch talk, and the mill that had been operating the next day—

THE COURT: Suspend until two o'clock.

(Whereupon a recess was taken until two o'clock of the same day, Friday, June 28, 1918.)

Friday, June 28, 1918;
2:00 o'clock P. M.

Court met pursuant to recess.

(Roll call of defendants; all present.)

THE COURT: Proceed.

THE WITNESS: Now, then, Fellows: In connection with your stump ranch proposition; in order that the thing may not be misunderstood, I will go briefly and quickly to the base of the matter. Now, we know from sources, that at least I am willing to consider authorative—the Industrial Relations Report, a United States report, that the farms of this country, most of them are operated, or a great percentage of them are operated as tenant farmers. That brings into this basic question; the question of economic determination. As I remarked here before, a man thinks in terms peculiar to the manner and conditions uinder which he makes his living.

Given groups think in like terms according to their environment. Take a young lad born in the country. A young man or woman born in an agricultural district, what represents to them, economic security? Naturally—the rural district, agricultural district—their whole environment forces them to think in terms of chickens, cows and land. Land, as the necessary thing to give them economic security. A young boy of the city thinks in terms of tools, mechanical industries. Business that uses tools peculiar to the mechanical activities of the industrial center. The farmer boy thinks in terms of agriculture. He thinks in terms of land and in things that are peculiar to land; chickens, cows and so on. A young fellow born and raised in the country, naturally coming up into boyhood and into young manhood, seeking to marry, he wants first to get some land. Why does he want land? He wants land because once in possesion of that land, he supplies the labor power necessary to produce for him the things necessary for him to have in order to live; economic security. Now, as a result of the graft and theft and conditions existing with regard to the land of this country, all of the valuable land, or a great portion of it, is in the hands of some landlords; absentee landlords to a great extent. As a matter of fact, hundreds of thousands of acres—and in one case millions of acres, are held by members of nobility abroad, while the farmer boy raised here has not enough land to work on. The timber fields, and railroad grants, all that kind—all of the valuable land is in the possession of the landlords, and the young boy of an agricultural community finds himself face to face with this proposition: Either he must take up some land, own it and control it, through the licensee of a local bank; he must take up that land locally on a share basis, or else he must take up the government proposition. The United States government bets any of its citizens 160 acres against their time that they cannot make a living. Some of them go out and try it. Usually

you will find that the 160 acres that is open to the settler is so located that it is impossible to get by on. Our country here, this western country you are acquainted with it, you know that nine-tenths of the men that ramble around this country, have at one time or another been homesteaders, or potential homesteaders. They have tried to make good on the government bet. There the land stands straight up on edge, and you try to farm both sides of it, working eight hours in the forenoon in the shade and eight hours in the afternoon on the other side of it in the shade; or else the land consists of desert. It is 16 miles to the north to water, 16 miles to the east, south and west, and usually miles straight down. You could take ten buck indians and a barrel of lime juice and you couldn't raise umbrellas on it. Now, that is the sort of a proposition, if you wish to take up a farm that you are forced to face, except that you hire out usually on the share basis; hire out this land in the control of the banks. An agriculturist thinks in terms of Agriculture. You cannot blame him for wanting some land, so he undertakes to get some land. This is the situation. Now, the land is represented by the bank. Let this represent the bank. (showing.) Let this represent the farm land, (showing). These are three desirable plots of farm land. This farm land may be owned by anybody. It doesn't make any difference. Usually its control is in the hands of a bank. A young boy wanting to establish a home for himself, goes to the bank, and he says, "Here, I want to take up this land on a share basis." There is usually competition for the privilege of operating desirable land. So there are five of these young men all seeking the chance to establish themselves, to take unto themselves a wife and go on living naturally. These five young men want this land. There are three desirable plots, and it is in control of the banker. The first fellow, a great big, powerful boy, comes to the banker and asks permission—the local bankers know something of the local situa-

tion. They know something of the color; something of the life of the applicants. This great big lad, anxious and willing—he has the reputation of being a first-class worker. He is a first-class worker, and he asks for this contract. The banker agrees to let him have this land on the basis of 50 per cent of his product. 50 per cent belongs to the bank and 50 per cent belongs to him. All right. The next applicant, just as anxious to have a home and just as desirable to establish himself and live as a good citizen, he is not physically the equal of this first boy. He is a little inferior physically, though temeprmentally and intellectual he is perhaps his equal. Well, he wants a piece of land. There are these four applicants, and this one is the next successful tenant. The banker engages, of course, on the basis of fifty-fifty. He picks out the farm boy that is in the banker's estimation is best able to make good on the soil. So the second boy, who is not the physical equal of the first, gets this piece of land. Out of the remaining three, the next most likely candidate gets this piece of land on a fifty-fifty basis. That leaves a standing army of unemployed; two. Two of these farm boys, each actuated by the same desire, each seeking a chance to live, and they want land. Now, that is the element with which these are kept in line or check. This is an illustration of the general situation, you understand.

Now, we say they all start off the first year. The big powerful animal here, who has every advantage, he produces at the end of the year, that is, he has produced $70 an acre. His product is worth $70 an acre. All right, This lad at the end of the year has produced $60 an acre. (Showing.) This one has produced $50 an acre. (Showing.) Now, then, at $70 an acre, on a fifty-fifty basis, $35 goes to the bank and $35 remains in the possession of this fellow. On a $60 basis, $30 goes to the bank and $30 remains in his possession. On the basis of $50 an acre, $25 goes to the bank and $25 to the farmer.

Now, then, originally the first year, before this work was undertaken, there was a value placed upon that land by the banker? What is the value of that land? If the land has not been operated, the banker does not know what the value of the land is. He will hazard a guess, basing his conclusion upon the value of adjoining property. Now, if he says this land is worth $300 an acre, or $500 an acre, or any other number of dollars an acre, consistent of the price of land in the immediate neighborhood, each of these young men start out with the intention of securing ultimately that farm for themselves. They say $300 an acre. All right. Fifty-fifty basis, one-half of it is mine, and one half of it belongs to the bank, but I will not have to work very long before I will have enough to buy this land. Away back here, underlying all of their activities is this idea, that some day this land is going to be mine, that is the thing that they think of.

At the end of the first year, this fellow has produced $35 for the bank. All right. $35 on the basis of 5 per cent interest, calculates on the—$35 is 5 per cent, then the principal is $700. $35 at 5 per cent is interest on $700. $30 at 5 per cent, fifty-fifty with the bank is what? It is interest on $600. $25 at 5 per cent, that is what? Interest on $500. What is the value of that land? The value of that land to the banker is respectively $700, $600 and $500. Although he may have estimated it originally at $300. But the banker figures value of land, not by what it will produce in social necessary wants or needs, but by what it will produce in interest. And at the end of the first year—at the end of the first year's contract, the bank finds themselves face to face with this situation: Here are three pieces of land, all of them equally fertile; all of them equally desirable, yet the three different men have produced, their activities have resulted in different valuations respectively seven, six and five hunred. So, when these young farm boys come to the second year to get the privilege

of farming this land again as tenant farmers, what do they run into? Of course, the big strong husky boy, he looks for a renewal of his contract, and the banker says: "Of course, Jim, you are fine. You did nobly. You did well. Certainly, I will renew your contract for you. I will renew the contract. You have got me $35 an acre last year," and the banker signs up with him.

But when the second man comes along the banker is not so anxious. He says, "Now, look here. I know you and I knew your family and I knew your father. I know you are a good fellow. I know you are intelligent and there is nothing wrong with you. I am anxious to renew the contract with you. I am willing that you have the privilege of this land again, but actually I am losing money on you. I am losing money. You know, of course, that friendship is one thing and dollars another. You cannot expect me—you are too good a business man as a farmer to expect me to lose money on you. If you can do as well as the other man has done, why, of course, I am glad to sign up with you. I am losing money on you for this reason, that there is Jim over here with this acerage, he has produced $35. That land is worth $700. Now, if Jim's land is worth $700, so is all the rest of this land, and you have only produced $30. That is productive on a $600 basis. That means that I am losing $100 valuation if I allow you to have this. However, I will tell you, because of your family, I think I see a way out. You spend a little money for some modern machinery; put a little machine equipment on this farm and bring it up to its proper development. Bring it up to its proper prospective capacity and everything will be fine and dandy." So, of course, the second man promises.

The third fellow comes along, and oh, he is out of luck entirely, he has only produced $50. That $50 means a loss of $20 more to the bank. The bank has not any intention, of course, of throwing him off of there, but the banker pretends he is; pretends that

he has every intention of denying him an opportunity to operate this land. So, playing him against these unemployed two he has—the two that I have used for illustration, he bickers and dickers with him, and finally he secures the promise of this man to put in modern machinery and give a mortgage to assume some burden and to take some additional debt. To whom? Why, to the banker, and the banker pretending to be very magnamonious; pretending to be very kindly and good and considerate; agrees to lend him enough money at 8 per cent or some other per cent, to buy machinery to boost the banker's business $20 more. Everything is fine and dandy. They start off the second year. Everything is lovely. Now, then, they go to work. At the end of the second year, what has occurred? Jim has no modern machinery. He has been saving a nest egg, hoping to buy the ranch some day. This second man has gone to the expense of some machinery. This third man has gone to considerable more expense, and each are indebted to the bank for the machinery that they have purchased; but with the aid of this machinery in these two instances, and with out the aid of machinery in that, all three of the farms now produce what? $70 an acre. All right. $70 an acre. Fifty-fifty basis, $35 for the bank and $35 for the farmer. That means at 5 per cent that all of this land is worth $700 an acre. Everything is lovely. They sign up at the beginning of the third year, but before they sign up, the banker now is disgruntled with the big strong, husky, cautious fellow. "Jim" he says, "look here, you have done just as well as the rest of them, I will grant you that, but you have not any iniative. You are never going to be a success in life. Here you are out here by hand, deliberately killing yourself doing things that could be just as readily done with some modern equipment. Now, then, I am sure that you could do better with that land. You see that these two men down here, each by using a little machinery, have made their land productive to the extent of

$10 to $20 an acre more than it had been the preceding year. Now, then, you have not done a bit better this year than you did last year. If you would put in the machinery, you would not only save yourself a lot of hard work, but you would also improve your chances by improving the productivity of the soil." So at the beginning of the third year, Jim starts out equipped with some machinery and also equipped with a mortgage to the bank. Now, then at the end of the third year, what occurs? Jim, with his extra physical capacity, Jim with his brute strength plus machinery, produces what? $90 an acre. $90 an acre and these two are only $70 over here (Showing.) Something pretty wrong somewhere. $90 an acre on a fifty-fifty basis, what is that? $45 to the banker and $45 to the farmer. All right. $45 at 5 per cent is what? It is interest on $900. Interest on $900. Now, then when Jim comes over and says, "Oh, I am doing pretty well. I made $90 an acre this year, $45 of which is mine. I will soon be in a position to buy this land. Mr. Banker, you value this land at $700. Pretty soon I will be able to buy it. Everything is lovely." The banker says, "Oh, listen, Jim, you are not abreast of the times at all. Don't you know that they are digging some new canals in China? Don't you know that in Panama they have a new plague, and for that reason land values have gone up? Land values have gone out of sight. Now, right here in our immediate neighborhood, to prove to you that land values have gone up because they are building canals in China, or the chickens have got the pip somewhere, because of these unusual things, land that was formerly $700 an acre is $900 an acre." These other two boys face the same situation. They hope to buy the land at $700 an acre. Jim makes a $900 proposition. By the the time they stock up with more machinery and some more mortgages to make what is a $90 an acre proposition, Jim has gone to a hundred, and when Jim's has gone to a hundred, land is worth a thous-

and dollars an acre, and as long as Jim works as hard as Jim works, and as hard as his neighbor works, the longer they stay with it, and the less chance they ever have to own one of them.

I was talking to a man in Yakima the other night. He was a long whiskered gentleman of about sixty or seventy. He had been to my meeting the previous evening, and I was passing down the street and he grabbed hold of me, and he says, "Say, wait a minute. I want to talk to you." I stopped and listened to him. He says, "Look here, I have been a farmer all my life. I thought I owned a farm for the last thirty years. Last night I found out that all I owned was a mortgage; all I could ever hope to own was a mortgage, and the thing that makes me sore—the thing that makes me wild altogether, is that it took you damned I. W. W.'s to show it to me." Now, that is the situation with the average farmer—that the average farmer faces. He thinks in terms of agriculture naturally. He goes out and finds the land taken up, all of it that is desirable; all of it that is worth while. The bank holds him and grinds him through mortgages of one kind or another—of course, these fellows have their limit of endurance. How often will you find a man on the front end of a street car—a good practical farmer, an agriculturist who should by every reason, be still in the country operating on a farm; what do you find him doing? Find him down there trying to make a longshoreman out of himself; trying to run a street car; taken away from the environment that he knows. Why? Because after putting in the best years of his life here and bucking a game of this kind that cannot be beat, it is worse than gambling in a gambler's house and gambling with the gambler at that. You cannot beat it. You can't beat these people here that way. There is no chance in the world to beat them when you play with their cards. You play their game. So, in desperation, perhaps with a raft of kids, he goes to the city expecting to make

good in the industrial centers where millions of industrial slaves cannot make good. The industrial slaves of the city go out to the country and try to make good on a farm, where the practical farmer cannot make good.

Now, that is the type of man usually that the stump rancher is. He takes on a piece of work from the company. The company give him ten acres, we will say, on the basis $20 an acre, or $50 an acre or some other number of dollars an acre. He takes up this land and this is what it looks like (Indicating.) Here is his patch of soil (Indicating.) This is what it looks like (Showing.) These are the stumps (Showing.) He takes this thing up on the basis of $20 an acre. The company allows him to pay $20 down, and then they employ him at $3 a day and they will take so much out of his monthly wage and give him an opportunity—yes, to raise a family. Be fine and dandy. Ten acres. Well, he starts in. the instant that he puts the first few dollars into this thing, that instant he becomes the abject slave of that lumber company. That instant he becomes absolutely in their power to do with as they like. Why, he gets a few hundred dollars—understand, that the man is actuated by his own motives. He is pushed by his own desires. He seeks a home. He gets hold of a few dollars and he buys him some lumber; perhaps he stays up a little later than his neighbors at night and doesn't buy it, but gets it. He gets a little lumber together here and he starts him a shack. Now, he has got a wife usually. Mostly stump ranchers have—oh, yes, they are strong on that family stuff. No race suicide among stump ranchers. He has generally got a family, a wife and six children. He gets a little shack together out here, and he goes on and plods and economizes and gathers together enough money to buy him a cow and twenty or thirty chickens, and perhaps a sow, to live. Now, he has got a pig, a cow and some chickens, and he has got a stump ranch. Of course,

his neighbor, is another stump rancher in about the same sort of a fix. For the first six months or a year, this fellow that is working in the mill all day or in the woods all day, when he comes home at night he will hook himself up to his neighbor's plow, and they will plow a little around between the stumps. The next night the neighbor will do it, and they are both scabbing on a horse. They have there—this thing is unequipped generally. You will usually find that the fresh water is over on this corner; away over here (Showing.) So the stump rancher puts his wife to work scabbing on an engine, piping water from there to here (Showing.) His wife, she wants to help. She is anxious to do everything she can. A good woman and he is a good man; just as good a citizen as it is possible to get, or find any where, and they are both seeking to do something for their little brood. They are willing to put up with any hardship, and she generally runs barefooted, around here; you could never buy her shoes to fit her after she has been on a stump ranch any length of time. Snow shoes would be about the proper thing. She puts up with all sorts of hardships and endures all sorts of things; self-denial is the thing that counts. Well, they have got a cow. He knocks out these stumps as circumstances permit. In time, of course, he gets rid of much of it, but in the meantime what is the situation with regard to his job in the mill. He is an abject slave. The more he puts on this bit of land, the greater number of instalments that he pays on that land, the more the company has him in their power.

They cut his wages at option. They do anything they like with him by option. He does not dare quit, because this nest egg. This is his stake. He is always fired with the ambition and always looking ahead to the day when he will be clear and he will enjoy economic security. His children are just like any other children. They would like milk; they would like eggs. They would like fresh pork. This

does not hold good with only children of the stump rancher. This holds good with the children and wives and families of all ranchers. It does hold good with all tenant farmers as a rule.

Now these children would be benefitted by fresh milk; they would enjoy fresh milk and cream, but do these farmers' children have fresh milk? No. Not for a minute. The fresh milk is taken—the cream is separated and it is sent to town. There remains the skimmed milk. Does the farmer's child drink skimmed milk? Not on your life. No, sir. That skimmed milk goes to the pigs and you can't peddle the kids, do you see?

Then too, there are eggs and chickens. The farmers' children would like to eat eggs and they would enjoy chickens. Do they do it? No, sir, not on your life. The chickens are taken to town and sold, and so are the eggs, the pigs are sold in town. The milk and cream and butter is sold, and Mr. Stump Rancher has in return for his commodity, what? He has money. In the meantime, his children have been puny. He finds himself now in the possession of money. What is he going to do with his money? Well, he has got it. He is in town, and before he comes back out on the ranch he stops in the drug store and he spends a portion of that money to buy patent medicines, and I guess he gets some Omega Oil along with other things, and when he gets back out to the ranch, he takes each youngster in turn and rubs a little Omega Oil on the outside of the stomach to cure the ills that come from not putting good grub on the inside of the stomach. That is the situation with the stump rancher. That is the situation with the average tenant farmer. He is seeking to beat the system by starving himself to death. Now then, suppose—all things come to an end. Suppose that in time he does succeed in removing most of these stumps. Suppose we will say, for the purpose of illustration, he has removed them all. Of course, there is a long, wearisome trouble siege.

Both for him and his family. He has to put the youngsters to work. Usually they are denied babyhood. Usually they are denied childhood. Always they are denied a proper schooling, particularly in the lumber district, or districts owned and controlled by the lumber barons of the type that I know and that you know about. You know that your youngsters do not get any kind of a chance. The same holds good everywhere.

Suppose now that he has got this thing plowed up. He has scabbed on the horse and he has used a shovel and he has done every conceivable thing in order to be successful. He has got a few furrows of stuff here now. He has got some spuds or some wheat or something or other of that description, and he sees ahead of himself, what? A chance to clear up on his little patch of stumps. He has got a chance now to pay for the doctor's bills that his wife has incurred through having ruined her health. He has got a chance to do any one of a number of things he thinks. He has raised spuds and the crop is good. All right. He turns his crop out. He figures on the basis of his debts. He figures on the basis of his own needs, on the basis of the time put in here to plow and otherwise make the soil productive, and he figures that he has got to sell the spuds at 90 cents a bushel in order to make good. It doesn't make any difference whether it is spuds or cucumbers or carrots, or whatever it is. This is just an illustration. He figures that in order to pay him—in order to meet his obligations that he has incurred incidental to the production of this stuff, he has to get 90 cents a bushel for his spuds, and he starts out with the intention of getting it. This is what he comes in contact with. He finds out when he gets to the market, spuds are selling at what? 85 cents; or 70 cents, or 60 cents, or some other number of cents; less what he must have in order to get by on. Now there is a reason for it. What is that reason? Briefly this is it:

Here is a big ten thousand acre farm, a hundred thousand acre farm, or a farm such as I have seen in portions of the United States, extending for miles. You know—You know the story that runs through this country that of the Miller and Lux concern, who in 1850 are supposed to have taken advantage of the land law and driven a hayrack with a rowboat on top of it from one end of this country to the other, and had taken up as tide lands, land that extended from the Canadian border to the Mexican line. You know of the story that runs of the Miller & Lux ranch, how Miller and Lux can go into the United States at the Canadian line on their own private property and leave the United States at the Mexican border, and never have stepped off their own property. I have seen ranches of that kind. You have seen ranches of that kind. You have seen ranches, hundreds and thousands of acres, many of those large ranches are operating, proucing what? Wheat; spuds and other things necessary to man's privilege to live. How are they operated? They are operated efficiently. They are operated with the aid of modern machinery. They have consolidated things. They have operated—the changes of farming have been just the same as changes of mechanical industry. They have been controlled by the introduction of modern machinery. This fellow here with his ten thousand acre farm, he has got steam tractors. He has got gasoline engines. He has got aqueduct systems. He has got light and heating and he has got electricity. He has got anything and everything that makes a big farm modern. My friends, the big, modern farm is just as modern as any modern machine shop. Every detail is thought out. Now, then, else; and then makes up his account and sees where these people who do not haveto consider the matter of hours, this poor little fellow—some of you fellows have taken in the harvest, haven't you? Well, you know how the average farmer works in the harvest. He puts in an eight hour shift in the morning and an

eight hour shift in the evening, and then does the chores in the evening when he ain't doing anything he stands at the bank, and then, of course, when he has nothing else to do, he goes to bed; a matter of twenty hours or twenty-two hours, in fact in some of the harvesting country a man does not need any bed or any blanket. All he needs is a lantern just so he can keep on moving. You have been there and you know that it is hard work. You know what hard work these men put in. However, that fellow is a farmer and he is the same kind of a fellow that you are. You know that he is entitled just as much as you are to the full product of his toil. All right. This man puts in many hours with his own process of production. This man with the modern machine is in competition with him. They work nights. They have electric lights and they start these machines off and they cut twenty-four or any other number of furrows at one time, where he drags along little by little. The consequense is that when, having figured the cost of production of spuds on this ranch they find that ten cents will cover the thing. Now, ten cents is the cost of production on this ranch and 90 cents cost of production on this ranch, both these men must sell in the same markets. It is a cinch they cannot go less than the cost of production, and it is a cinch that these people are not going to charge any less than they have to. So there is only one way out of this, and that is this product of this large acreage, produced with the aid of modern machinery and efficiency, is sold at 85 cents a bushel in competition with the small farmer over here attempting to compete by hand. The consequence is what? The consequence is what you see on every hand. The consequence is what the inevitable consequence is. Do you see? The centralizing of control in all industries into fewer and fewer hands, until today, my friends —I was born and raised in this country and so were my people before me. They told me—as a child, they told me that we did not believe in kings, that

we did not believe in crowned heads and rulers; that we and all of our forefathers had once ridded themselves of the parasitic bunch that were a detriment to us; we citizens of this country—we could enjoy freedom and security. Now, listen: Let me show you something—something in connection with your freedom and security. I have got your Industrial Relations Report and I want to back up my statement. I want you to know that I did not take this stuff—dig this stuff up out of my own head. I want to call your attention to something that you should know in the light of the fact that they tell you. They tell you that we did away with kings. The kings of this country, more powerful than any other kind of kings that ever lived. Those are the kings that own the interests of the people. When men or a group of men own the things that you must have in order to live, then they own you. This is what we face today. Here in this country—on page 9 of this abridged report of the United States Industrial Relations Commission we find this—we find that six financial groups control 28 per cent of the total number of wage earners engaged in the industries covered by the report of our investigations. The Morgan, First National Bank group alone controls corporations employing 785,499 wage earners. Think of it. Think of it. When a man owns the things you must have in order to live he owns you. Of course he does.

Now here is one financial institution that owns roughly three-quarters of a million—the destinies of three-quarters of a million of wage earners, and the six of these financial groups employ 2,651,684 wage earners; two and three-quarters million in round figures; two and three-quarters millions of men absolutely dominated and controlled by industrial kings; a control that is just as autocratic a control, that is just as arbitrary a control, that has no more consideration of you and your interests than any feudal control that ever existed in the past. Now that is what we face here, you and I and all other wage

workers; farmer, slaves in the mechanical industries, and any other useful citizens of not only this nation but the nations of the world are face to face with this industrial program. The cure-all, as we see it, is what? The cure-all is to take them ourselves. Why shouldn't we take? We use these tools. We do the work. They are only useful to us. All of society must have the product of the earth and the tools of production and distribution, and therefore we say we should use them and we should operate them. We must own them. The matter is up to you. Stop and think. Stop and think. Think of the master's right to drive you. Resent that. Rather demand —yes, first—hold the concept—concept is necessary first. Hold the concept of your own freedom, and then you will conceive freedom for all. But your own freedom can never come as long as you remain economically inferior. The economical superior class of this country—that is the class that own and control the things that are socially necessary, can do as they blessed well please, as long as they remain superior; as long as you are inferior, part of the subject class, you will obey the will. That is all.

Now here is another thing. I am a married man. I haven't any babies now. I have a wife that is a cripple. Most of you fellows have met her. This is the thing that affects me. I think it affects any man that stops to think. It is purely natural for a man to marry; for a man to want to marry; for a man to want to have babies. These mush-fakirs, in the face of the industrial system such as exists, have nerve enough to tell you and to tell me that our women—our daughters, our mothers, our sisters, our family relatives of one kind or another—something is wrong with them. They are not what they should be. I have heard these apologists for this system say—"Oh, excuse the red light district; excuse the poverty and prostitution. Excuse it on the basis of the lack of moral fibre." Moral fibre lacking in our women! Our girls. You may not have a sister, maybe, that

has been forced to endure some of these things, but some of your kind have sisters that have felt it. Some of my kind have felt it. 64.4 per cent of the women in industry earn less than $6 a week. Get it? Let it go deep. Realize it in its full significance, $6 a week. Here is a woman, actuated by instinct first, and then by every spirit of morality, every spirit that has to do with decency—here is a woman who gives in exchange for her life the things that she must have, all that she has at her command; her labor power. In return for that labor power she gets what? She gets $6 a week, eh? Then when she goes out and peddles her soul, as she must—you would do the same if you were a woman—she goes out and peddles her soul. The terrible part of the thing is that your kind will sit and listen to a lot of apologists, contemptible respectables, hurl it into your teeth that your women are no good, when they pay $6 a week. That is what we face. That is what I, as an I. W. W., object to, and that is what I, as an I. W. W. will continue to agitate to do away with all the time. I cannot conceive of being square with myself and be conscious of the existence of these things and not fight against them. I am a slave. Yes, I am a slave, but you bet your life I am not a submissive slave. I am a slave that is battling every inch of the way. I justify my battle on the ground of humanity's cause, and that is the battle that the whole organization fights.

Now then, you fellows, you know what you are up against. Here is another point that I want to make clear for you. This idea of pitting one with the other; a first class man, second class man, third class man and fourth class man. You have had your bosses tell you that story so much that you believe it. You have had your bosses tell you that stuff so often that you take pride in out-doing one another. What is the good of it? The only thing that you get out of it is misery. The only thing your kind gets out of it is misery. Now, I am going to show you here what the

second, third and fourth class man program means for you. Incidentally you can use your own judgment as to what it means for the class that drives you on; the class that gives monkey dinners while your kids and mine go hungry. The class that revels in the things that ours die for the want of. The class that wastes more stuff than would keep thousands of our kind going, and the class that is utterly worthless, while we—we people who keep this whole game turning over, well, we know what it is. It is a flock of box cars, and it is misery. It is everything that is damnable, in my estimation, and you know it.

Now let me show it to you. Your first, second and third and fourth class man stuff. Give you an opportunity to think what it means to you. Give your first, second, third and fourth class farmers an opportunity to think what it means for them.

Here is a first-class man—and he is a first-class man. What is he? What does he amount to? A first class man. A first class man is an unusual individual. Just as I showed you that the farmer boy —just as you find on your own jobs, the man who, because of some physical superiority, a man who, because of some mental superiority he excels those around him. He is afirst-class man. What does he draw a day as a first class man? He draws $4 a day. A first class man. A second class man, what is he? He is the man next to the first class; next in physical superiority; next in the ability to do much work, and he draws $3.50 a day. The third class man, less able to do or conform to the speed and productivity of the first class man, he draws $3 a day. Now here is the fourth class man, the mediocre, the ordinary individual; just the common herd. He is a fourth class man and he draws $2.50 a day. We I. W. W.'s understand it, if we understand anything. All men are not equal; not physically or mentally, but all men have absolutely an equal right to live; absolutely an equal right to live, though they may not be physically or mentally the equivalent of each other. Now then,

the first class man is the man who excels all others; he is conceded first class because of that fact. The second class man is the one who does not quite reach the first class man; marked by his ability. The third class the same, and the fourth class the same. Now all four of these men are workers. All four of them get a living. The second class man cannot ever be a first class man because he lacks the quality; the quality that would permit him to be first class. The great majority of third class cannot ever be first class; cannot ever excel—many of them cannot ever be second class. The mediocre—the ordinary individual who has to make a living, he cannot, or many of them cannot ever be anything other than what he is.

Now the first class man's compensation is fixed—it is fixed by what? Fixed, as I showed you in the illustration of the business, by his needs. The value of the commodity is determined by what it costs to reproduce that commodity. Did you ever look at it this way, fellows? The boss always gives you just enough—just enough so that you can eat enough and sleep enough to come back out on the job tomorrow and work enough to earn enough to sleep enough to eat enough and come back out on the job the next day, and so on. That is what he does. He permits you to have what is necessary to reproduce yourself—your labor power. And these lowest paid workers determine the compensation of all, but the maximum for this man, (indicating) is set by those beneath him. Any time that he backs all his superiority, his first class standing and makes excessive demands, then the combination of second and third class men or fourth and second class men will keep him within reasonable limits, and the consequence is that all four are like dogs chasing their tails. They never get anywhere.

The fourth class man goes home at night and he says to his wife, on pay-day, he says, Yes, Mamie, I know she is rough. I don't understand it. It is fierce.

We can't get shoes for the kids to-night. We can't pay the insurance this week. You will have to stick up the landlord and see if you can't make him wait until next payday. Perhaps the butcher and the grocer will wait also." It is one continual round of suffering for the fourth class man. The third class man comes home with his $3 a day and he is face to face with the same problem. His wife talks in terms of clothes for the children and talks in terms of bills long overdue, and he says, "Oh, it's a fright. I don't see what we are going to do, but then just stop and think, I will admit we are in a pretty bad shape, I know we are. I know we are. But just think how much better off we are than Jim down here; he is only getting $2.50 a day." Why, of course he never stops to look at the parasite that is enjoying everything. He gauges his own standing and his own social importance by the misery of the bunch that is beneath him. Then the next bunch, in the same way, turn and estimate their economic security, not by what the parasite enjoys, but by the suffering and degradation of the fellow that is under him. So on, clear to the top. Now, I said we recognize the fact that all men are not equal. This fellow can not do that work. Another can do these two. But this is something that can be done and this is something that will redound to the benefit, not only to the individual family, but to the community and to the nation and to the whole social order. These men here can come down to the spirit of the fourth class man. These men can come down to the spirit of the fourth class man, then they are all first class men. You will see here. The institution is destroyed. Why compel a man of exceptional ability to conform to the conditions established by the weaker? What does this man gain for himself as a first class man, standing alone, more than he would gain with all the rest of them first class? What does he gain? Ease. Not the excessive speed. He enjoys superiority that nature has endowed him with. He does not have to work so

hard, but he gauges his activity by the speed of the slower man, and he is not forced to see and to know of the suffering of his kind. Aside from that, they are all in the same position then, and they can all get all they have the intelligence to demand, and take it by the exercise of industrial solidarity.

We know that men are not equal, but we also know that men have an equal right to live. This program of ours—this I. W. W. program is operative just as much in the mechanical industries as it is in the agricultural industry, and it is in the agricultural industry operative in exactly the same way that it is operative in the mechanical industry. This I. W. W. program—the whole world stands to gain. Even the useless parasites will be benefited by being made to go to work. What chance do they stand now, or you stand now? Your boy starts out at 13 or 14 or 15 to go to work. You don't ask him what he is going to be when he grows up. The boy of the parasite family, what do they do with him? Well, they make lawyers and doctors and professional men of one kind or another out of the boy, without consulting his capacity usually. Without consulting the boy or endeavoring to find out what his special aptitude is. They make a professional man out of him. The consequence is that we have spoiled some of the finest shovel stiffs that ever walked by making lawyers out of them. We have spoiled some of the finest lawyers that ever happened by making shovel stiffs out of them. It is a topsy-turvy system. Everything is upside down. Our program contains—it contains the ground work, the basis from which the new society can and will be built. Tonight, it is your privilege to join. It is your privilege to take out a card. It is your privilege to unite with me and with every other man and woman wage worker of this whole universe. They talk to you in terms of work. That reminds me of the colored girl. This thing is a bad thing to have on your mind all the time. Work, work, work, every place you look, work. For you, but for you only.

Now the difference between work and the other is this: The office in which a given activity is in charge—take, for instance, the young girl down in the department store somewhere. She is selling bonnets. She is racing up and down behind the counter and she walks twenty miles a day. She is selling bonnets in a department store. She goes home at night and she is so blessed tired she can't turn over. She just comes in and she hits the hay. Dowie, she is dead until the next morning. She is all in, down and out; worked to death. Take that same girl, she walks twenty miles a day peddling bonnets behind a counter. Take that same girl and hand her twenty dollars, and say, "Mamie, go down town and buy yourself a bonnet." Why, she will go down town and walk forty miles buying a bonnet and come home at night and she is the happiest youngster you ever laid eyes on. Tired? No, never heard of being tired. She was working on one job, the same sort of physical activity, and on the other she was buying a bonnet as a matter of pleasure. Take a bunch of fishermen. They fish all week and they row a boat and pull hard and come in every night dog tired and sore and cross at everybody, including themselves. The Fourth of July comes along and they take the same boat that they used all season through and they dump a half a barrel of German disturbance into it and a couple of hams and some rye bread, and they go out and pull five times as far, and for all the rest of the year they talk about what a grolious time they had on the Fourth. A letter carrier, when he knocks along his work, 29 miles a day delivering letters, takes a trip up into the mountains for exercise; the difference between work and pleasure. We I. W. W.'s see the possibility of making pleasure out of all of these things. You are organized by your needs; just the same as the five men in a boat. This will illustrate the point and it will show you too. We talk in terms of rest, and so forth and so on. The five men in the boat. The boat is ship-wrecked—the vessel is

ship-wrecked and the five men are in a lifeboat. One of them is a navigator. The other four, one is a Chinaman, the other an Irishman, the other a Scandinavian and the other an Englishman. Now that is a combination that ought to fight ordinarily. Usually they can manage to tangle things up in pretty good order, but they are all shipwrecked and in this one boat, and one of them is a navigator. Upon whom does it fall to navigate that boat to shore? Why, the man who is qualified to do it. The other four, they sit there at their oars and when they pull, everybody pulls in harmony. The Chink might call the Irishman names, and the Irishman might call the Scandinavian something that he should not call him, but as a matter of fact they all pull absolutely in harmony. Why? Because they have got needs. They desire to get to shore. They are governed by their needs. They are organized by their needs. If you can see this thing you can see the schme of the I. W. W. The program is briefly as I have outlined it. I cannot give you any more tonight, because there is lots of other nights. This thing is as big as the human family and experience itself, but she will work, and this is the way. This is the medium through which we can. We will build a new society, a society that knows no master, a society that knows no slave; a society where little children, hungry shall not exist.

Now then, usually we have questions and literature for sale, and collections and things of that kind, but coming back to the present, I think we can dispense with that part of it.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Mr. Doran, did you go to Butte last summer?

A.—Yes, sir, I went to Butte last summer.

Q.—About what time?

A.—As near as I remember, the 12th or 13th of July.

Q.—What did you go there for?

A.—I went there to pull this chart stuff, talk to

those slaves and make them familiar with industrial unionism and what we stood for.

Q.—Well, did you deliver that talk in Butte?

A.—I did not. I was run out.

Q.—Well, what did you run out for?

A.—Well, jut on general principles, I guess they didn't want me to deliver that talk.

Q.—What were the circumstances surrounding you leaving Butte?

A.—Well, I got in in the morning, in the city of Butte, and went to a hotel, good hotel, and hired a room, and went up to bed—looked around town first and then went up to the Electrical Workers Hall to see how things stood up there, and went from there over to the meeting held by the miners; anybody and everybody was privileged to talk at this meeting, and the question came up concerning the brutality experienced at that time by men who were on strike, so I asked the privilege of the floor from the chairman and I got up and stated that the only way to curb the activities of these people who were practicing the bruttalities spoken of, reported by these men, was to give unlimited publicity to the attitude of the miners, and the justification for their strike. As a consequence of the talk—I talked perhaps ten minutes, perhaps not ten minutes, as a consequence of the talk, the men asked me if I was a member of any union involved. I said I was a member of the electrical workers' union. I had been up and shown a paid up card to the representative of the Electrical Workers' Union in Butte. They asked me to transfer to the Miners' Union, and I did it. They put me on the publicity committee, in order to telegraph to the president, to state the facts concerning the Butte situation, and to help in the general publicity scheme that my talk had suggested.

The meeting was over about six o'clock—5:30. I started down the street and as soon as I did I discovered I was tabbed and I know gunmen pretty well by general appearance, particularly during a

strike; almost anybody can tell them by their appearance, and the characters that was following me, I considered gunmen. They followed me down to the hotel, five or six of them, and I hung around the hotel for a while and a rig drove up, a closed automobile; nothing was said to me, however, at the time, but I kept my back to the wall, kept away from allowing any—they seemed to want to kind of get around me; they didn't offer any violence or anything—seemed to kind of want to get around me. I kept my back to the wall, managed to be on the inside of the sidewalk all the time; so that got tiresome after a while, and I went into the hotel and I sat down there to write a letter and while engaged in writing the letter I noticed some of them go to a desk a few feet from where I was, and I saw a man that I thought was proprietor of the hotel; I am not sure that he was the proprietor, but I saw him deliberately draw a diagram showing the location of my room. My room was located on the first floor—on the second floor, rather, and on that second floor the window of that room opened out on a thing like would be above this court room here, a roof of a foyer, and the opening from many other rooms—the windows from many other rooms led out onto this roof and there was no lock on the window; I saw this man deliberately draw a diagram of the location of my room. I did not say anything. So I started out of the hotel, and one of the apparent leaders of this group of anywhere—they would vary, sometimes four or five, sometimes be as many as a dozen, he walked over towards me at the desk. I edged around pretty near the desk in the Finland Hotel, and he looked on the register first, and he came over to me and he says, "What is your name," and I says, "Who wants to know?" "Well," he said, "I want to know." I said, "well, have you any reason for wanting to know?" "I got all the reason that is necessary," so I said to him, "Are you a police officer?" "None of your business who I am."

I turned to the clerk and said, "Do you know anything about this guy here?" "Oh," he mumbled something. I said, "Do you permit this sort of thing in your hotel?" "Oh, permit anything they want." "Well," I says, "Is this fellow a police officer?" "Well, none of your business." So then he said—then they flocked around me—well, I couldn't lick a half dozen of them, that is a cinch, so I said, "My name is J. T. Doran, why?" "Well," he said, "I just wanted to know, and I want you to know you have got to get out of this town and get out quick." "Well," I said, "why must I leave?" "Never mind, none of your questions; there is nothing to it, you just get out of town."

"Well," I said, "I am not going to get out of town." He said, "You will either go out of town or we will take you out of town feet first."

So we went to bed that night; they didn't offer any more suggestions of that kind, but the whole thing, the atmosphere and everything else, did not leave me any doubt as to what their intentions were, particularly as I knew something of the type of men, and I went up and slept in another fellow's room that night. I had been instructed—these fellows told me to get out of town or they would pack me out feet first, so I discussed the thing with the friend and one or two of the men in Butte, miners that I knew, and they suggested, knowing the Butte situation, knowing the Butte atmosphere, they said that the very best thing I could do was to comply with the orders. I told this man first that I was a free born American citizen, that I was well within my rights in coming into a city and putting up at a good hotel, offering no disorderly conduct or anything else, as an excuse to order me out, and that I had a perfect right as a union man and as a citizen to be at an open meeting of the miners. It hadn't any weight with them; he just simply ordered me out under threat, and I went.

Q.—You left town? Now you say that was a

miners' meeting that you attended in the afternoon?

A.—Absolutely, an open meeting of miners.

Q.—Have you your card with you?

A.—What? My electrical workers?

Q.—Yes.

A.—I have got the one, I transfered into the Miners' Union with me. You see I have been in jail about ten months, and I am way in arrears now, but I have got the card that Shannon transfered.

Q.—All right, I will get it.

A.—I haven't it, either; I have left it over there.

Q.—While you were in Butte, by the way, was that subsequent—bring it in the morning.

A.—I will bring it in the morning.

Q.—Was that subsequent to the Speculator fire?

A.—I think it was the second day after the fire, immediately after the fire, because they had not yet got the bodies all out.

Q.—Where was this miners' meeting that you attended?

A.—In Finlander Hall.

Q.—Did you observe condition in Butte resulting from that fire with regard to the carrying of the men out of the mine that had been killed?

A.—I did not actually see the bodies; I did not make any attempt to see them. I saw the hysterical women and the bawling kids around there and I did not want to see—the description of the bodies was enough; I did not want to see that, but the hysterical women and the kids that were crying on the street and the general—the whole sad circumstance was so much in evidence that I did not want any more of it than I could possibly help.

Q.—Did you go to Aberdeen for the purpose of delivering this chart talk at any time last summer?

A.—Yes, many times I went into Aberdeen, and I delivered talks at both Aberdeen and Hoquiam; one talk in Hoquiam, an especially large meeting for that particular place I held at the—I think they call it the Finnish Workmen's Hall.

Q.—Were you threatened there?

A.—Well, I had been threatened before I got to town, while I was in Aberdeen. Aberdeen is about four miles from Hoquiam, and while I was in Aberdeen I was told that if I made any attempt to talk in Hoquiam that night—I had talked there several times, and used the chart, that is portions of the chart, fitting the local situation, and giving local color, but always with the chart, so I was told that if I attempted to talk at Hoquiam that night, they were going to hang me. This was early in the day.

Q.—What did you do?

A.—I went up to the—I have forgotten the name of the building there—it is the biggest office building in Aberdeen, where the county attorney has his office, and the county attorney was out, was out of town sick, and his law partner was acting as county attorney. I asked him, "Are you an authority here in the business of your law partner?" He said, "Yes." "Well," I said, "I came up here to tell you that at Hoyuiam I am going to hold a meeting tonight and I have been informed that if I attempt to hold that meeting, I am going to be hung. Now you are the county official here and I just thought I would come up and let you know about it because, of course, I haven't any desire to be hung, and on the other hand, we have no violence whatever in this strike, and we do not want any provoked now, and everything has been orderly as far as we are concerned, and if this is an attempt, as rumor gives it, to me, to start disorder and perhaps indulge in murder, why I figure that you should know it and you should put in operation such legal machinery as would prevent it," so he laid back in his chair for a minute and he looks at me, and he said, "Now, listen here, Red, I know all of that, I have heard all that, but," he said, "I am not interested in it."

I said, "do you mean to tell me as the county official where there is a rumor of a possible riot and rumor of a possible murder, that you are not inter-

ested?" "Well," he says, and he hemmed and hawed a little bit, and I said, "Murder is never justified." "You are a public official; this program is up to you." "Now," I said, "I am going to talk in Hoquiam; if you want to, if you are desirous of preventing any disturbance there, it absolutely remains in your hands. If you are not desirous of preventing any disturbance, I am going to talk in Hoquiam, and you understand that these people, knowing me as they do, any violence that is offered to me will be probably —they are human—will probably make them mighty sore, and rather than, to keep the orderly, quiet condition that you have known during this strike, you will tend to provoke disorder, and other things not good for any community."

"Well," he said—we talked for a few minutes, and thinking it over, it seemed to be after he got over—found I took a stand on it, he was not at all unreasonable; we went into the question of class interests, and he said, "yes," he said, "I know"—

MR. NEBEKER: Just a moment; it strikes me this is hearsay and immaterial and irrelevant.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, do you know J. G. Brown?

A.—Yes.

Q.—How long have you known him?

A.—I have known him ever since I last came to Seattle, or rather, since I first came to Seattle the last time, the fall of 1916 or early part of 1917.

Q.—That is the man you referred to in your chart talk?

A.—Yes, he was president of the Shingle Weavers' Union.

Q.—Of the Shingle Weavers' Union?

A.—Yes, that is the shingle weavers—there is a combination too, of timber workers, but he is the head of the Shingle Weavers.

Q.—Subsequently they were known as the International Timber Workers' Union?

A.—Yes, but they have been split and out so

many ways, I don't understand just what it is; the shingle weavers have one union, of which Brown is international president, and the timber workers is an adjunct of that, and just what the close, intimate relationship is, I do not know.

Q.—Now, was there a strike of that union last summer in the northwest?

A.—Oh, yes, there was a big shingle weavers' strike.

Q.—Who controlled the mill organization?

A.—The A. F. of L., Brown's union.

Q.—Do you know when they went on strike?

A.—About the same time we went on strike. If I remember correctly, a day or two before or some little time before.

Q.—Do you remember when theirs was called?

A.—I don't remember the date, but it was about the same time, and if anything a little bit before ours.

Q.—I refer now, not to the time the men went out, but the time the strike was called?

A.—Oh, yes, there had been a call the same time; let's see, I think it was in June that they were called out, in the district of Aberdeen, and whether that applied generally or not, I don't know.

Q.—Do you know what the relations were between this organization, the mill workers that were out on strike, and the Industrial Workers of the World?

A.—Why, the most cordial, the most cordial everywhere; in fact—

MR. NEBEKER: This is objected to as immaterial and irrelevant.

THE COURT: Overruled.

A.—Practically every place that I went to talk, my audiences were made up, particularly in the mill town, were made up of a large percentage of J. C. Brown's men, and they were on strike with us.

MR. CHISTENSEN: Q.—Did you speak before any of their locals?

A.—Why, the timberworkers' organization has

no halls of its own that I know of anywhere. They have small little places where they meet, but the timber workers' organization always came to halls other other than I. W. W. halls, where I was to talk, and usually, as I say, had the major portion of their membership present. Their halls, if they possessed one, would not have housed a meeting anyhow; that is, none that I know of.

Q.—Now the time you were in Butte, Mr. Doran, and you attended this miners' meeting that was held at Finlander Hall.

A.—Yes.

Q.—Was there any I. W. W. organization in Butte at that time?

A.—Not that I could find.

Q.—Who occupied Finlander Hall?

A.—Well, the miners were using it. I understood that the Finnish Board of Finnish Workmen or a Finnish Society of some kind or other owned it, but the striking miners were using it; at least they used it the only day that I was there;; that was distinctly a miners' meeting.

THE COURT: Ten minutes recess.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

MR. CHRISTENSSEN: Q.—Mr. Doran, when you left Butte, where did you go?

A.—I went right straight back to Seattle.

Q.—When was it you left Butte?

A.—I left Butte, I got in on either the 12th or the 13th of July and I left on the following day.

Q.—Is that July or June?

A.—July.

Q.—That you left Butte?

A.—June; I said July; it was June.

Q.—Now, you were at Index when the strike was called?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you know how the timber workers' strike was called?

A.—Why, it had been called by a referendum;

they decided in the various communities, they had voted on it.

Q.—A referendum of the members?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Did I ask you this morning, what the issues in that strike were?

A.—I don't think you did.

Q.—What were the issues?

A.—Eight-hour day; no reduction of pay; sanitary camp conditions.

Q.—Did you attend the meeting of Number 500 of the Industrial Workers of the World at Index on June 17th?

A.—Not June 17th.

Q.—Or July 17th?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And July 19th?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—I hand you this document and ask you to state what it is?

A.—The minutes of the meeting at Index.

Q.—Of Lumber Workers' Number 500 of the Industrial Workers of the World?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Who was the secretary there?

A.—Well, there was no permanent secretary; secretaries were elected at each meeting; a little lad named Shaparo was the stationary delegate.

Q.—Was Tucker—

A.—Tucker was the recording secretary at several meetings, and then there were other fellows; DeWolfe and Henning, oh, several of them,. I don't remember all of them.

Q.—Members of the organization?

A.—All members of the organization.

Q.—Were these the minutes that were kept by these men?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You have looked at them?

A.—Yes, sir.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I offer this in evidence, your Honor.

MR. NEBEKER: How do you know that they are the minutes, Mr. Doran?

A.—Well, I was at the meetings and Tucker and I shacked together, and Tucker wrote that first part of the mass there; Tucker and I were shacking together at the time, in fact, until I left Index, Tucker and I had a shack between us.

Q.—What do you mean by a shack between you? A place where you stopped?

A.—Yes. A shack is one of those two by four places that the lumber company rented out.

Q.—And that men like yourself occupied?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Now were these minutes written up in that shack?

A.—The minutes were taken at the meeting and I don't know whether Tucker transcribed them in the shack always or whether he did not, but whenever—Tucker used to do most of that work. Tucker would have everything pertaining to the meeting at the shack, for the reason that soldiers had been brought in there and we hadn't any place to keep the stuff.

Q.—Mr. Doran, can't you be satisfied with answering the question?

A.—Why, yes, I am trying to give you the circumstances.

Q.—What I want to know is, were the minutes written up in the shack or the place where the meeting was held?

A.—They were originally written up in the meeting; that is, all minutes were taken there; whether that particular mass was written there, I am not certain of.

Q.—You do not pretent to have seen those minutes written?

A.—I saw minutes written at that meeting, those meetings that I was at; whether that is the absolute

piece of paper or not I cannot swear to that; I saw minutes taken. I made motion—I cannot swear of course that that is absolutely the same piece of paper.

MR. VANDERVEER: Q.—Did you hear the minutes read?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—At the following meeting, and approved?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Could you by examining these determine whether or not they were the minutes of the meeting?

A.—I could. There is a number of motions that I made myself, and I could remember my own motions.

Q.—Well, there is the July 17th—

A.—Well, I made—

MR. NEBEKER: Just a moment, Mr. Doran. Without looking at the minutes do you recall any of the motions you made?

A.—Yes, sir, I can recall very nearly all of them I made at that meeting. I made one motion—

Q.—I am not asking you for them. I suppose they are in the minutes, are they?

A.—I just started to look.

Q.—I was just making inquiry to see whether you thought you cold remember them independently?

A.—I can remember them absolutely because I had a purpose in making them at the time.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Now the meeting you attended—have you looked at that yet?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Those are the minutes?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Of the local, those meetings held at Index?

A.—Yes.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I offer them in evidence, your Honor.

MR. NEBEKER: What is the purpose of your offer?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, to show the things

the organization did in connection with the strike, detailed strike activity.

MR. NEBEKER: Is there any part of these minutes that bear upon that subject?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Yes.

MR. NEBEKER: If so, I wish you would point out what it is.

MR. VANDERVEER: They are all marked in green.

(Minutes referred to were received in evidence and marked Defendants' Exhibit 57.)

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Now Mr. Doran, the first meeting you attended after the declaration of the strike, did you make any motions at that meeting?

A.—I did, I made several motions.

Q.—What did you do there, what motions did you make?

A.—Well, I made a motion—I made a motion to the effect that—

MR. NEBEKER: Let's get the date of these meetings definitely, and when the motions were made.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: July 17th.

MR. NEBEKER: Let the witness answer.

MR. CHRIISTENSEN: All right; tell us the dates of the meetings.

A.—The 17th of July was the first meeting.

Q.—All right, tell us.

A.—As soon as we held the meeting I emphasized the need for safeguarding ourselves against stool pigeons and stuff of that kind, and made a motion to the effect that all violence was to absolutely be taboo, and that everyone in that meeting constitute themselves a committee of one to take mighty good care that there was no violence indulged in by any outsiders. That was to forestall something that afterwards developed anyway, three of four days later.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, that is not responsive, let us get along here.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: What else did you do at that meeting?

A.—Well, the company used—you see the company had to have water in its boilers, otherwise the boilers would be useless. We pulleed out everybody. It was a one hundred per cent camp, so we agreed to allow them to have their firemen still remain on the job so that their boilers would not be ruined, and the town without water, and there was a water system to be developed, so we permitted men to go to work to construct the water system and we allowed the company to furnish the electric light, men to operate the electric light plant that the town might have electric lights. The company refused to use those men and the town went without light, but they kept the other men, and then I made a motion that we supply men to the Forest Reserve representative who was there, to fight fire. The fire was raging somewhere back in the hills beyond our camp, and I made a motion that our strikers go out and fight the fire, and the company agreed to allow the—

Q.—Well, what else did you do at the meeting? I will inquire as to that further?

A.—Then we voted to allow the cook and the flunkey to feed the men in the company's cook house, and we agreed to allow the engineer and fireman to operate the engine, and haul the men back and forth from the fire to the camp.

Q.—How far away was this fire from Index?

A.—It was somewhere beyond the camp, I didn't see the actual fire; my job was down below.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I will read from the minutes of—the minute book of Index Branch of Lumber Workers' Industrial Union Number 500 of the I. W. W. Reading from July 17, 1917, Index, Washington.

M. & S. that the regular order of business be suspended so that the Branch will have plenty of time to consider the eight hour strike call from District Headquarters. Motion carried.

M. & S. that the secretary read the report of the

Convention pertaining to the eight hour strike. Carried.

M. & S. that a publicity committee of three be elected. Motion carried.

A. R. .Tucker, J. T. Doran and E. J. Shaparo were nominated.

M. & S. that nominations be closed and the above three be elected by acclamation. Motion carried.

M. & S. that we go on record against violence of any kind in connection with this strike. Carried.

M. & S. that each member constitute a committee of one to watch and see that no violent depredation be committeed by any one. Motion carried.

M. & S. that we allow the city or Co. to employ men to lay water main connecting city water system with mill water system for fire protection during the strike. Carried.

M. & S. that we allow as many men as are needed to be used for fighting fire in the woods. Carried.

M. & S. that the cook house in the woods be kept open to feed the men who are fighting fire so long as they are needed. Carried.

M. & S. that the cook house refuse to feed any one not being used in fighting fire. Carried.

M. & S. that the logging engine and other necessary equipment for carrying the men and supplies to the woods for fighting fire be allowed to be used. Carried."

Then on July 18th, "Motion was made and seconed that all men connected with strike lumber workers be admitted to meetings whether they have taken out cards yet or not. Motion carried."

MR. VANDERVEER: Did you get the back of the page preceding that? Just turn right over, the whole bunch.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Meeting July 24, 1917.

"That all watchmen and firemen be allowed to go back to work as prisoners were released. Carried."

July 24th continued:

"Fellow-Worker Doran explained how labor

fakir, J. G. Brown, tries to sell the working class in conjunction with the bosses, also other very important and interesting features in behalf of the organization."

Meeting July 25, 1917:

Motion was made that we pay the lady who allowed the use of car $3 and the price of gas. Amendment to motion that we pay $5 and price of gas. Amendment carried.

M. & S. that the strike committee send a man to Everett to consult sheriff, regarding the selling of whiskey in Index. Motion carried.

M. & S. that Frank Williams be sent to Everett to consult sheriff as to ways and means of preventing the sale of liquor in Index. Motion carried."

That is the meeting of August 14, 1917.

MR. NEBEKER: Was Mr. Doran at these meetings?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I don't know whether he was or not.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, the admissibility of your documents depends entirely on his testimony; that is why I inquire.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: He has identified the record, the minutes. He has identified this as the minutes of Local No. 500 at Index, the branch at Index.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, my point is—

THE COURT: He identified them because he was there.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, were you at these other meetings when the things I have read about—

A.—Some of the things you have read I was there. Others of them I don't know as I recollect. I would have to re-read it. I was not paying much attention—for instance, that question of the gasoline and the woman's automobile, I was there.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—Well, now, do you know the date, Mr. Doran, that is the quickest way to get at it; when did you leave?

A.—Well, I left Everett—I left—

Q.—Index?

A.—Index, I think it was the meeting of the 19th, I think was on Thursday; I think I left on Friday morning in an automobile, made a meeting in Everett Saturday afternoon or Saturday evening, I am not sure.

Q.—That would be about the 25th or 26th you left, July 25th or 26th?

A.—No, it was the following day from the 19th, I think.

Q.—The 20th?

A.—About the 20th. I think Sunday I held a big meeting, five thousand people in Seattle on Sunday, and that as near as I recollect without resorting to a calendar—I haven't seen a calendar—was about the 21st or 22nd, and I got word they were going to arrest me.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, that is an excursion—now did you not attend any meetings in Index after the 21st?

A.—Oh, yes, I did.

Q.—July 21st?

A.—Yes, I came back at irregular intervals.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, the point is, I object to it now, that it is not affirmatively shown to have been a meeting which the witness attended.

THE COURT: Of course this depends on this witnesse's identification of this record when he was there.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Well, as to the meetings of July 17th and 19th—

A.—Well, there is no question about that, I was there.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: That has been identified. As to the other matters, I will let the witness look at them and see if he attended the other meetings, and offer them later.

Q.—Now, Mr. Doran, how was the strike conducted there at Index, tell us what you did?

A.—You mean with regard to managing our affairs?

Q.—Yes.

A.—Well, immediately the strike was called, we organized a strike committee and we also organized a relief committee to furnish the families or others with such food and necessities as might be needed, and the strike committee to transact any and all business of a strike nature with headquarters and with local companies, should anything arise. There was nothing very much to do. It was apparantly—at that time most cordial relationship existing between the company's officials and we of the strike committee; it was a little bit of a camp, you know—town; we were in to Fatty Voss' place—he is the treasurer of the company, we were in his place drinking ice cream soda and he was joshing us as to when we were going back, and all that sort of thing.

MR. NEBEKER: Can't we cut this out and save time?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Was there any violence there?

A.—Now, let's see, the 19th—I think it was the night of the 19th somebody visited the mill and some belting in the mill was cut, ruining it, and the same evening one of the gunmen from Everett had arrived. We heard of it—the strike committee heard of it the following morning and immediately they went to Fatty Voss and said—I said to him, "Listen, you dont for a minute imagine that that sort of thing has been done by any of our men?" He said, "That is all right, Red, I am not asking any questions and I know everthing is all right. I know none of you fellows had anything to do with that." I said, "If there is any danger of a repetition, we are not only willing but anxious to throw a guard around your plant to keep anything of that kind from happening again. It was not necessary, however; everything went along peaceably.

Q.—You have in your speech made some com-

ment about a talk with Voss at Index; did you have a talk with him about the strike issues?

A.—Why, yes, I talked to him and explained to him—

Q.—When was this?

A.—When the strike was called, of course as soon as it was called, he felt kind of provoked about it, but then when I explained to him why it was necessary for us to call it—

Q.—Tell us about it.

A.—(Continuing)—for all of us to stay out, even though he was willing to grant the concessions, he apparantly had not any further feeling in the matter, excepting he inquired how soon it would be over, and I told him as soon as he could get his Association to agree to us going back on the eight hour basis.

Q.—Did you have any talk with him as to whether or not—do you know whether he was a member of the Lumbermen's Association?

A.—He told me himself that the concern was, and he mentioned the fact that he was represented or was present at the Lumbermen's meeting, so I assume from that that he was a personal member or representative.

Q.—Did he say whether or not he, as an individual, could grant the eight hour day without violating the Lumbermen's Association decision in the matter?

A.—No, he said he could not, but that they had talked the matter over and were willing to.

Q.—Do you know Dr. Carleton Parker?

A.—Very well.

Q.—How long have you known him?

A.—Since 1913 or 1914.

Q.—Before I touch on that, were you in other places and talked with any of the mill owners or lumber company owners?

A.—Well, not that I would know them personally; I would hold a meeting, for instance—this occurred in Aberdeen.

Q.—What I mean is this, did you have any similar

talk with any one like you had with the official at Index, personally?

A.—Not to be conscious of who I was talking to.

Q.—Now you observed the men in these camps and various towns you went to, where they were on strike, did you, as to their conduct?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You were there during the day—

A.—Yes.

Q.—In picket camps?

A.—Yes.

Q.—How many of these camps would you say that you made in the northwest?

A.—Oh, I made, I didn't go to every little picket camp, because the picket camps were scattered, a few men here and a few there, but I went to such localities as tended to centralize all of the picket camps, for instance, at Elmer or Raymond or that other little town down below there.

MR. VANDERVEER: South Bend?

A.—South Bend; a lot of these little jerk-water towns where they centered their activities.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Well, did you observe their conduct as to whether it was orderly or not?

A.—Well, the chief of police in Aberdeen told me—

MR. NEBEKER: Well, this is not responsive.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Just a moment. First tell us as to whether you observed their conduct, as to whether or not it was orderly?

A.—I never saw anything out of the way. I saw everything just as well conducted as it was possible for anybody to conduct themselves. The men were sober.

Q.—You had a talk with the chief of police at Aberdeen?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Regarding what subject?

A.—Well, I spoke more on the strike, that is, on the conditions during the strike, and this was in

September. He said, "Well, we have got to hand it to you guys, they sure had a clean town and no bootleggers while you fellows were maintaining our picket lines."

Q.—Do you know what the activity of the branches of the I. W. W. in the northwest was, with reference to the liquor question?

A.—Absolutely taboo.

Q.—During the strike?

A.—Absolutely taboo, and there were notices in many of the halls posted to that effect. If a man appeared under the influence of liquor, of course like anything else there was an occasional derelict, but if a man appeared under the influence of liquor, he was immediately decidedly unpopular; they were taken off to recover or else chased out of the immediate vicinity.

Q.—Why?

A.—Why? Why, you cannot win a strike and fight booze at the same time.

Q.—That was the uniform policy of the organization?

A.—Absolutely.

Q.—Now did you speak at Port Angeles?

A.—Yes, sir, many times. I say many times, perhaps a dozen.

Q.—Well, shortly after the strike commenced?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you speak there in September?

A.—Immediately preceding my arrest, yes, I did.

Q.—Did you speak there on the 7th or 17th of September?

A.—As to the exact date I cannot remember. I could if I had—my account ought to be in these files, my railroad account.

Q.—Well, the talk you devilered there, was that a chart talk similar to the one you have delivered here?

A.—Yes, sir; yes, sir.

Q.—Did you ever discuss the question of sabotage at any of your meetings?

A.—Why, I have explained what sabotage was, yes, sir.

Q.—Well, tell us briefly what you have said on that subject.

A.—Well, I explained that sabotage did not mean destruction of property. Sabotage meant the withdrawal of efficiency, industrial efficiency, and told the workers that they practiced sabotage in the interest of their bosses, and illustrate the thing this way:

I said, for instance, down here in California, there is a little colony, what they call Little Landers Colony. It was located at the base of a hill, and at the top of this hill there was an extensive water supply, but in order to conserve that water it was necessary to build a dam. Now the privilege of building the dam was under the competitive system and the dam was known as the Ottay dam. Men went down on that job and it was a slave job right. They kept them on the jump all the time. Naturally, under the competition condition, contractors have to cheat on materials. They have to get the contracts, they have got to live, they cheat on materials, they squeeze and pinch here and there as the circumstances permit, so no one questions the fact but what a concrete dam could be built so solidly that nothing could take it out. I illustrate, by the Chinese wall as it stands today. We could duplicate that; we have the materials, but it is not done, and the reason it is not done is because of this competitive program, and the conditions under which it is operated, but it is the slaves themselves who actually practive the sabotage. Here is a fellow wheeling cement. At the instruction of his foreman he cheats a little on the cement; his gravel is not clean cut and clear. The sand is of a poor or inferior grade and the concrete, when it is poured in there is not what it should be. The consequence is that after a time, as in the case of this Ottay dam, the dam bursts—a storm came

along, an unusual storm, that is granted—a storm came along and it burst this dam and the water flowed down off this mountain and drowned out all of these little settlers in the low land at the base of the hill, their little one acre farms were ruined; their stock was gone; their homes scattered to the desert in every direction.

Now I explained that the workers had practiced sabotage in the interest of the bosses' profits, but that the I. W. W. said "Go on that job and put so much cement in there, put so much clean stone in there, put so much stuff in there that they can have all the storms that it is possible to brew in southern California and that dam will still stand and there will be no loss of life or property.

On the other hand, I spoke of an incident that occurred in Jersey; I was doing some electrical work in a building one day, one of these little bungalows out in the suburbs, and a fellow was spending some time on the door sill, a carpenter, and he was making a pretty close fit of things, as is necessary if you want protection against the weather in that country, and the boss came along, the real estate man came along and he said, "Holy smoke, man, you are putting in an awful lot of time on that doorsill; you have got to get a wiggle on." This carpenter turned to him, and he said, "Why, man alive, I am only trying to make a good job out of this thing; I am putting in a door sill here as it should be put in; I want to make a house fit lo live in." The real estate man said, "Fit to live in! What are you talking about, I am not building this house to live in, I am building it to sell."

And so the same way with my work as an electrical worker. I get a job in competition with other workers, and speed, efficiency,—speed-efficiency, profit-efficiency was the gauge.

I went in to do my work. I had to eat; I had to shoot her in just as I was told to shoot her in. Of course, there were rules and regulations supposedly

governing the installation, but nevertheless, I had to pinch and squeeze everywhere, and the consequence was, as a result of speed work and conditions, I had to do the best I could to get done. The idea was to get done. Electrical fires are reported all over the United States; millions of dollars worth of property destroyed because some man has practiced sabotage in the interest of the masters. We I. W. W.'s say, we electrical workers can do a good job; you muckers can do a good job. Do it. Practice sabotage in the interest of the safety and security of society. It was along those lines that I spoke of sabotage.

I spoke too of the bosses' sabotage, or, rather the commission merchants' sabotage. I told of an instance down here in Ohio, we were building a line across the country one time, and I was boarding with a farmer who put a lot of us up, we were building the line through there and he boarded us, took us as boarders temporarily, and he had a lot of sheep-nose apples, and I noticed—of course, I don't know much about those kind of things,—I noticed he had them covered over with screening, chicken screening, and I asked what that was for, and he said that was to keep the hogs from killing themselves, and the cattle from killing themselves with these fine apples. I said, "Why, goodness, man, these kind of apples, they are fine; why don't you ship them into town, it is not very far into Cleveland, why don't you ship them into town?" "Why," he said, "ship them into town, I couldn't get the price of the barrels for the apples."

I continue then, and explain that I was in New York shortly afterwards and saw children on the street passing these fruit stands wishing and desiring apples apparently from their attitude, and here was an abundance of apples going to waste, because the farmer, after having done all of the hard work necessary to raising them, could not get over the sabotage practiced by the middleman and those who operate this produce game, could not get over that.

Impeding production in the interest of profits, simply meant a dead loss to him. I have seen the same thing in California,—fruits of all kinds going to waste; I have seen field after field of spuds, where farmers would not even take the trouble of taking them up. One case down here in Castorville, sitting at the depot one day, and across from the track was a fine patch of spuds, I did not know who this fellow was alongside of me. I said, "That is a fine looking patch of spuds." He said, "It is a fine patch of spuds, and the spuds are fine too. They are these Salina potatoes, the kind of potatoes that have made the S. P. famous, according to their advertising," but he says "they will never be picked, they will never be gathered." I said, "They won't, what are you talking about?" "Well," he said, "They won't." I didn't believe him. I questioned him a little further, and found that he owned the potatoes. I said, "Do you mean to tell me, man, that fine field of spuds is not to be gathered"? He said, "That is exactly what I mean." He said, "If I gather those spuds and pay 7 cents," I think he said, "for a sack, and put them on the car, they offer me 56 or 58 cents for them." He says, "I cannot pick them for that and I cannot sack them for that; they are going to waste." I was waiting for a train. I got into Oakland. The thing kind of shocked me and I said to my wife when I got home, I said, "Have you bought any spuds lately?" She said, "Yes;" I said, "Where did you get them?" She said, "I got them down to the market." I said, "In what quantity?" She said, "I got a sack." "What did they cost?" "$2.25." Oakland was 80 miles on a railroad away from this town; that is also on his railroad. I explain along those lines that sabotage was practiced by the workers in the interest of the masters, and sabotage did not mean violence, did not mean destruction of property; that it was silly to talk of destruction of property when we had to recreate it, if it was a social requisite, and so on.

Q.—Did you ever advocate driving spikes into logs?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Cutting logs short?

A.—No, sir, although—

Q.—Is that sabotage?

A.—That mere fact of cutting a log short would not be destruction of property. Cutting the log short now, that is an idea that prevails, yet it is not true—

MR. NEBEKER: This is not responsive, if the Court please. The witness should not be permitted to make an argument on every question asked. I object to it.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Why isn't cutting logs short sabotage?

A.—Because the only thing they succeed in doing by cutting logs short is in disorganizing the orders that the companies have. They do not waste any material which is just like the hog. All of the log is used. It is simply, if they have orders for certain sized material, it may tend to disorganize their order system; that is all, but there is no loss, no unusual loss attendant.

Q.—Did you ever say anything on the subject of fouling a gear or a line?

A.—No. You mean—well, I heard this witness here say something about fouling a line.

Q.—Well, did you ever—

A.—Say anything like that?

Q.—Make any comment about a line?

A.—Absolutely nothing of that kind.

Q.—Is that sabotage?

A.—Certainly not.

Q.—What is it?

A.—That is murder.

Q.—Now, you have had experience in the woods?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Mr. Doran, you know what a block is and how it operates?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And is it possible to foul a line?

A.—Why it is possible, yes; but it is not very probable unless you go and get a wagon tongue or something else, and a whole lot of help and pull slack in it and otherwise. It makes it practically impossible. Of course, nothing is really impossible, but you would never get a logger to indulge in it.

Q.—When a line fouls and breaks, Mr. Doran, what happens?

A.—All the loggers in the immediate vicinity are attempting to get over into the next county, because when a steel line parts, particularly with any strain in it, or even a hemp line, for that matter, when a line parts, she is just like a whip, you know, and saw —saw a man in two, saw their legs off, kill them; there is nothing to that. That is one of the things that a man is specially anxious to avoid.

Q.—Do you think that would be a good form of sabotage for working men?

A.—I never did advocate murder.

Q.—Have you heard others talk on sabotage, Mr. Doran?

A.—Why, yes.

Q.—Did you ever hear any I. W. W. advocate driving nails in logs or cutting them short or destruction and violence?

A.—No. Of course, I have heard men talk about —gossip that appears in a paper, but I never heard an I. W. W. advocate driving—no loggers advocate driving spikes or steel into logs, that have to be cut by themselves or other fellow workers.

Q.—Did you ever make any talk in which you referred to the war, after the declaration of war?

A.—Why, after I got back from Butte, I did not mention war at any time excepting in this sense, of course, I mentioned the class war, the war of the classes or something of that kind, but I think that the only comment I made on war was in connection with this, the Butte strike, the copper miners strike. The copper miners,—this appeared in the paper, the cop-

per miners had offered to have the mine turned over to the government, and this was their suggestion; they said that they would pay $8 a day to every man, woman and kid connected with the mine, that they would work 6 hours a day, that they would make the mine absolutely safe, and that they would guarantee to give the government all of the copper that the government wanted at a price not to exceed 2½ cents less than the government was then paying the copper company for it.

When this declaration came out, a statement appeared in the Anaconda Miner, I think, and Mr. Clark—some mention of the thing was made to Mr. Clark. Mr. Clark had berated the miners as unpatriotic citizens and emphasized the fact that the country was at war and that copper was a requisite, and any interference with the production of that requisite was unpatriotic, so when this suggestion was made to them, that the government come in and that these men would not go back to work, unless they got what they were striking for, he is supposed to have said ,or was quoted as having said, and I quoted him the same way, "To Hell with them; sooner than grant the demands of this bunch of maniacs and Anarchists here, I will flood the damn mines first."

Now, my only statement in connection with war had to do with that little incident, and I went on to enlarge, of course, upon the thing, stating that in the mind of a Mr. Clark, it was unpatriotic for workers to strike for living conditions in a mine, and for safety appliances, but that it was absolutely patriotic for him to threaten to cut off the government from all source of supply from that particular copper district by flooding the mines, and incidentally I understood that to flood the mines once meant the loss of considerable property, property that never could be used again, because to once flood them, they never could be emptied. Comments of that kind was the only comments I made on the war, and on the President's proclamation or Secretary Baker's eight-hour

day, I said we were perfectly willing to produce lumber, anxious to produce lumber; production of lumber was the thing we live by; we would produce lumber on the 8 hour basis, and that we wanted the government to exercise its influence to either have the lumber barons grant our demands or else to take over the proposition and we would run them on pretty much the same basis as the miners had guaranteed or offered. That is my only mention of war.

Q.—Well, after war became a fact, Mr. Doran, what was your attitude towards it?

A.—Well, like any other inevitable thing, I hadn't anything to say about it. We had it, and we were face to face with it, and that is all there was to it, although I said nothing either before the war or after the war.

Q.—Which cause did you favor, Mr. Doran?

A.—Now, you mean?

Q.—Yes.

A.—Well, I have a brother in France and another one about to go, both as officers, and I would naturally—blood is thicker than water; if there was not any other reason.

Q.—What is your attitude towards the Russian situation?

A.—Well, I feel that Russia has received—the Russians as a whole, as a people have received a tremendous abuse of confidence by their supposed Socialist friends in Germany, the Socialist comrades that deliberately went in and shot them down and so on. I am, of course, favorable to the Russian program.

Q.—Do you know Dr. Parker? I think you said you did.

A.—Yes, I know him well.

Q.—How long have you known him?

A.—Since 1913 or '14.

Q.—Now, you saw him last summer, Mr. Doran?

A.—Why, I saw him many times during the

spring. I say many times—as often as circumstances would permit, yes.

Q.—Now, in what capacity was Mr. Parker up in the Northwest, if you know?

A.—His own private position?

Q.—Now, did you confer with Dr. Parker about the strike?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How did you come to confer with him about it?

A.—Well, when Dr. Parker struck town, according to his statement he said—

MR. NEBEKER: Well, now, I object; this is hearsay.

MR. VANDERVEER: Your Honor, conversations are necessarily hearsay, but conversations—

THE COURT: Just a moment,

(Short interruption.)

MR. VANDERVEER: The witness is asked about a conversation with Dr. Parker. Counsel objected that it is hearsay. It is exactly on a part with the conversation that he sought to show as to the defendant Parenti, a similar matter and similar purpose, similar connection in every respect.

THE COURT: You want to get in statements by Parker?

MR. VANDERVEER: By both—the conversations.

THE COURT: On what theory is the Parker conversation admissible?

MR. VANDERVEER: To show what requests, if any were made by Parker and what reply was made, in the sense that the whole of any conversation is necessary to explain the parts of it—upon precisely the same theory which counsel asked a representative of the California Fruit Growers', or Packers' Association here if he attended a certain meeting, and if there was a representative of the government there and if he heard the representative of the government make a certain request and then if he heard

what Mr. Parenti replied to it, percisely the same situation for precisely the same purpose, only we put the other English on it.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, the question is an entirely different one, of course. In the one case it is proving the admission of a defendant, a party to the suit, which is always admissible, what was said to him and his answer or his silence in the presence of a statement made to him, is often admissible if he is a party to the suit. But Dr. Parker is not a party to this suit, and anything he said is not binding upon either party to this suit. Now, at most, this witness would only be able to testify, or his defendant would only be able to testify to the fact that he had had some conversation with Parker, and then if his statement is admissible under the rule your Honor has already made, that anything he has said during the period of the indictment is admissible in evidence, anything he said as an I. W. W., then he could tell us what he said, but that would not open up at all the door for his making statements that this, that and the other man said so and so to him.

THE COURT: Does this conversation relate to a conversation between this witness and Parker in some official capacity?

MR. VANDERVEER: Respecting what?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: The lumber situation.

MR. VANDERVEER: The lumber situation, the logging strike.

THE COURT: What was Parker's position?

A.—Parker told me he represented the president —Dr. Parker.

MR. NEBEKER: I move to strike out that statement as hearsay, as not competent evidence that Parker is or occupied any position, any official position in connection with the government.

MR. VANDERVEER: Why, if the Court please, their own witnesses have said who Parker is. I do not know why they stand here and question it.

MR. PORTER: We do question who he is.

THE COURT: Answer the question.

A.—What was the question. What was that last question you asked me?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—You say you had some conversations or conference with Dr. Carleton Parker?

MR. NEBEKER: Where is Parker now by the way?

MR. CHRISTENSEN: How did you come to have these conversations with him, these conferences?

A.—Well, when Parker first came to town he hunted me up; I was already in Seattle; he hunted me up; he missed me the first time he came to the hall,—several times he came to the hall. Finally he left word for me and as soon as I heard he was in town I went to see him. I did not know what his capacity was. As soon as I saw him and learned that his business was government business in connection with investigation of the lumber situation or aeroplane work, and for cantonment work, then, of course I was particularly anxious to see him, so he said to me—

Q.—About what date was this?

A.—Now, let me see. I was so blamed busy there, to call for exact dates is pretty hard. I think it is a matter of record in those minute books.

THE COURT: Was it during a time when the industry was suspended?

A.—Yes, sir; yes, sir.

THE COURT: About how long after?

A.—The early part of the strike.

MR. VANDERVEER: Q.—After you came back from Butte?

A.—Yes; because I had occasion to remark that I missed him by being in Butte. He said to me flatly, "Red"—he and I were old acquaintances, he said flatly, "Red, I am up here to find out something, I am not hiding anything from you; I am connected with the United States Government; I am not hiding anything from you, and knowing you personally I

feel I can get an honest statement of facts from you; therefore, I want to ask you some questions in connection with the situation here." So I said to him, "Yes, I have absolute confidence in you; I know that you cannot be bought and I will answer you any questions that you ask me, consistent with my position as only a member, but anything that calls for anything involving organization matters must be taken up with the organization. He understood that so he did not go into that.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Were you reporting to the organization and receiving instructions?

A.—What is that?

Q.—Were you reporting to the organization and receiving instructions after this talk?

A.—As soon as I saw him I went to the committee or members of the committee at the headquarters and I told them who he was, and I told them of my personal confidence in him. Of course, you understand that during a strike everybody is looked upon with suspicion, particularly a government man; so. I said to them, "I know this man and personally there is not anything that I would not trust him with, and if you will take my personal endorsement for that much, I would like you fellows to consider him—at least consider the proposition of talking to him and keeping in touch with him." So, Martin and Whitehead and several of the others there, three or four of them knowing something of Parker's previous history and on this endorsement said, "Yes, that anything they could tell Parker and be of assistance to him they would gladly do it, knowing who he was and knowing that there was not any danger of the thing being misrepresented," so from then on I used to, as I would meet Parker, Parker used to tell me his impression of the investigation he had made, what he had found, ask me what I thought of the strike, and how it was going, and I might say that he said that it was generally recognized the justice of our claim was generally recognized and that the gover-

nor had told him that out claims were everything they should be and it was undoubted it would be granted and so forth. And he told me several times that from time to time he expected the Lumbermen's Association to grant the demands; that there was a big move on in the inside, but the opposition under a man named Grammar, who was secretary, as I understood it, prevented the thing going over. However, he said, there is no question of the ultimate winning of the strike.

Q.—Who is Mr. Grammar?

A.—As I understand it, Mr. Grammar is secretary of the Lumbermen's Association, the West Coast Lumbermen's Association; it may be he does not occupy that particular position. However, he was a tower in the Lumbermen's Association move there in the North West.

Q.—Before when you mentioned the name Martin did you mean the defendant here in this case?

A.—John Martin, who was secretary of Seattle district 500; he is right there (Indicating defendant.)

Q.—Did you ever talk with Mr. Parker regarding the willingness of the men to go back to work?

A.—Yes, yes, in fact I asked him what he thought of the possibilities of the government taking hold of things. He said "these boys would go back?" I said, "Instantly; all they want is the 8 hour day; all they want is these sanitary camp conditions, and if the thing is granted, they will go back. "Well," he said, "the government needs the work, and the government will undoubtedly recognize the justice of the thing, and force or use their influence, so far as possible to force the concessions.

Q.—Did you discuss the question of the efficiency of the work when the men went back, if their demands were granted?

A.—Yes. He said that the lumber men recognized that it was absolutely hopeless to try and cut logs with a lot of ordinary strike breakers, because logs is something you cannot do unless you know the

game. You cannot go down to your slums and pick up loggers; you can get gun men, but not loggers.

Q.—You spoke in your speech about profiteering; what was the basis of your reference to profiteering that you made in your lecture?

A.—Well, of course I used that illustration—

Q.—What was the foundation?

A.—Well, the foundation was as broad as the reports of Industry; since 1914 the returns in the various corporations had been so enormous, such an enormous increase in profits; the steel trust, copper trust, why, in the first four months of 1917, while it had gained two hundred fifty million dollars, a quarter of a billion dollars in the speculation of wheat that was to go to Europe. Those were reports that came out of their own papers, and I spoke of that sort of stuff, and the increased price of lumber and everything as I found it.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Take the witness.

CROSS EXAMINATION

By Mr. Nebeker.

Q.—Carleton Parker is dead, isn't he?

A.—I was informed that he died suddenly of pneumonia contracted—

Q.—Well, he is dead, is he?

A.—Yes.

Q.—All right.

A.—Last winter.

Q.—Have you got a trade?

A.—A trade? I have got an electrical workers card—not much of a trade left to it.

Q.—Are you a soap boxer as known to I. W. Ws'?

A.—Well, I am pretty well known, yes.

Q.—I say are you a soap boxer as known to them?

A.—Yes.

MR. VANDERVEER: A little louder, Mr. Doran, you are still talking to the same people over here.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—How long have you followed that occupation?

A.—How long have I followed what?

Q.—That occupation?

A.—Soap boxer?

Q.—Yes.

A.—All my soap boxing up to the fall of 1916 was purely a matter of personal—

Q.—Oh, but can't you answer my question. How long have you followed it?

A.—I have been giving this chart stuff about three and a half or four years.

Q.—Well, what other kind of stuff did you give before that?

A.—Along the same lines, without the aid of the chart.

Q.—For how long?

A.—For the I. W. W's, soap boxer?

Q.—Yes.

A.—Oh, about seven years, I guess, all told.

Q.—Altogether, beginning about 1913, 1912?

A.—1912, somewhere along in there.

MR. VANDERVEER: Seven years would be 1911.

MR. NEBEKER: 1911, about 1911, is when you commenced?

A.—1911, or '12, somewhere in there, yes.

Q.—Had you been any kind of an orator before —prior to that time?

A.—I never considered myself an orator at any time.

Q.—Well, I use that name,—had you been a speaker prior to that time?

A.—Not that I knew of. I used to get up in the local union meetings and talk; generally if I thought a thing I generally could say what I thought.

Q.—And could you also say things you didn't think?

A.—I am not in the habit of doing that; I kid myself if I do.

Q.—Did you ever sell patent medicine?

A.—No, sir; you bet your life I didn't.

Q.—You think you could, don't you?

A.—I haven't any idea.

Q.—Well, have you had any other vocation for the last seven years outside of speaking as a soap box orator for the I. W. W.?

A.—Well, now, what do you mean by vocation? I never got anything out of it.

Q.—Any kind of work?

A.—Why, I have worked on the job all of that time.

Q.—All of the time?

A.—All of the time, yes.

Q.—When was the last job you had, where you worked?

A.—The last job I had was when the strike came on.

Q.—That was about what, July 17th?

A.—July 17th.

Q.—What job did you have at that time?

A.—I worked in the blacksmith shop.

Q.—In what way?

A.—Well, it is a combination blacksmith shop, I do blacksmithing—

Q.—Can't you tell us without too much variation?

A.—I don't want you to misunderstand me. I want you to tell me just—I want to tell you just what the thing was.

MR. VANDERVEER: May it please the court, counsel's sole purpose in cross-examination seems to haggle and quibble rather than to get information. Now, I submit the witness has just as many rights as counsel has. The asking of a question gives the witness the right to answer, so long as he does directly in his own way.

THE COURT: The question is, what you did in the blacksmith shop.

A.—Well, I did everything. I worked around the machine bench, I worked at the forge, everything

that turned up in the machine shop, and blacksmith shop.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—That was a shop run by the Index Lumber Company?

A.—Yes, sir; right in the plant; that is, in their grounds.

Q.—At what place?

A.—At Index.

Q.—How long did you hold that job?

A.—I had only gone there,—I have forgotten, a couple of weeks or so before the strike came on.

THE COURT: We will suspend here until nine o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon an adjournment was taken until the following day, Saturday, June 29, 1918, at 9:00 o'clock A. M.)

June 29, 1918, 9 o'clock A. M.

Court meet pursuant to adjournment.

(Roll call of defendants: All answered "Present.")

J. T. DORAN,

one of the defendants, resumed the stand as a witness in his own behalf, and testified as follows:

CROSS EXAMINATION (Continued)

By Mr. Nebeker:

Q.—You told us yesterday, Mr. Doran, about working for the Index Lumber Company for about two weeks in June of 1917.

THE COURT: Just a moment, Mr. Nebeker. I do wish you all would try to get here on time.

MR. McDONALD: Yes, your Honor.

THE COURT: One man's tardiness holds up everybody. Don't figure on getting the last car that will get you down to this court room a minute before court convenes. That is not fair to the rest of us. Go ahead.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—(Continuing.) In addition to the job you had at the Index Lumber Company place for about two weeks in 1917, how many other places did you work in that year?

A.—In 1917, that was in July, not June.

Q.—Well, June or July?

A.—During that year, from the fall of 1916 I worked for the organization entirely.

Q.—That is the only job you did at manual labor in 1917?

A.—The fall of 1916 and '17 up to the time I was arrested—

Q.—Well, now, how many jobs of manual labor of any kind did you perform in 1916?

A.—In 1916 I was working for the S. P. railroad and I had worked for the Edison Company, and due to the blackball, after working a number of months, I was let out on the S. P.

Q.—Oh, don't now, answer my questions, so we can go on. How many different places did you work in 1916?

A.—I worked on the S. P. rairoad and I sold automobile accessories during the summer and in the fall I came to Seattle.

Q.—How long at a time did you work for any one employer in 1916?

A.—1916, just long enough to stay ahead of a blacklist.

Q.—Well, how long would that be?

THE COURT: Mr. Witness, will you answer the question, what was the longest time?

A.—Several months, about three, I think.

THE COURT: Now look towards that last man, the man in the second row.

A.—I think the S. P. job lasted about three months.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—What were you doing for the S. P.?

A.—I was doing line work, electrical construction work, repair work.

Q.—In what department?

A.—Maintenance department.

Q.—Where?

A.—The city of Oakland. Now wait a minute,

that was in—I said 1916; that was the early part of 1916 and the latter part of 1915—the early part of 1916, I don't remember whether it was then I got out—no, I got out of there in December, 1915; 1916 I was not on the S. P. It was the fall of 1915 I was on the S. P., and then went south on the A. W. O. I was mixed up a little bit on that.

Q.—All right. What was the longest time you worked for one employer in 1916?

A.—In 1916 I did not work—I worked for the organization as an employee for a matter of about seven months.

Q.—Did you do any manual labor for the organization?

A.—Yes, I consider it manual labor, going about from place to place; I didn't do any work with tools.

Q.—Well, now, in 1915 you worked three months for the S. P., did you?

A.—For the S. P., yes.

Q.—What other employers did you work for in 1915?

A.—I worked on the Tri-City Labor Review, a labor paper of the city of Oakland; I worked out at Berkeley for the Acetelyne—I think it is the Commercial Acetelyne Gas Company, who installed a branch at Berkeley.

Q.—How long did you work for that company?

A.—Until the job was through; I wired it and worked on the plant itself, a matter of six or seven weeks I guess. Then I built a house for a friend; that took about two months.

Q.—Where was that built?

A.—That was built at Berkeley, or outside of Berkeley in the hills.

Q.—What is your friend's name?

A.—Miss Pollack.

Q.—What?

A.—Miss Pollack; she and her mother.

Q.—What other employment did you have at manual labor in 1915?

A.—I wheeled scrap iron and did common labor work, odd jobs as I could get them, and aside from that I worked on the San Francisco Railroads for an inventor, who was installing a safety device, street signals.

Q.—What was the longest period of time that you worked for any one employer in 1915, and who was he and where was he?

A.—Well, the employment on the paper was intermittent; it is not steady, although I was engaged for quite a period of time, day after day, one day after another, the nature of the work on the S. P. permitted me to get in more time, one day succeeding the other than any other job I had, but that was due to the nature of the work.

Q.—You have already spoken of that, as covering about three months?

A.—As near as I recall it it was about ten or twelve weeks, I think, yes, I think that is what it was.

Q.—Now, what was the next longest job you had in 1915?

A.—Previous to 1915—well, let's see, I came and I worked—I had many little jobs, two days here and a day there, just odd jobs as I could find them.

Q.—Yes. Well, now, in a general way was your employment during 1914 about the same?

A.—My employment during 1914—I worked for the Edison Electric Company.

Q.—For how long?

A.—Until the job was through.

Q.—Where?

A.—Out building a line, a line outside of Perdue, that is the Southern Sierra, not the Edison.

Q.—Over what period of time did your employment continue?

A.—Well, the nature of the work—

Q.—Oh, answer the question, over what period of time did it extend?

A.—Well, it ran sometimes for a week, sometimes

two weeks, sometimes a month, sometimes a couple of months; it depends on the nature of the job; they were construction jobs.

Q.—Now did you during any of those years have any position of superintendent with any employers? Were you a straw boss at any time?

A.—Yes, I was a sort of boss for this fellow building the San Francisco railways; that is, this electric system or signaling system, I kind of supervised the thing.

Q.—Who was that?

A.—He was a doctor, he is an inventor, a doctor, it is Italian, Giribelli from Oakland, a doctor from Oakland, Dr. Garibelli I think is the name; he invented this apparatus for safety device on street cars and I got the job of installing it.

Q.—He was just experimenting with it, was he?

A JURROR: A little louder, please.

A.—This doctor was an inventor of an apparatus for regulating traffic at street corners and he employed me to supervise the installation as an experiment on the San Francisco Street railways.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—You were not working for the railway company at the time?

A.—No, I was working for the doctor.

Q.—Well, outside of that were you ever straw boss anywhere of foreman or superintendent?

A.—Oh, I think not—no, I don't know that I was. I have been in semi-official authority—something I tried to avoid if possible.

Q.—You do try to avoid it?

A.—Deliberately try to avoid it?

Q.—Now you have told us why you left Butte, will you tell us why you went there?

A.—Yes, I went there to explain the position of the I. W. W.

Q.—Did you go on your own initiative or under instructions from somebody else?

A.—Why, I was asked to go and I went.

Q.—Who asked you to go?

A.—Dick Brazier, a member, a defendant here, asked me if I would go; he had a telegram and asked me if I would go, and I said yes.

Q.—He had a telegram from whom?

A.—I don't know who it was from. I suppose that it was from William D. Haywood; I don't know that; I think so.

Q.—You and Brazier were in Seattle at the time, were you?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And when do you say you landed in Butte?

A.—I think I left Seattle on the 12th, arrived in Butte on the 13th and left on the 14th. I may be off a day, one day or the other.

Q.—Did you state in your direct testimony that you were in Butte on the 9th?

A.—I did not.

Q.—Did you see the telegram from Haywood to Brazier?

A.—I don't recall whether I did or not.

Q.—Brazier went with you to Butte, didn't he?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do you remember whether that was a telegram saying that Kirkenen wanted an Irish speaker to go to Butte?

A.—I don't remember anything like that. I don't really believe I saw the telegram.

Q.—I see. Do you know Kirkenen?

A.—I never met the man in my life until I met him in Butte.

Q.—You did meet him in Butte then, did you?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you know he was an I. W. W. secretary there at the time?

Q.—Well, was he?

A.—I did not.

Q.—You don't know whether he was or not?

A.—I don't know.

A.—No, sir, I simply met Kirkenen the same as I would meet any other reliable man in a district.

Q.—Well, don't you know that Kirkenen had headquarters there and was secretary at that time?

A.—I certainly do not know anything about that.

Q.—Well, do you say he did not have headquarters and was not secretary at that time?

A.—Well, there was no local there that I knew of, positively not.

Q.—Do you know Shannon?

A.—Yes, I am not well acquainted—

Q.—Didn't see him there?

A.—I met him there at this meeting—did not meet him; I was simply in the crowd with him and highballed him.

Q.—Do you know Peter Potagi?

A.—I met him there for the first time.

Q.—Did you know he was an I. W. W. leader?

A.—I never saw or heard of the man in my life until I met him there.

Q.—Did you meet him there?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Do you know Korpi?

A.—No, sir, I don't know him.

A.—I don't know the man; I don't recognize the name.

Q.—Nobody told you about him carrying a red flag in a parade a few days previous?

A.—Nobody had time to tell me anything.

Q.—Do you mean they did not or you did not?

A.—I mean those gunmen around there did not give them an opportunity.

Q.—Now did you learn Peter Kirkenen on the 6th of June, the next day after registration, wired to Haywood and asked him to send an Irish speaker to Butte as soon as possible?

A.—No, sir, I had no conference with anybody there. I was not permitted to get in touch, by circumstances, was not permitted.

Q.—If that was done, you never heard of it, is that so?

A.—I don't know anything about it.

Q.—Now, Mr. Doran, you visited a good many

of the lumber camps and the lumber mills in the northwest in 1917, did you, between April and October?

A.—Yes. That is west of the Hump, west of the Cascades.

Q.—I wish you would tell us just as briefly as you can each and every mill and each and every logging camp that you visited.

A.—You mean to go through the mill, to have gone through it?

Q.—No, just visit, went to them.

A.—Well, now—

Q.—Whether you went through them or not?

A.—That will require at least this explanation: Take a town like Arlington, for instance, it is just a streak in the road. Now there is no mill really right in Arlington, but right around Arlington there are woods and mills and things of that description.

Q.—Well, I will ask you to include in that any towns or villages or camps you visited that are near the various mills.

A.—Well, let us start from there then.

Q.—Yes.

A.—Arlington. Now there is a school house—

Q.—Now I would like you at the same time, if you will, to give us—this was a sort of trip you made over the country there, was it?

A.—I was on the trip continuously, you see.

Q.—I want to get the dates, the first date and the last date, as near as you can. I don't ask you for each one.

A.—I don't know as I can do that. You have got these lists, you can check them up.

Q.—Can't you tell when you first started out making the camps?

A.—I started out making camps immediately after the strike was called, I went out on the road.

Q.—When was that?

A.—The strike was called, I was in Index, the 20th, I think, or the 21st, it was when I left there.

Q.—Now, is that the first date when you started making these camps, visiting them?

A.—No, that is the time I came to Everett, then to Seattle.

Q.—Well, wait a minute. You know what I am trying to get at.

A.—I know, but I don't want you—

Q.—I want to know when you started out rounding up these lumber camps and mills.

A.—That is just exactly what I am trying to tell you.

Q.—When did you start, what date?

A.—I don't know; I can organize it for you this way—

Q.—Was it in June or July?

A.—It was in July.

Q.—All right. Now go ahead and tell us the various ones you visited.

A.—Well, I visited Arlington and a school house that is nine miles from Arlington, which is the center of population. I talked at this school house, the center of population for the Danaher camps, and I think there is Riggles, or Ruggles camp, I have forgotten the name of them; there are several camps in there; they are mostly stump ranches in that neighborhood, at the country school house—

Q.—Go ahead, let's hasten over this.

A.—Arlington and this school house; Bellingham, Monroe, Index, There is another little place there—well, I cannot recall that; Everett, Monroe, Seattle, Tacoma, Aberdeen, Elmer, Hoquiam, Raymond, South Bend, Port Angeles, Centralia, some kind of a picnic grounds outside of—right in the woods, outside of Port Angeles; Ballard; I think that is all I can recall now.

Q.—Now, there were strikes on at all of those places?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—And you were making speeches for the I. W. W. at all of those places?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You spoke about you experience in the lumber camps and the logging camps and the character of the food and working conditions. When did you ever work in a logging camp?

A.—I worked in that logging camp directly for the logging company.

Q.—When?

A.—I just explained to you, in July.

Q.—Of what year?

A.—The Index Lumber Company, in nineteen—

Q.—You mean during those two weeks?

A.—During those two weeks; a man can get awfully sick of that grub in two weeks.

Q.—I thought you were working in a blacksmith shop.

A.—Yes, but the nature of the work would take me out; I went and set a boiler out in the camp right smack up against the bunk house.

Q.—Did you sleep in the bunk house?

A.—No, I did not; I came back to town.

Q.—You would not sleep in one of those bunk houses?

A.—Well, I have often slept on the floor, the ground, rather than sleep in the bunk house—not necessarily a lumber bunk house, but almost any construction camp bunk house—often hit the ground.

Q.—Well, construction camp bunk house, what do you mean by that?

A.—Well, you see these construction camps, take all construction camps, it may be any kind of general work, pile work or line work or road construction or grading camps, things of that kind, camps that a man in that country, the situation is a little different from what it is here, east; camp conditions are generally about the same.

Q.—You are rambling now; just a moment. Do you mean to say that what you have said about the bunk houses of logging camps is based upon your experience in bunk houses in construction camps?

A.—On the whole what I have seen of bunk houses in the logging district, yes.

Q.—Now, I want you to give the name of some company, some logging or lumber company in the northwest, where you observed any of the conditions that you have mentioned, that is to say, where the bunks were constructed as you stated they were, were, and where they were vermin infested as you stated they were.

A.—Well, I didn't get any of the vermin at Index; the bunch kicked about it.

Q.—Just answer the question so we can proceed.

A.—Index is one place; going about from camp to camp, or from town location to town location.

Q.—Now you have named one.

A.—Yes.

Q.—Name another.

A.—I cannot tell you the name of this lumber company, but it is on the road between Elmer and Hoquiam, and I think it was one of the camps of one of these men that was on here, the Brothers camp there—you had one of these fellows as a witness.

Q.—Yes.

A.—The camp is located right alongside the road.

Q.—You mean Schaefer Brothers?

A.—Schaefer Brothers; I noticed that in passing through there.

Q.—What was the condition of that camp?

A.—Well, just the same as anything else.

Q.—Well what was it, what was the condition?

A.—Well, ordinary plain board buildings.

Q.—What kind of bunks did they have?

A.—I don't know; I wasn't inside of the bunks, in the Schaefer camp.

Q.—Well, now I am asking you to name some place where the bunks were of the character you have said they were.

A.—Well, I cannot be—I do not want to be certain about that particular design of bunk in places that I have visited, because I have only given super-

ficial consideration to them; that is where I was not personally interested; I was interested in Index.

Q.—Did you give as superficial consideration to it when you talked to these ignorant working men out in the field as you did on the ground?

A.—No, I know if I do not tell the truth to working men about their own conditions, they know I lie, and when I lie I hurt myself.

Q.—Yes; that is, if you lie and get caught at it, you mean. Is that the idea?

A.—When I talk of the conditions, if they do not experience what I talk about, they do not believe what I do say, so I am careful.

Q.—You never did work in a logging camp in your life, outside of the blacksmith shop in Index?

A.—Actually employed for a loging company, no.

Q.—Or at logging or lumber camps?

MR. VANDERVEER: I am going to bring officials here who inspected these camps for the State of Washington.

MR. NEBEKER: Counsel is testifying here.

THE COURT: This is perfectly proper cross examination, is it not?

MR. VANDERVEER: He has professed great anxiety to hurry and I said—

THE COURT: Is this proper cross examination?

MR. VANDERVEER: Why in the main it is, yes. I have not objected.

THE COURT: Well, the present question, is that?

MR. VANDERVEER: I did not make an objection, your Honor. I merely made a suggestion to counsel.

THE COURT: All right, go ahead.

MR. VANDERVEER: He is so anxious to hurry.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—Now, Mr. Doran, during the time that you were traveling around, you know the lumber camps, that is among the men that had been working or were working at the lumber camps in the northwest in 1917. Did you keep in touch

with the literature and newspapers of the organization?

A.—Not nearly as much as I should, no.

Q.—Well, did you get the Industrial Worker all the time while you were up through there?

A.—No, I tried to and could not.

Q.—Didn't you distribute numbers of the Industrial Worker around among these men during that time?

A.—No, sir, I don't believe I ever distributed a paper of any kind. I was not fortunate enough to have them. I might have had from time to time a single copy of my own that I would give to some man, but otherwise I could not catch up with the literature; I was moving too fast.

Q.—You did not see the Industrial Worker, I assume, from time to time during this period?

A.—Oh, of course I did as often as I could.

Q.—And whenever you got one of the Industrial Worker you read it through, didn't you?

A.—Sometimes; I always—

Q.—You noticed the headlines about the strike and what the purpose of the strike was, did you?

A.—As a general thing I would read it if I got a copy of it.

Q.—And did you also receive Solidarity during that period of time?

A.—I don't think that at any time I received a copy of Solidarity. Solidarity is an eastern organ, and I did not get hold of it very often.

Q.—So you think during all that time you never saw a single issue of Solidarity?

A.—Well, unless I saw it in the window—not to read it; I don't think so.

Q.—Did you see any of the bulletins that were issued from time to time by 500, and by 400, and from Headquarters here with respect to the purposes of the strike?

A.—I tried to catch every 500 bulletin that came

out. Very often I didn't get them. I tried to get them.

Q.—So that in that way do you say that you did keep pretty well informed as to the general policies of the I. W. W. in conducting that strike?

A.—Yes, I was in direct touch with the man—

Q.—Well, but I am asking you now as to the policies, as directed by the officials of the organization?

A.—I was in direct contact with John Martin, secretary, all the time, and he gave me such information—

Q.—He was secretary of what, at that time?

A.—500, at Seattle, that is the district.

Q.—Did you have a strike committee acting in connection with John Martin there?

A.—There was a strike committee, I don't know—

Q.—Who were the men?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—Was Hunsburger one of them?

A.—I don't know whether he was or not.

Q.—Do you know Hunsburger?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—He was an I. W . W., wasn't he?

A.—I believe he was, yes.

Q.—Wasn't he right there acting with Martin, in the same office, all of this time?

A.—I don't know anything about it; I was on the road; I know Hunsburger was around town.

Q.—Do you know Baker?

A.—Which Baker?

Q.—Well, Frank Baker?

A.—Yes.

Q.—Wasn't he a member of that strike committee, together with Hunsburger?

A.—I don't believe so. He belonged to another union.

Q.—Do you know O'Brien?

A.—Yes, I know O'Brien.

Q.—James O'Brien?
A.—Yes.
Q.—Was he a member of that committee?
A.—Yes, O'Brien was a member of some committee there, I presume, the strike committee.
Q.—Well, now, you mean to say that while you were out there going around, you knew these men but you did not know who constituted the strike committee under which you were acting?
A.—I did not know the full committee, no; I was directly in touch with Martin, to get instructions from Martin that the strike committee had given him, as secretary.
Q.—How many times did you visit Seattle during this period?
A.—Well, I don't know; I started out to follow my whole course—
Q.—Well now, that is not answering the question, Doran, and you know it.
A.—I know, but I don't want to make any misstatements.
Q.—All right. So you don't know then how many times you visited Seattle?
A.—I don't know.
Q.—About how many times?
A.—I don't know, six or eight or ten, something of that kind.
Q.—Once a month?
A.—Yes, more often than that, perhaps.
Q.—Twice a month?
A.—Yes.
Q.—Three times, or four?
A.—I should say in the course of the whole ten or twelve weeks perhaps ten or twelve trips in—back to town, from some outlaying district.
Q.—At least once a week you visited Seattle?
A.—Not always; I presume so, about once a week.
Q.—Did you always go to headquarters?
A.—I always saw Martin.

Q.—Did you always go to headquarters where he was?

A.—I always went to headquarters where he was?

Q.—You never learned that Hunsburger was chairman of the strike committee?

A.—You must understand that there are a number of committees there. Hunsburger was in the office; I don't know what his official business was.

Q.—You did not know that O'Brien was a member of the strike committee?

A.—I knew O'Brien was a member of the strike committee.

Q.—The very strike committee under which you were acting?

A.—Yes. I knew that O'Brien was but I did not know about Hunsburger. Do not misunderstand. There are several committees all working actively around there at the same time, some local and some district; it is easy to confuse them.

Q.—I am speaking of the strike committee that had general jurisdiction under Martin over the entire lumber strike.

A.—Well, O'Brien—

Q.—Wasn't there such a committee?

A.—Yes, and O'Brien was on it. I would not say so much for Hunsburger because I don't know.

Q.—Do you know anybody else on that committee?

A.—Yes, there was a big, tall narrow fellow from Centralia, I don't know what his name was; I knew the man but I don't know his name.

MR. VANDERVEER: You are confusing the strike committee and organization committee.

A.—He was on it.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—Your work was marked out for you by Martin and this strike committee, was it?

A.—To this extent, that they would tell me "The bunch wants you at so and so," and I would go.

Q.—And you never communicated at all with the strike committee?

A.—Except for date purposes or maybe a meeting would be changed somewhere.

Q.—In such a case with whom did you communicate?

A.—John Martin.

Q.—John Martin was not on the strike committee, was he?

A.—John Martin was the secretary of the district, and he was the man I did business with.

Q.—Answer the question. Was he on the strike committee?

A.—I don't know.

Q.—I believ you stated that you had no difficulty in picking out gunmen, did you?

A.—I said that, yes.

Q.—That was from their appearance, they looked like gunmen?

A.—Yes.

Q.—That is, men who carry guns, is that what you mean?

A.—No, I meant that contemptible type that usually flock around to administer law and order.

Q.—It is not every man that carries a pistol in his pocket that you refer to then?

A.—Why certainly not.

Q.—You have carried a gun yourself, haven't you?

A.—Not as a usual thing, no.

Q.—Well, you have done so, haven't you?

A.—Why, some times.

Q.—Did you ever shoot anybody?

A.—No, I never shot anybody.

Q.—Didn't you shoot a man in the leg one time?

A.—I did not.

Q.—And weren't you charged with having done so?

A.—I was charged and held I believe fifty-seven days and never tried; they turned me out.

Q.—As a matter of fact, didn't you shoot the man in the leg?

A.—I certainly did not shoot him. Why didn't they try me, if they thought so?

Q.—Well, the prosecuting witness himself failed to appear, didn't he?

A.—The prosecuting witness said that I was not the man.

Q.—How many times have you been arrested, Doran?

MR. VANDERVEER: Wait a minute, now. Now this incident is over, your Honor, I move to strike it out and I ask your Honor to caution counsel that that is not proper cross examination. The commission of crime is not a subject of examination. It is only the conviction of crime.

THE COURT: In view of the witness' testimony about gunmen, it is proper cross axamination, to ask him if he did not carry a gun or shoot somebody or was accused of it.

MR. VANDERVEER: I would like an exception.

THE COURT: Proceed.

MR. NEBEKER: Q.—How many times have you been arrested?

A.—I have been persecuted and arrested a number of times, never tried.

Q.—Answer my question; how many times have you been arrested?

A.—In Los Angeles they arrested me four or five times a week for months, and never let me see a judge.

Q.—How many times have you been arrested?

A.—I don't know, hundreds of times on that kind of charge; I was never convicted of a felony in my life.

Q.—Have you been arrested a dozen times?

A.—Yes, several dozen times.

Q.—In every case you were in the right and they were in the wrong, I suppose?

A.—They never tried me.

Q.—Answer my question.

A.—I don't know. They never took it to a show down; I presume I was right.

MR. NEBEKER: That is all.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION

By Mr. Christensen:

Q.—When you went out to those camps to talk, did you go out under the direction of the committee or invitation of the branches?

A.—Why, they would send to Martin, telling him to have me go, and Martin would tell me who wanted me, and I would go; the bunch on the job did that; they arranged the meetings themselves, as I understand it.

Q.—And up to 1916 you had done no work for the organization?

A.—Not under pay.

MR. NEBEKER: I object to that.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—I mean under pay.

A.—Yes, two weeks in Phoenix once, that is all.

Q.—And that is all?

A.—And then this, I want to say, because I had forgotten the incident before, where I worked for the A. W. O. I worked seven months under salary of $10 a week, which I never collected. I collected, I think, $90 or $92 for seven months work at $10 a week. The rest of it—profit and loss.

Q.—And you made your own living at your trade and such jobs as you could get?

A.—On the odd jobs, anything I could make a living at, any kind of work I could get; my trade, if I could get a job at it, because it paid me more money; if I could not, I took anything.

Q.—You say you are blacklisted as an electrical worker also, prior to that time, 1916?

A.—Well, yes.

Q.—And since?

A.—I have got to use an assumed name to get a job. They can me every place I go; not that I am not a mechanic. I have got a book here, should be, in

the Public Library, proving I am a mechanic, a text book.

Q.—You are the author of a book?

A.—Yes.

Q.—What is the title of the book?

A.—I wrote the book entitled: "Explanation of Switch and Signal Circuits," the only, I believe up to date the only mechanic's handbook that has been used in connection with the electrical system of signaling.

I am a mechanic, nobody questions that, and yet they can me as soon as they find out who I am; that is black list.

Q.—That book is used by whom, Mr. Doran?

A.—Why—

MR. NEBEKER: This is a conclusion. I object to it as immaterial and irrelevant and not redirect.

THE COURT: What is it? I cannot hear what you gentlemen say down here.

MR. NEBEKER: Well, I beg your Honor's pardon. I thought you were close enough. I object to that as immaterial and irrelevant and calling for a conclusion of the witness and not redirect.

THE COURT: Overruled.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Answer the question.

A.—Well, I don't know who is using them outside of mechanics engaged in that line of business. They bought a number of them at the time, but I quit publishing them. I found I was making pretty efficient slaves and I quit publishing them.

Q.—How long ago is it, Mr. Doran, since Sammy Gompers has done any manual labor?

A.—Oh, God, I don't know.

MR. NEBEKER: What is that?

A.—I said I don't know.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: These two pamphlets I show you here, state whether or not you are the author of those two pamphlets?

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do these two pamphlets cover part of the

lecture that you delivered here, which was your usual lecture?

A.—Why yes, except that they were organized for reading purposes rather than illustrative purposes; in substance the same thing appears throughout my talk, the substance of it.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I offer these in evidence.

(Exhibits marked Defendants' Exhibits 58 and 59.)

MR. CHRISTENSEN: You say that you were working for the Tri-City paper?

A.—Yes, I worked for the labor outfit there, the A. F. of L., the official organ of the Central Labor Council. I worked on the advertising end and then used to write a number of articles for the paper, local stuff.

Q.—Was that the official organ of—

A.—The Central Labor Council of Alameda, the Tri-City Labor Review represents the Tri groups there, Alameda, Berkeley and Oakland, you see. It is the official organ of the Central Labor Council, American Federation of Labor.

Q.—Did you bring your card with you this morning?

A.—I did.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Mark that.

(Card referred to was marked Defendants' Exhibit 60 for identification.)

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I show you Defendants' Exhibit for identification, number 60. State what that is?

A.—It is a receipt from the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers signed by Billy Delaney of Local Union 77, I. B. W., City of Seattle, Washington.

Q.—I see that this receipt bears the name of "J. D. Thompson" or Thomas.

A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Is that the receipt that you received in payment of dues, in that way?

A.—That is my receipt, yes, sir.

Q.—Can you tell us why the receipt was made to J. D. Thomas?

A.—My name is John Thomas Doran, and because Doran, plus the red head, is pretty easy to keep track of, and not willing to use an alias unnecessarily, I used the name J. D. Thomas, just turned the last initial into the middle initial and used my middle name, and the Executive Board of Local Union 77 in the city of Seattle, did that for me, in order to help me get a job and make a living, it was so hard to make it without it.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: I offer that in evidence.

MR. NEBEKER: No objection.

(Document marked Defendants' Exhibit 60 received in evidence.)

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Mr. Doran, one or two questions I forgot to ask you yesterday. Did you ever conspire with any one to interfere with enlistments?

A.—No, sir, absolutely not.

Q.—Did you ever conspire with any one to interfere with the operation of the selective service draft act?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Did you ever in your talks make any mention of that?

A.—No, sir. I paid no attention to that at all.

Q.—Did you ever conspire with any one to cause disloyalty and insubordination in the service?

A.—Absolutely not.

Q.—Did you ever do anything to do that?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Did you conspire with any one to curtail the supplies for the government?

A.—No, sir.

Q.—Or to keep the government from getting necessary supplies?

A.—No, sir, I struck for living conditions but I did not conspire to curtail any government products

or anything of the kind—had not that in mind; I was striking for living conditions.

Q.—Did you ever enter into any conspiracy at all with any I. W. W.'ites?

A.—No.

Q.—Did your activities in 1917 in any respect differ from your activities prior to 1917?

MR. NEBEKER: This is objected to as asking for a conclusion of the witness.

THE COURT: Sustained.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Well, the things you did in 1917 in making your talks and so on, and your activities, were they the same as your activities prior to the declaration of war, in 1917?

A.—Yes, of course.

Q.—Was your motive the same after the declaration of war in connection with your activities, as they were prior?

A.—Absolutely.

MR. CHRISTENSEN: That is all.

RE CROSS EXAMINATION BY
Mr. Nebeker:

Q.—The declaration of war by the United States against the Imperial German Government did not change your attitude on the general subject at all, is that the idea?

A.—I had not discussed the war before nor after.

Q.—Just answer that, if you please.

A.—What do you mean by that?

Q.—Did it change your attitude or your motives in any way?

A.—Well no, because I had not had anything in confliction witn it.

Q.—I am not asking you the cause. Did it?

A.—It was the same all the time.

Q.—Absolutely. You say you did not conspire with anyb dy. You did act harmoniously with these other defendants, didn't you?

A.—To get eight hours and more pork chops, yes.

Q.—Answer the question.

A.—Yes.

Q.—You acted harmoniously with an understanding with these other defendants?

A.—On a strike, yes.

Q.—And in general as to the policies of the I. W. W.?

A.—Any official such as—

Q.—You can answer that.

A.—Now wait a minute. Any official such as Martin, I worked in harmony with.

Q.—Well, were you at loggerheads with any of the other officials?

A.—I did not have anything to do with other officials.

Q.—Well, was there any dispute between you, for example, and Haywood, as to any matter of policy affecting the organization?

A.—I had no connection with Haywood, no correspondence, nothing to do with him.

Q.—Well, you did not answer the question, Red.

A.—Well, then I cannot say that there was not a confliction and I cannot leave the impression that there was not a confliction, because I had nothing to do with him.

Q.—I am going to ask you the same question about others. Did you have any dispute with Forrest Edwards?

A.—No, sir, I never saw the man before.

Q.—Or with Rowan?

A.—I did not see Rowan.

Q.—So far as you know, your purpose was to act in harmony with all these officers of the organization as far as you knew what their policies were?

A.—Anything strictly organization matters—

Q.—You never called upon any of these officials of the organization to adopt a different policy from what you knew they were following, did you?

A.—Well—

Q.—That can be answered yes or no.

A.—Well, I have suggested things, yes.

Q.—Have you ever done it in writing?
A.—No.
MR. NEBEKER: That is all.
A.—I have suggested things.
MR. NEBEKER: That is all.
MR. CHRISTENSEN: That is all. Exhibits 58 and 59—
MR. NEBEKER: Oh, just a moment here. Have you offered those in evidence?
MR. CHRISTENSEN: Yes.
MR. NEBEKER: I wanted to inquire about them before Doran leaves the stand. Just a word:
Q.—Are these exhibits 58 and 59, when were they printed?
A.—I don't know when they were printed; they were printed as near as I believe, as near as I remember, in November or December.
Q.—Of last year. Well, were they written in December of last year?
A.—I am pretty certain that they were written in November.
MR. NEBEKER: Well, they are objected to as immaterial and irrelevant.
MR. CHRIISTENSEN: I think he testified that the substance covered his lectures.
THE COURT: He says they were written after the indictment. Sustained.
MR. CHRISTENSEN: Q.—Were they written while you were in jail?
A.—Yes.
MR. CHRISTENSEN: I see. I will pass this exhibit to tne jury. (Handing to the jury Defendants' Exhibit number 60.)
(Witness excused.)

4

6

8

110 smell

88 89 work pressure .

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The following is a list of new books published by the General Defense Committee

The Everett Massacre

By WALKER C. SMITH **Price Postpaid $1.00**

A clear, concise statement of Everett's Bloody Sunday and its aftermath. Cloth bound.

Opening Statement of Geo. F. Vanderveer

The opening argument of Attorney Vanderveer in the Chicago cases. **Price 10 cents**

Testimony of Wm. D. Haywood before the Industrial Relations Commission

A remarkable word picture of the I. W. W. **Price 15 cents**

Evidence and Cross Examination of Wm. D. Haywood

An interesting chapter in the I. W. W. cases. **Price 25 cents**

Evidence and Cross Examination of J. T. (Red) Doran

Red Doran's famous lecture, delivered in the Courtroom. **Price 15 cents**

Order from the

General Defense Committee

1001 W. Madison St. Chicago, Illinois

Funds Are Still Needed

200 MEN ARE STILL AWAITING TRIAL ON CHARGES OF SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY

■ ■ ■

These men, some of whom have been in jail for more than a year, appeal to your sense of justice and fair play to insure them a fair and impartial trial.

The great trial in Chicago, which resulted in the conviction of 101, has drained the resources of the Organization to such an extent that we must again appeal to you if we are to provide any kind of a defense for these men whose ONLY CRIME has been LOYALTY to the WORKING CLASS.

■ ■ ■

SEND ALL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE

1001 West Madison Street Chicago, Illinois

THE EVERETT MASSACRE

A History of the Class Struggle In the Lumber Industry

By Walker C. Smith

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

The Everett Massacre

By Walker C. Smith

A History of the Class Struggle in the Lumber Industry

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
Chicago, Ill.

THIS book is dedicated to those loyal soldiers of the great class war who were murdered on the steamer Verona at Everett, Washington, in the struggle for free speech and free assembly and the right to organize:

FELIX BARAN,
HUGO GERLOT,
GUSTAV JOHNSON,
JOHN LOONEY,
ABRAHAM RABINOWITZ,

and those unknown martyrs whose bodies were swept out to unmarked ocean graves on Sunday, November Fifth, 1916.

PRINTED BY THE
MEMBERS OF THE
GENERAL RECRUITING
UNION I. W. W.

PREFACE

In ten minutes of seething, roaring hell at the Everett dock on the afternoon of Sunday, November 5, 1916, there was more of the age-old superstition regarding the indentity of interests between capital and labor torn from the minds of the working people of the Pacific Northwest than could have been cleared away by a thousand lecturers in a year. It is with regret that we view the untimely passing of the seven or more Fellow Workers who were foully murdered on that fateful day, but if the working class of the world can view beyond their mangled forms the hideous brutality that was the cause of their deaths, they will not have died in vain.

This book is published with the hope that the tragedy at Everett may serve to set before the working class so clear a view of capitalism in all its ruthless greed that another such affair will be impossible.

C. E. PAYNE.

With grateful acknowledgments to C. E. Payne for valuable assistance in preparing the subject matter, to Harry Feinberg in consultation, to Marie B. Smith in revising manuscript, and to J. J. Kneisle for photographs.

EVERETT, NOVEMBER FIFTH

By Charles Ashleigh

["* * * and then the Fellow Worker died, singing 'Hold the Fort' * * *"—From the report of a witness.]

Song on his lips, he came;
  Song on his lips, he went;—
This be the token we bear of him,—
  Soldier of Discontent!

Out of the dark they came; out of the night
  Of poverty and injury and woe,—
With flaming hope, their vision thrilled to light,—
  Song on their lips, and every heart aglow;

They came, that none should trample Labor's right
  To speak, and voice her centuries of pain.
Bare hands against the master's armored might!—
  A dream to match the tools of sordid gain!

And then the decks went red; and the grey sea
  Was written crimsonly with ebbing life.
The barricade spewed shots and mockery
  And curses, and the drunken lust of strife.

Yet, the mad chorus from that devil's host,—
  Yea, all the tumult of that butcher throng,—
Compound of bullets, booze and coward boast,—
  Could not out-shriek one dying worker's song!

Song on his lips, he came;
  Song on his lips, he went;—
This be the token we bear of him,—
  Soldier of Discontent!

Released Free Speech prisoners who visited the graves of their murdered Fellow Workers at Mount Pleasant Cemetery, May 12, 1917.

The Everett Massacre

CHAPTER I.

THE LUMBER KINGDOM

Perhaps the real history of the rise of the lumber industry in the Pacific Northwest will never be written. It will not be set down in these pages. A fragment—vividly illustrative of the whole, yet only a fragment—is all that is reproduced herein. But if that true history be written, it will tell no tales of "self-made men" who toiled in the woods and mills amid poverty and privation and finally rose to fame and affluence by their own unaided effort. No Abraham Lincoln will be there to brighten its tarnished pages. The story is a more sordid one and it has to do with the theft of public lands; with the bribery and corruption of public officials; with the destruction and "sabotage," if the term may be so misused, of the property of competitors; with base treachery and double-dealing among associated employers; and with extortion and coercion of the actual workers in the lumber industry by any and every means from the "robbersary" company stores to the commission of deliberate murder.

No sooner had the larger battles among the lumber barons ended in the birth of the lumber trust than there arose a still greater contest for control of the industry. Lumberjack engaged lumber baron in a

struggle for industrial supremacy; on the part of the former a semi-blind groping toward the light of freedom and for the latter a conscious striving to retain a seat of privilege. Nor can the full history of that struggle be written here, for the end is not yet, but no one who has read the past rightly can doubt the ultimate outcome. That history, when finally written, will recite tales of heroism and deeds of daring and unassuming acts of bravery on the part of obscure toilers beside which the vaunted prowess of famous men will seem tawdry by comparison. Today the perspective is lacking. Time alone will vindicate the rebellious workers in their fight for freedom. From all this travail and pain is to be born an Industrial Democracy.

The lumber industry dominated the whole life of the Northwest. The lumber trust had absolute sway in entire sections of the country and held the balance of power in many other places. It controlled Governors, Legislatures and Courts; directed Mayors and City Councils; completely owned Sheriffs and Deputies; and thru threats of foreclosure, blackmail, the blacklist and the use of armed force it dominated the press and pulpit and terrorized many other elements in each community. The sworn testimony in the greatest case in labor history bears out these statements. Out of their own mouths were the lumber barons and their tools condemned. For, let it be known, the great trial in Seattle, Wash., in the year 1917, was not a trial of Thomas H. Tracy and his co-defendants. It was a trial of the lumber trust, a trial of so-called "law and order," a trial of the existing method of production and exchange and the social relations that spring from it,—and the verdict was that Capitalism is guilty of Murder in the First Degree.

To get even a glimpse into the deeper meaning of the case that developed from the conflict at Everett, Wash., it is necessary to know something of the lives of the migratory workers, something of the vital necessity of free speech to the working class

and to all society for that matter, and also something about the basis of the lumber industry and the foundation of the city of Everett. The first two items very completely reveal themselves thru the medium of the testimony given by the witnesses for the defense, while the other matters are covered briefly here.

The plundering of public lands was a part of the policy of the lumber trust. Large holdings were gathered together thru colonization schemes, whereby tracts of 160 acres were homesteaded by individuals with money furnished by the lumber operators. Often this meant the mere loaning of the individual's name, and in many instances the building of a home was nothing more than the nailing together of three planks. Other rich timber lands were taken up as mineral claims altho no trace of valuable ore existed within their confines. All this timber fell into the hands of the lumber trust. In addition to this there were large companies who logged for years on forty acre strips. This theft of timber on either side of a small holding is the basis of many a fortune and the possessors of this stolen wealth can be distinguished today by their extra loud cries for "law and order" when their employes in the woods and mills go on strike to add a few more pennies a day to their beggarly pittance.

Altho cheaper than outright purchase from actual settlers, these methods of timber theft proved themselves quite costly and the public outcry they occasioned was not to the liking of the lumber barons. To facilitate the work of the lumber trust and at the same time placate the public, nothing better than the Forest Reserve could possibly have been devised. The establishment of the National Forest Reserves was one of the long steps taken in the United States in monopolizing both the land and the timber of the country.

The first forest reserves were established February 22, 1898, when 22,000,000 acres were set aside as National Forests. Within the next eight

years practically all the public forest lands in the United States that were of any considerable extent had been set off into these reserves, and by 1913 there had been over 291,000 square miles included within their confines. (*) This immense tract of country was withdrawn from the possibility of homestead entry at approximately the time that the Mississippi Valley and the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains had been settled and brought under private ownership. Whether the purpose was to put the small sawmills out of business can not be definitely stated, but the lumber trust has profited largely from the establishment of the forest reserves.

So long as there was in the United States a large and open frontier to be had for the taking there could be no very prolonged struggle against an owning class. It has been easier for those having nothing to go but a little further and acquire property for themselves. But on coming to what had been the frontier and finding a forest reserve with range riders and guards on its boundaries to prevent trespassing; on looking back and seeing all land and opportunities taken; on turning again to the forest reserve and finding a foreman of the lumber trust within its borders offering wages in lieu of a home, it was inevitable that a conflict should occur.

With the capitalistic system of industry in operation, the conflict between the landless homeseekers and the owners of the vast accumulations of capital would inevitably have taken place, but this clash has come at least a generation earlier because of the establishment of the National Forests than it otherwise would. The land now in reserves would furnish homes and comfortable livings for ten million people, and have absorbed the surplus population for another generation. It is also true that the establishment of the National Forests has been one of the

---

(*) Data on Forest Reserve taken from 1911 Encyclopedia Britannica articles by Gifford Pinchot.

vital factors that made the continued existence of the lumber trust possible.

Prior to 1895 the shipments of lumber to the prairie states from west of the Rocky Mountains were very small, and of no effect on the domination of the lumber industry by the trust. Also, prior to that date but a small part of the valuable timber west of the Rocky Mountains had been brought under private ownership. But about this time the pioneer settlers began swarming over the Pacific Slope and taking the free government land as homesteads. As the timber land was taken up, floods of lumber from the Pacific Coast met the lumber of the trust on the great prairies. The lumber trust had looted the government land and the Indian reservations in the middle states of their timber, and had almost full control of the prairie markets until the lumber of the Pacific Slope began to arrive. In 1896 lumber from the Puget Sound was sold in Dakota for $16.00 per thousand feet, and it kept coming in a constantly increasing volume and of a better quality than the trust was shipping from the East. It was but natural that the trust should seek a means to stifle the constantly increasing competition from the homesteads of the West, and the means was found in the establishment of the National Forest Reserves.

While the greater portion of North America was yet a wilderness, the giving of vast tracts of valuable land on the remote frontier to private individuals and companies could be accomplished. But at this time such a procedure would have been impossible, tho it was imperative for the life of the trust that the timber of the Pacific Slope should be withdrawn from the possibility of homestead entry. In order to carry out this scheme it was necessary to raise a cry of "Benefit to the Public" and make it appear that this new public policy was in the interest of future generations. The cry was raised that the public domain was being used for private gain, that the timber was being wastefully handled, that unnecessary amounts were being cut, that the future generations would find themselves without timber,

that the watersheds were being denuded and that drought and floods would be the certain result, that the nation should receive a return for the timber that was taken, together with many other specious pleas.

That the public domain was being used for private gain was in some instances true, but the vast majority of the timber land was being taken as homesteads, and thus taking the timber outside the cortrol of the trust. That the timber was being wastefully handled was to some extent true, but this was inevitable in the development of a new industry in a new country, and so far as the Pacific Slope is concerned there is but little change from the methods of twenty years ago. That unnecessary amounts were being cut was sometimes true, but this served only to keep prices down, and from the standpoint of the trust was unpardonable on that account alone. The market is being supplied now as formerly, and with as much as it will take. The only means that has been used to restrict the amount cut has been to raise the price to about double what it was in 1896. The denuding of the watersheds of the continent goes on today the same as it did twenty-five years ago, the only consideration being whether there is a market for the timber. Some reforesting has been done, and some protection has been established for the prevention of fires, but these things have been much in the nature of an advertisement since the government has taken charge of the forests, and was done automatically by the homesteaders before the Reserves were established. There has never been any restriction in the amount of timber that any company could buy, and the more it wanted, the better chance it had of getting it. The nation is receiving some return from the sale of timber from the government land, but it is in the nature of a division of the spoils from a raid on the homes of the landless.

When the Reserve were established, the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to "make rules and regulations for the occupancy and the use of the forests and preserve them from destruction." No

attempt was made in the General Land Office to develop a technical forestry service. The purpose of the administration was mainly protection against trespass and fire. The methods of the administration were to see to it first that there were no trespassers. Fire protection came later. When the Reserves were established, people who were at the time living within their boundaries were compelled to submit the titles of their homesteads to the most rigid scrutiny, and many people who had complied with the spirit of the law were dispossessed on mere technicalities, while before the establishment of the Reserve system the spirit of the compliance with the homestead law was mainly considered, and very seldom the technicality. And while the Forestry Service was examining all titles to homesteads within the boundaries of the Reserve with the utmost care, the large lumbering companies were given the best of consideration, and were allowed all the timber they requested and a practically unlimited time to remove it.

The system of dealing with the lumber trust has been most liberal on the part of the government. A company wanting several million feet of timber makes a request to the district office to have the timber of a certain amount and on a certain tract offered for sale. The Forestry Service makes an estimate of the minimum value of the timber as it stands in the tree and the amount of timber requested within that tract is then offered for sale at a given time, the bids to be sent in by mail and accompanied by certified checks. The bids must be at least as large as the minimum price set by the Forestry Service, and highest bidder is awarded the timber, on condition that he satisfies the Forestry Service that he is responsible and will conduct the logging according to rules and regulations. The system seems fair, and open to all, until the conditions are known.

But among the large lumber companies there has never been any real competition for the possession of any certain tract of timber that was listed for sale by request. When one company has decided on ask-

ing for the allotment of any certain tract of timber, other companies operating within that forest seldom make bids on that tract. Any small company that is doing business in opposition to the trust companies, and may desire to bid on an advertised tract, even tho its bid may be greater than the bid of the trust company, will find its offer thrown out as being "not according to the Government specifications," or the company is "not financially responsible," or some other suave explanation for refusing to award the tract to the competing company. On the other hand, when a small company requests that some certain tract shall be listed for sale, it very frequently happens that one of the large companies that is commonly understood to be affiliated with the lumber trust will have a bid in for that tract that is slightly above that of the non-trust company, and the timber is solemnly awarded to "the highest bidder."

When a company is awarded a tract of timber, the payment that is required is ten per cent of the purchase price at the time of making the award, and the balance is to be paid when the logs are on the landing, or practically when they can be turned into ready cash, thus requiring but a comparatively small outlay of money to obtain the timber. When the award is made, it is the policy of the Forestry Service to be on friendly terms with the customers, and the men who scale the logs and supervise the cutting are the ones who come into direct contact with the companies, and it is inevitable that to be on good terms with the foreman the supervision and scaling must be "satisfactory." Forestry Service men who have not been congenial with the foremen of the logging companies have been transferred to other places, and it is almost axiomatic that three transfers is the same as a discharge. The little work that is required of the companies in preventing fires is much more than offset by the fact that no homesteaders have small holdings within the area of their operations, either to interfere with logging or to compete with their small mills for the control of the lumber market.

That the forest lands of the nation were being denuded, and that this would cause droughts and floods was a fact before the establishment of the Reserves, and the fact is still true. Where a logging company operates, the rule is that it shall take all the timber on the tract where it works, and then the forest guards are to burn the brush and refuse. A cleaner sweep of the timber could not have been made under the old methods. The only difference in methods is that where the forest guards now do the fire protecting for the lumber trust, the homesteaders formerly did it for their own protection. In January, 1914, the Forestry Service issued a statement that the policy of the Service for the Kaniksu Forest in Northern Idaho and Northeastern Washington would be to have all that particular reserve logged off and then have the land thrown open to settlement as homesteads. As the timber in that part of the country will but little more than pay for the work of clearing the land ready for the plow, but is very profitable where no clearing is required, it can be readily seen that the Forestry Service was being used as a means of dividing the fruit—the apples to the lumber trust, the cores to the landless homeseekers.

One particular manner in which the Government protects the large lumber companies is in the insurance against fire loss. When a tract has been awarded to a bidder it is understood that he shall have all the timber allotted to him, and that he shall stand no loss by fire. Should a tract of timber be burned before it can be logged, the government allots to the bidder another tract of timber "of equal value and of equal accessibility," or an adjustment is made according to the ease of logging and value of the timber. In this way the company has no expense for insurance to bear, which even now with the fire protection that is given by the Forestry Service is rated by insurance companies at about ten per cent. of the value of the timber for each year.

No taxes or interest are required on the timber

that is purchased from the government. Another feature that makes this timber cheaper than that of private holdings, is that to buy outright would entail the expense of the first cost of the land and timber, the protection from fire, the taxes and the interest on the investment. In addition to this there is always the possibility that some homesteader would refuse to sell some valuable tract that was in a vital situation, as holding the key to a large tract of timber that had no other outlet than across that tract. There has been as yet no dispute with the government about an outlet for any timber purchased on the Reserves; the contract for the timber always including the proviso that the logging company shall have the right to make and use such roads as are "necessary," and the company is the judge of what is necessary in that line.

The counties in which Reserves are situated receive no taxes from the government timber, or from the timber that is cut from the Reserves until it is cut into lumber, but in lieu of this they receive a sop in the form of "aid" in the construction of roads. In the aggregate this aid looks large, but when compared with the amount of road work that the people who could make their homes within what is now the Forest Reserves could do, it is pitifully small and very much in the nature of the "charity" that is handed out to the poor of the cities. It is the inevitable result of a system of government that finds itself compelled to keep watch and ward over its imbecile children.

So in devious ways of fraud, graft, coercion, and outright theft, the bulk of the timber of the Northwest has been acquired by the lumber trust at an average cost of less than twelve cents a thousand feet. In the states of Washington and Oregon alone, the Northern Pacific and the Southern Pacific railways, as allies of the Weyerhouser interests of St. Paul, own nearly nine million acres of timber; the Weyerhouser group by itself dominating altogether more than thirty million acres, or an area almost

equal to that of the state of Wisconsin. The timber owned by a relatively small group of individuals is sufficient to yield enough lumber to build a six-room house for every one of the twenty million families in the United States.

Why then should conservation, or the threat of it, disturb the serenity of the lumber trust? If the government permits the cutting of public timber it increases the value of the trust holdings in multiplied ratio, and if the government withdraws from public entry any portion of the public lands, creating Forest Reserves, it adds marvelously to the value of the trust logs in the water booms. Even forest fires in one portion of these vast holdings serve but to send skyward the values in the remaining parts, and by some strange freak of nature the timber of trust competitors, like the "independent" and co-operative mills, seems to be more inflammable than that of the "law-abiding" lumber trust. And so it happens that the government's forest policy has added fabulous wealth and prestige and power to the rulers of the lumber kingdom.

But whether the timber lands were stolen illegally or acquired by methods entirely within the law of the land, the exploitation of labor was, and is, none the less severe. The withholding from Labor of any portion of its product in the form of profits—unpaid wages—and the private ownership by individuals or small groups of persons, of timber lands and other forms of property necessary to society as a whole, are principles utterly indefensible by any argument save that of force. Such legally ordained robbery can be upheld only by armies, navies, militia, sheriffs and deputies, police and detectives, private gunmen, and illegal mobs formed of, or created by, the propertied classes. Alike in the stolen timber, the legally acquired timber, and in the Government Forest Reserves, the propertyless lumberjacks are unmercifully exploited, and any difference in the degree of exploitation does not arise because of the "humanity" of any certain set

of employers but simply because the cutting of timber in large quantities brings about a greater productivity from each worker, generally accompanied with a decrease in wages due to the displacement of men.

With the development of large scale logging operations there naturally came a development of machinery in the industry. The use of water power, the horse, and sometimes the ox, gave way to the use of the donkey engine. This grew from a crude affair, resembling an over-sized coffee mill, to a machine with a hauling power equal to that of a small sized locomotive. Later on came "high lead" logging and the Flying Machine, besides which the wonderful exploits of "Paul Bunyan's old blue ox" are as nothing.

The overhead system was created as a result of the additional cost of hauling when the increased demand for a larger output of logs forced the erection of more and more camps, each new camp being further removed from the cities and towns. Today its use is almost universal as there remains no timber close to the large cities, even the stumps having been removed to make room for farming operations.

Roughly the method of operation is to leave a straight tall tree standing near the logging track in felling timber. The machine proper is set right at the base of this tree, and about ninety feet up its trunk a large chain is wrapped to allow the hanging of a block. From this spar tree a cable, two inches in diameter, is stretched to another tree some distance in the woods. On this cable is placed what is known as a bicycle or trolley. Various other lines run back and forth thru this trolley to the engine. At the end of one of these lines an enormous pair of hooks is suspended. These grasp the timber and convey it to the cars.

The Flying Machine as now used in Western logging.

Ten to twenty thousand feet of logs a day was the output of the old bull or horse teams. The donkey engine brought it to a point where from seventy-five to one hundred thousand could be turned out, and the steam skidder doubled the output of the donkey. Ordinarily the crew for one donkey engine consists of from thirteen to fifteen men, sometimes even as high as twenty-five, but this number is reduced to nine or even lower with the introduction of the steam skidder. Loggers claim that the high lead system kills and maims more men than the methods formerly in vogue, but be that as it may, the fact stands out quite plainly that as compared with a line horse donkey, operated with a crew of twenty-five men, the flying machine will produce enough lumber to mean the displacement of one hundred men.

At the same time the sawmills of the old type have disappeared with their rotary or circular saws, dead rollers, and obsolete methods of handling lumber, and in their place is the modern mill with its band saw, shot-gun feed, steam nigger, live rollers, and resaw. Nor do the mills longer turn out rough lumber to be re-handled by trained specialists and highly skilled carpenters with large and costly kits of intricate hand tools. Relatively unskilled workers send forth the finished products, window sashes, doors, siding, etc., carpenters armed only with square, hammer and saw, and classed with unskilled labor, put these in place, and a complete house can be ordered by parcel post.

As is usual with the introduction of new machinery and methods where the workers are not in control, the actual producers find that all these innovations force them to work at a higher rate of speed under more hazardous conditions for a lower rate of pay. It is true of all industry in the main, particularly true of the lumber industry, and the mills of Everett and camps of Snohomish county have no exceptions to test this rule.

The story of Everett has no hint of romance. Some time in the late seventies the representatives

of John D. Rockefeller gained possession of a tract of land in Western Washington, on Puget Sound, about thirty miles north of Seattle. The land was heavily timbered and water facilities made it a perfect site for mill and shipping purposes. The Everett Land Company was organized, the tract was plotted, and the city of Everett laid out. The leading streets, Rockefeller, Colby, Hoyt, etc., were named for these early promoters. Hewitt Avenue was given the name of a man who is today recognized as the leading capitalist of the state of Washington. Even the building of those streets reflected no credit upon the city. The work was done by what amounted to convict labor. Unemployed workers, even tho they were plentifully supplied with money, were arrested and without being allowed the alternative of a fine were set to work clearing, grading, planking and, later on, paving the streets. Perhaps it is too much to expect freedom of speech to be allowed on slave-built streets.

In their articles of incorporation the promoters reserved to themselves all right to the ownership and control of public utilities, such as water, light and power and street railway systems. A mortgage of $1,500,000 was placed upon the property. After a time the company failed, the mortgage was foreclosed and the property purchased by Rucker Brothers. The Everett Improvement Company was then organized with J. T. McChesney as president. It held all rights to dispose of public utility franchises. The firm of Stone & Webster, the construction, light, heat, power and traction trust, secured franchises granting them the right to furnish light and power for the city of Everett and also to operate the street railway system for 99 years. The Everett Improvement Company owns a dock lying to the south of the municipally owned City Dock where the Everett tragedy was staged. Thru its alliances the shipping of Everett is in the hands of the same group of capitalists that control all other public utilities. The waterworks was sold to the city but has remained in the hands of the same officials who were in charge

when its title was a private one. Everett operates under the commission form of government.

The American National Bank was organized with McChesney as president. The only other bank of importance in Everett was the First National. These two institutions consolidated with Wm. C. Butler as president and McChesney as one of the directors. The Everett Savings and Trust Company was later organized, with the same stockholders and under the same management as the First National Bank. The control of every public service corporation in Everett is directly in the hands of these two banks, and, indirectly, thru loans to industrial corporations, they control both the lumber and the shingle mills of Snohomish County in which Everett is situated.

Everett, the "City of Smokestacks," as its promoters have named it, is an industrial community of approximately 35,000 people. Its main activities are the production of lumber and shingles, and shipping. The practically undiversified nature of its economic life binds all those engaged in the employment of labor into a common body. The owners of the lumber and shingle mills, the owners and officials of the banks where the lumber men do business, the lawyers representing the mills and the banks, the employers engaged in shipping lumber and supplies for the lumber industry, their lawyers and their bank connections, the owners of hardware stores that supply equipment for the mills and allied industries, all are united by common ties and common interests and they all support one policy. Not only are they banded together against the wage workers but they also oppose the entrance of any kind of business that will in any way menace their rule. They arose almost as one in opposition to the entrance of the ship building industry into Everett, despite the fact that it would add measurably to the general prosperity of the city, and with a full knowledge that their harbor offered wonderful natural facilities for that line of endeavor. In the face of

an action that threatened their autocratic power their alleged "patriotism" vanished.

In 1912 the Everett Commercial Club was organized. In the month of December, 1915, following a visit from a San Francisco representative of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association, it was re-organized on the Bureau plan as a stock concern. Stock memberships were issued to employers and business houses and were subsequently distributed among the employers and their employes. Memberships were doled out to persons who would be subservient to the wishes of the small group of capitalists representing the great corporate interests. W. W. Blain, secretary of the Commercial Club, testified, under oath, that the Everett Improvement Company took 25 memberships, the First National Bank took 10, the Weyerhouser Lumber Company 10, the Clough-Hartley Mill Company 5, the Jamison Mill Company 5, and other mills and allied industries also purchased memberships in bulk. Organized labor, however, had no representation at the Commercial Club.

There is nothing in the history of Everett to suggest the usual spontaneous outgrowth of the honest endeavors of hardy pioneer settlers. From the first day the Rockefeller interests set foot in the virgin forests of Snohomish County up to the present time, the spirit of democracy has been crushed by the greed and cupidity of this small and powerful group.

The struggle at Everett was but one of the inevitable phases of the larger struggle that takes place when a class or group that has no property comes in contact with those who have monopolized the earth and its resources. It was no new, marvelous, isolated case of violence. It was the normal accompaniment of industry based upon the exploitation of wage workers, and was of one piece with the outbreak on the Mesaba Range, in Bayonne, Ludlow, Paint Creek, Paterson, Lawrence, San Diego, Fresno, Spokane, Homestead and in countless other places. All these apparently disconnect-

ed and sporadic uprisings of labor and the accompanying capitalist violence are joined together in a whole that spells wage slavery. As one of the manifestations of the class conflict, the Everett tragedy cannot be considered apart from that age-long and world-wide struggle between the takers of profits and the makers of values.

CHAPTER II.

CLASS WAR SKIRMISHES

"Shingle-weaving is not a trade; it is a battle. For ten hours a day the sawyer faces two teethed steel discs whirling around two hundred times a minute. To the one on the left he feeds heavy blocks of cedar, reaching over with his left hand to remove the rough shingles it rips off. He does not, he cannot stop to see what his left hand is doing. His eyes are too busy examining the shingles for knot holes to be cut out by the second saw whirling in front of him.

"The saw on his left sets the pace. If the singing blade rips fifty rough shingles off the block every minute, the sawyer must reach over to its teeth fifty times in sixty seconds; if the automatic carriage feeds the odorous wood sixty times into the hungry teeth, sixty times he must reach over, turn the shingle, trim its edge on the gleaming saw in front of him, cut out the narrow strip containing the knot hole with two quick movements of his right hand and toss the completed board down the chute to the packers, meanwhile keeping eyes and ears open for the sound that asks him to feed a new block into the untiring teeth. Hour after hour the shingle weaver's hands and arms, plain, unarmored flesh and blood, are staked against the screeching steel that cares not what it severs. Hour after hour the steel sings its crescendo note as it bites into the wood, the sawdust cloud thickens, the wet sponge under the sawyer's nose fills with fine particles. If 'cedar asthma,' the shingle weaver's occupational disease, does not get him, the steel will. Sooner or later he reaches over a little

too far, the whirling blade tosses drops of deep red into the air, and a finger, a hand or part of an arm comes sliding down the slick chute."(*)

This description of shingle weaving was given by Walter V. Woehlke, managing editor of the Sunset Magazine, in an article which had as its purpose the justification of the murders committed by the Everett mob, and it contains no over-statement. Shingle weavers are set apart from the rest of the workers by their mutilated hands and the dead grey pallor of their cheeks.

"The nature of a man's occupation, his daily working environment, marks in a large degree the nature of the man himself, and cannot help but mold the early years, at least, of his economic organization. Men who flirt with death in their daily calling become inured to physical danger, they become contemptuous of the man whose calling fails to bring forth physical prowess. So do they in their organizations become irritated and contemptuous at the long-drawn-out process of bargaining, the duel of wits and brain power engaged in by the more conservative organizations to win working concessions. Their motto becomes 'Strike quick and strike hard,'* * *" So says E. P. Marsh, President of the Washington State Federation of Labor, in speaking of the shingle weavers.(*)

Logging, no less than shingle weaving, is a dangerous occupation. The countless articles of wood in every-day use have claimed their toll of human blood. A falling tree or limb, a mis-step on the river, a faulty cable, a weakened trestle; each may mean a still and mangled form. Time and again the loggers have organized to improve their working conditions only to find themselves beaten

---

(*) Sunset Magazine, February 1917. "The I. W. W. and the Golden Rule."

(*) Supplemental report on "Everett's Industrial Warfare," by President Ernest P. Marsh to State Federation of Labor convention held at Everett, Wash., from January 22 to 26, 1917.

or betrayed. Playing upon the natural desire of the woodsmen for organization, shrewd swindlers have formed unions which were nothing more than dues collection agencies. Politicians have fathered organizations for their own purposes. Unions built by the men themselves have fallen into the hands of officials who used them for selfish personal gain. Over and over the employers have crushed the embryonic unions only to see them rise again with added strength. Forced by the very necessities of their daily lives, the workers always returned to the fight with a new and better form of unionism.

Like the loggers, the shingle weavers were routed time and again, but their spirit never died. The Everett shingle weavers formed their union as a result of a successful strike in 1901. In 1905 they were strong enough to resist a proposed reduction of wages. In 1906 they struck in sympathy with the Ballard weavers, and lost. Within a year the defeated union was back as strong as before. By 1911 the International Shingle Weavers Union had attained a membership of nearly 2,000, the majority of whom were in accord with the Industrial Workers of the World. The question of affiliation with the I. W. W. was widely discussed and was only prevented from going to a referendum vote by the efforts of a few officials. Further discussion of the question was excluded from the columns of their official organ, "The Shingle Weaver," by the Ninth Annual Convention.(*)

Following this slap in the face, the progressive members quit the union in large numbers, leaving affairs in the hands of conservative and reactionary elements. Endeavors were made to negotiate contracts with the employers; and in 1913 the officials secured $30,000 from the American Federation of Labor and made a pretense at the organization of all workers in the woods and mills into one body. This was a move aimed at the Forest and Lumber

---

(*) Vol. 9, No. 2, The Shingle Weaver, Special Convention Number, February, 1911.

Workers of the I. W. W., which was feared alike by the employers and the craft union officials because of its new strength gained thru the affiliation of the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in the southern states. Instead of gaining ground by the move, the shingle weavers union lost in membership and subsequently claimed that industrial unionism was a failure in the lumber industry.

The industrial depression of 1914-15 found all unions in bad shape. Employers used the army of unemployed as an axe to cut wages. In the spring of 1915 notice of a wage reduction was posted in the Everett shingle mills. The weavers promptly struck. Scabs, gunmen, injunctions, and violence followed. The strike failed, the wage reduction was made, but the men returned to work relying upon a "gentlemen's agreement" that the employers would voluntarily raise the wages of the shingle weavers when shingles again sold for what they were bringing before the depression. Faith in agreements had gotten in its deadly work; the shingle weavers believed that the employers meant to keep their word.

In the spring of 1916 shingles soared to a price higher than had prevailed for years, but the promised raise failed to materialize. With but a skeleton of an organization to back them, a handful of determined delegates met in Seattle in April and decided to demand the restoration of the 1915 scale thruout the entire jurisdiction of the Shingle Weavers' Union, setting May 1st as the date when the raise should take effect.

At the time set, or shortly thereafter, most of the mills in the Northwest paid the scale. Everett, where the employers had given their "word of honor," refused the strikers' demand. The fight was on! The Seaside Shingle Company, which held no membership in the Commercial Club, soon granted the raise. Many of the other companies, notably the Jamison Mill, began the importation of scabs within the month. The cry of "outside agitators" was forgotten long enough to go outside in search of no-

torious gunmen and scab-herders. The slums, the hells of Capitalism, were raked with a fine-toothed comb for degenerates with a record for lawless deviltry. The strikers threw out their picket line and the ever-present class war began to show itself in other than peaceful ways.

During May, June and July the picket line had to be maintained in the face of strong opposition by the local authorities who were the pliant tools of the lumber trust. The ranks of the pickets were constantly being thinned by false arrest and imprisonment on every charge and no charge, until on August 19th there were but eighteen men on the picket line.

On that particular morning the Everett police searched the little handful of pickets in front of the Jamison Mill to make sure that they were unarmed, and when that fact was determined, they started the men across the narrow trestle bridge that extended over an arm of the bay. When the pickets were well out on the bridge, the imported thugs, some seventy in number, personally directed and urged on by their employer, Neil Jamison, poured in from either side, leaving no means of escape save that of making a thirty foot leap into the deep waters of the bay, and with brass knuckles and blackjacks made an attack upon the defenseless weavers. The pickets were unmercifully beaten. Robert H. Mills, business agent of the Shingle Weavers' Union, was knocked down by one of the open-shop thugs and kicked in the ribs and face as he lay senseless in the roadway. From a vantage point, thoughtfully removed from the danger zone, the police calmly surveyed the scene.

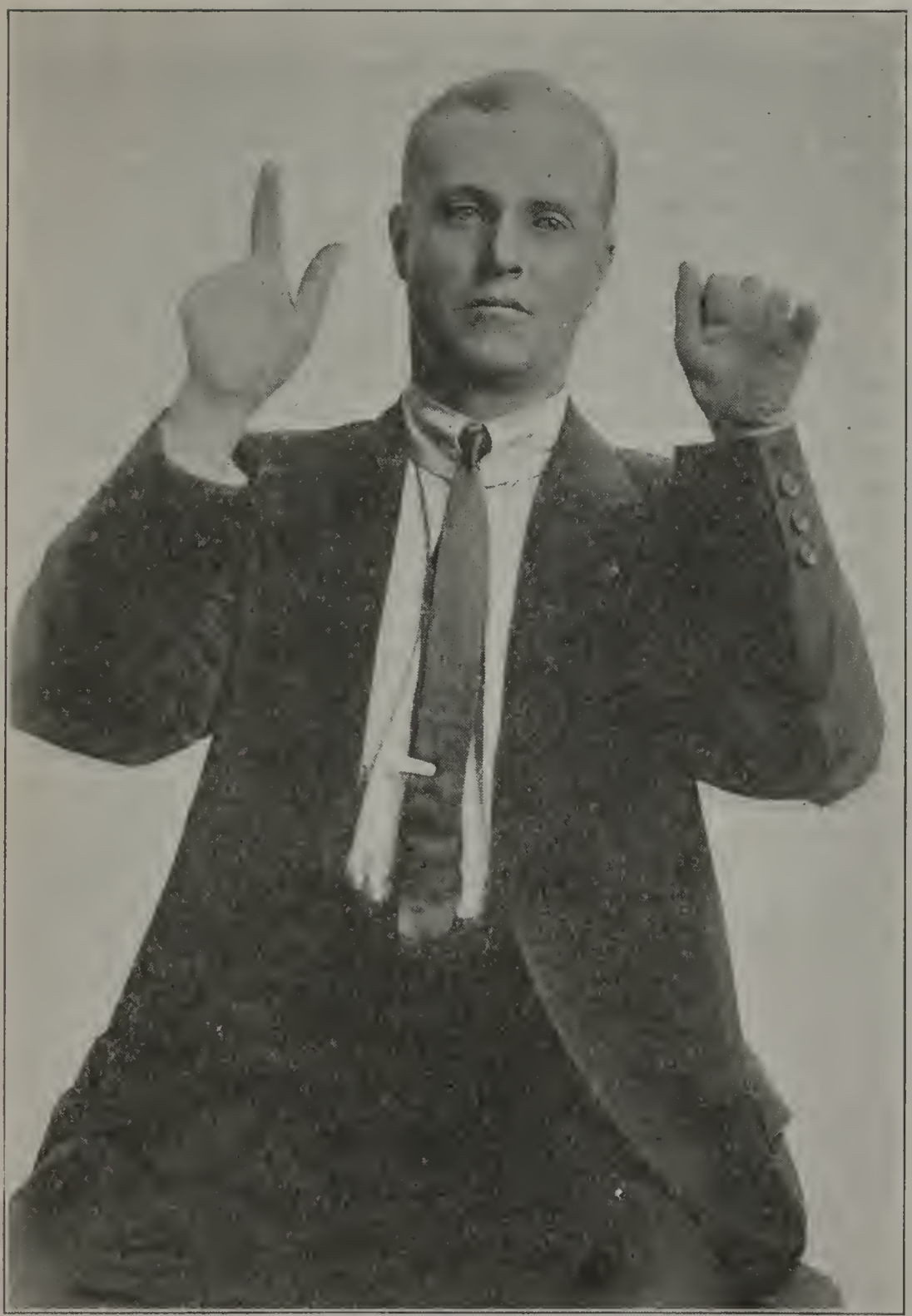
When darkness fell that night, the pickets, aided by irate citizens, returned to the attack with clubs and fists. The tables were turned. The "moral heroes" had their heads cracked. Seeing that the scabs were thoroly whipped, the "guardians of the peace" rushed to the rescue with drawn revolvers. In the melee one union picket was shot thru the leg.

About ten nights later, Mr. Jamison herded his scabs into military formation and after a short parade thru the main streets led them to the Everett Theater; the party being in appreciation of their "efficiency." This arrogant display incensed the strikers and citizens, and when the scabs emerged from the show a near-riot occurred. Mills was present and altho too weak from his recent injuries to have taken any active part in the fray, he was arrested and thrown in jail in default of bail. The man who had murderously assaulted him at the mill swore out the complaint. Mills was subsequently tried and acquitted on a charge of inciting to riot. Nothing was done to his assailant. And in none of these acts of violence was the I. W. W. in any way a participant.

During this period there existed a strike of longshoremen on the entire Pacific Coast, including the port of Everett. The wrath of the employers fell heavily upon the Riggers and Stevedores because that body was not in sympathy with the idea of craft contracts or agreements, and because of the adoption by a large majority of a proposal to "amalgamate all the unions of the Maritime Transportation Industry, between the Warehouse at the Shipping Point and Warehouse at the Receiving Point into one big powerful organization, meeting, thinking, and acting together at all times." (*) The industrially united employers of the Pacific Coast did not relish the idea of the workers grouping themselves together along lines similar to those on which the owners were associated. The longshoremen's strike started on June 1st and was marked by more or less serious disorders at various points, most of the violence being precipitated by detectives placed in the unions by the employers. The tug boat men were also on strike in Everett, particularly against the American Tug Boat Company

---

(*) Proposition No. 5, submitted to referendum of membership of Pacific Coast District I. L. A., Riggers and Stevedores Local 38, at their annual election on Jan. 6, 1916.



One of the thousands who donated their fingers to the Lumber Trust. The Trust compensated all with poverty and some with bullets on November 5, 1916.

owned by Captain Harry Ramwell. All of the unions on strike in Everett were affiliated with the A. F. of L. Striking longshoremen from Seattle aided the shingle weavers on their picket line from time to time, and individual members of the I. W. W., holding duplicate cards in the A. F. of L. stood shoulder to shoulder with the strikers, but officially the I. W. W. had no part in any of the strikes.

Meanwhile in Seattle the I. W. W. had planned to organize the forest and lumber workers on a scale never before attempted. Calls for organizers had been coming in from the surrounding district and there were demands for a mass convention to discuss conditions in the industry. Yet, strange as it may seem to those who do not know of the ebb and flow of labor unions, there were at that time less than half a hundred paid-up members in the Seattle loggers branch, so great had been the depression from 1914 to 1916. The conference was set for July 4th and five hundred logger delegates responded, representing nearly as many camps in the district. Enthusiasm ran high! The assembled workers suggested the adoption of a plan of district organization along lines more in keeping with the modern trend of the lumber industry. The loggers' union, then known as Local 432, ratified the actions of the conference. As a preliminary move it was decided that an organizer be secured to make a survey of the lumber situation in the surrounding territory. General Headquarters in Chicago was communicated with, James Rowan was found to be available, and on July 31st he was sent to Everett to find out the sentiment for industrial unionism at that point.

That night Rowan spoke on Wetmore Avenue fifty feet back from Hewitt Avenue, in compliance with the street regulations. No mention was made of local conditions as Rowan had just come from another part of the country and was unaware that a shingle weavers strike was in progress. His speech consisted mainly of references to the Industrial Relations Commission Report, a pamphlet

summarizing that report being the only literature offered for sale at the meeting. Toward the end of his speech Rowan declared:

"The A. F. of L. believes in signing agreements with the employers. The craft unions regard these contracts as sacred. When one craft goes on strike the others are forced to remain at work. This makes the craft unions scab on each other."

"You are a liar!" cried Jake Michel, an A. F. of L. representative, staunchly defending his organization.

From an automobile near the edge of the crowd, Donald McRae, Sheriff of Snohomish County, called to Michel:

"Jake, I will run that guy in if you say so."

"I don't see any need to run him in;" remonstrated Michel. "He hasn't said anything yet to run him in for."

Nevertheless McRae, usurping the powers of the local police department, made Rowan leave the platform and go with him to the county jail. McRae was drunk.

Rowan was held for an hour. Immediately upon his release he returned to the corner to resume his speech. Police Officer Fox thereupon arrested him and took him to the city jail. He was thrown into a dark cell for refusing to do jail work, was taken into court next morning and absurdly charged with peddling without a license, was denied a jury trial, refused a postponement, not allowed a chance to secure counsel, and was sentenced to thirty days imprisonment with an alternative of leaving town. No ordinance against street speaking at Wetmore and Hewitt then existed. Rowan chose to leave town. No time was set as to how long he was to remain away. He then left for Bellingham and from there went to Sedro-Woolley. Using an assumed name to avoid the blacklist he worked at the latter place for a short time to familiarize himself with job conditions, subsequently returning to Everett.

Levi Remick, a one-armed veteran of the industrial war, was next sent to Everett on August 4th

to act as temporary delegate. He interviewed a number of people and sold some literature. Receiving orders to stop selling the pamphlets and papers, he inquired the price of a peddler's license and finding it prohibitive he returned to Seattle to secure funds to open an office. A small hall was found at 1219½ Hewitt Avenue, a month's rent was paid, and on August 9th Remick placed a sign in the window and started to sell literature and transact business for the I. W. W.

The little hall remained open until late in August. Migratory workers, strikers, and citizens generally, dropped in from time to time to ask about the organization or to purchase papers. Solidarity and the Industrial Worker were particularly in demand, the latter paper having commenced publication in Seattle on April 1st, 1916. A number of Everett citizens, desiring to hear a lecture by James P. Thompson, who had spoken in Everett without molestation in 1915 and in March and April of 1916, made donations to Remick sufficient to cover all expenses, and it was arranged that Thompson speak on August 22nd. Attempts to secure a hall met with failure; the halls of Everett were closed to the I. W. W. The conspiracy against free speech and free assembly was on in earnest! No other course was left but to hold the proposed meeting on the street, so Hewitt and Wetmore, the spot where the Salvation Army and various religious and political bodies spoke almost nightly, was selected and the meeting advertised.

Early in the morning on the day before the scheduled meeting, Sheriff McRae, commanding a body of police officers over whom he had no official control, stormed into the I. W. W. hall and tore from the wall all bills advertising Thompson's meeting, saying with an oath:

"That man won't be allowed to speak in Everett!"

Turning to Remick and throwing back his coat to display the badge, he yelled:

"I order you out of this town! Get out by afternoon or you go to jail!"

McRae was drunk. Stalking out as rapidly as his condition would permit he staggered down the street to a near-by pool hall where the order was repeated to the men assembled therein. These, with other workingmen, 25 in all were rounded up, seized, roughly questioned, searched, and all those who had no families or property in Everett were forcibly deported. That night ten more were taken from the shingle weaver's picket line and sent out of town without due process of law. Treatment of this kind became general.

"Not a man in overalls is safe!" declared the secretary of the Everett Building Trades Council. "Men just off the job with their pay checks in their pocket have been unceremoniously thrown out of town just because they were workingmen." (*)

Remick closed the little hall and left for Seattle the next morning to place the question of the Thompson meeting before the Seattle membership. Shortly before noon Rowan, who had just returned to Everett, went to the hall and finding it closed and locked he proceeded to open it up. Within a few minutes Sheriff McRae, in company with police officer Fox, entered the place and ordered Rowan to leave town by two o'clock. He then tore up the balance of the advertising matter for the Thompson meeting. McRae was drunk. Rowan went to Seattle, where the report of this occurrence made the members more determined than ever to hold the meeting that night.

With about twenty other members of the I. W. W., Thompson went to Everett. The Salvation Army was holding services on the corner. Placing his platform even further back from the street intersection Thompson waited until the Army had concluded and then commenced his lecture. Using the Industrial Relations Commission Report as the basis

---

(*) Dreamland Rink Meeting, Seattle, Nov. 19th, over 5,000 in attendance.

of his talk, he spoke for about twenty minutes without interruption. Then a body of fifteen policemen marched down the street and swung into the crowd. The officer in charge stepped up to Thompson and requested him to go to see the chief of police at the police station. After addressing a few remarks to the crowd Thompson withdrew from the platform. His place was taken at once by Rowan, who was immediately dragged from the stand and turned over to the same officer who had charge of Thompson and his wife. Mrs. Edith Frennette then spoke briefly and called for a song. The audience responded with "The Red Flag," but meanwhile Mrs. Frennette and Mrs. Lorna Mahler had been placed under arrest. In succession several others attempted to speak but were pulled or pushed off the stand. The police then formed a circle by holding hands around those who were close to the platform. One by one the citizens were allowed to slip outside the "ring-around-a-rosy" until only "desperadoes" were left. These made no effort to resist arrest, and were started toward the city jail. The officer entrusted with Thompson was so interested in his captive that Rowan was able to quietly remove himself from the scene, returning to the street corner where he spoke for more than half an hour before being rearrested.

Aroused by this invasion of liberty, Mrs. Letelsia Fye, an Everett citizen, arose to recite the Declaration of Independence, but even that proved too revolutionary for the tools of the lumber trust. A threatening move on the part of the police brought back the thought of her two unprotected children and caused her to cease her efforts to declare independence in Everett.

"Is there a red-blooded man in the audience who will take the stand?" called out the gallant little woman as she stepped from the platform. Jake Michel promptly accepted the challenge and was as promptly suppressed by the police at the first mention of free speech.

In the jail the arrested persons were searched one by one and thrown into the "receiving tank."

When Thompson's turn came, Commissioner of Public Safety, as Chief of Police Kelly was known under Everett's form or government, said to him:

"Mr. Thompson, I don't want to lock you up."

"That's interesting," replied Thompson. "Why have you got me down here?"

"We don't want you to speak on the street at this time."

"Have you any ordinance against it, that is, have I broken any law?" enquired Thompson.

"Oh no, no. That isn't the idea," rejoined Kelly. "We have strikes on, labor troubles here, and we don't want you to speak here at all. You are welcome at any other time, but not now."

"Well," said Thompson, "as a representative of labor, when labor is in trouble is the time I would like to speak, but I am not going to advocate anything that I think you could object to."

"Now, Thompson," said Kelly, "if you will agree to get right out of town I will let you go. I don't want to lock you up."

"Do you believe in free speech?" asked Thompson.

"Yes."

"And I am not arrested?"

"No, you are not arrested."

"Come up to the meeting then," Thompson said with a smile, "for I am going back and speak."

"Oh no, you are not!"—and Kelly kind of laughed. "No, you are not!"

"If you let me go I will go right up to the corner and speak, and if you send me out of town I will come back," said Thompson emphatically. "I don't know what you are going to do, but that's how I stand."

"Lock him up with the rest!" was the abrupt reply of the "Commissioner of Public Safety."

At this juncture James Rowan was brought in from the patrol wagon, and searched. As the officers were about to put him in the cell with the others, Sheriff McRae called out:

"Don't put him in there, he is instigator of the whole damn business. Turn him over to me." He then took Rowan in his automobile to the county jail and threw him in a cell, along with B. E. Peck, who had previously been given a "floater" out of town for having spoken on the street on or about August 15th. McRae was drunk.

More than half a thousand indignant citizens followed the twenty-one arrested persons to the jail, loudly condemning the outrage against their constitutional rights. Editor H. W. Watts, of the Northwest Worker, a union and socialist paper published in Everett, forcibly expressed his opinion of the suppression of free speech and was thereupon thrown into jail. Fearing a serious outbreak, Michel secured permission to address the people surrounding the jail. The crowd, upon receiving assurances from Michel that the men would be well treated and could be seen in the morning, quietly dispersed and returned to their homes.

The free speech prisoners were charged with vagrancy on the police blotter, but no formal charge was ever made, nor were they brought to trial. Next morning, Thompson and his wife, who had return tickets on the Interurban, were deported by rail, together with Herbert Mahler, secretary of the Seattle I. W. W. Mrs. Mahler, Mrs. Frennette and the balance of the prisoners were taken to the City Dock and deported by boat. At the instigation of McRae, and without a court order, the sum of $13. was seized from the personal funds of James Orr and turned over to the purser of the boat to pay the fares of the deportees to Seattle. Protests against this legalized robbery were of no avail; the amount of the fares was never repaid. Mayor Merrill of Everett, replying to a letter from Mahler, promised that this money would be refunded to Orr. His word proved to be as good as that of the Everett shingle mill owners. Prominent members of the Commercial Club lent civic dignity to the deportation by their profane threats to use physical force in the event that any of the deported prisoners dared to return.

Upon their arrival in Seattle the deported men conferred with other members of the union, telling of the beating some of them had received while in jail, and as a result there was organized a free speech committee composed of Sam Dixon, Dan Emmett and A. E. Soper. Telegrams were then sent to General Headquarters, to Solidarity and to various branches of the organization, notifying them of what had happened. At a street meeting that night, Mrs. Frennette, Mrs. Mahler and James P. Thompson, gave the workers the facts and collected over $50.00 for the committee to use in its work. In Everett the Labor Council passed a resolution stating that the unions there were back of the battle for free speech and condemning McRae and the authorities for their illegal actions. The Free Speech Fight was on!

Remick, in the meantime, had returned to Everett and found that all the literature had been confiscated from the hall. The day following his return, August 24th, Sheriff McRae blustered into the hall with a police officer in his train. Leering at Remick he exclaimed:

"You God damn son of a b—, are you back here again? Get on your coat and get into that auto!"

Seizing an I. W. W. stencil that was lying on the table he tore it to shreds.

"If anybody asks who tore that up,"—bombastically—"tell them Sheriff McRae tore it!"

Shoving Remick into the automobile with the remark that jail was too easy for him and they would therefore take him to the Interurban and deport him, the sheriff drove off to make good his threat. McRae was drunk.

On the corner that night, Harry Feinberg spoke to a large audience and was not molested. That this was due to no change of policy on the part of the lumber trust tools was shown when secretary Herbert Mahler went to Everett the following day in reference to the situation. He was met at the depot by Sheriff McRae who asked him what he had come to Everett for. "To see the Mayor," answered Mah-

ler. "Anything you have to say to the Mayor, you can say to me," was McRae's rejoinder. After a brief conversation Mahler was deported to Seattle by the same car on which he had made the trip over. McRae was drunk.

F. W. Stead reopened the hall on the 26th and managed to hold it down for a couple of days. Three speakers appeared and spoke that night. J. A. MacDonald, editor of the Industrial Worker, opened the meeting. George Reese spoke next, but upon commencing to advocate the use of violence he was pulled from the platform by Harry Feinberg, who concluded the meeting. No arrests were made.

It was during this period that Secretary Herbert Mahler addressed a letter to Governor Ernest Lister, informing him of the state of lawlessness existing in Everett. A second letter was sent to Mayor Merrill and in it was enclosed a copy of the letter to Lister. No reply was received to the communication.

For a time following this there was no interference with street meetings. Feinberg spoke without molestation on Monday night and Dan Emmett opened up the hall once more. On Tuesday evening, the same night as the theater riot, Thompson addressed an audience of thousands of Everett citizens, giving them the facts of the arrests made the previous week, and advising the workers against the use of violence in any disputes with employers.

After having been held by McRae for eight days without any commitment papers, Rowan was turned over to the city police and released on September 1st. He returned to the street corner and spoke for several succeeding nights including "Labor Day" which fell on the 4th. Incidentally he paid a visit to the home of Jake Michel and, after industrial unionism was more fully explained, Michel agreed that the craft union contract system forced scabbery upon the workers. Rowan left shortly thereafter for Anacortes to find out the sentiment for organization in that section.

This period of comparative peace was due to the fact that the lumber barons realized that their ac-

tions reflected no credit upon themselves or their city and they wished to create a favorable impression upon Federal Mediator Blackman who was in Everett at the request of U. S. Commissioner of Labor Wilson. It was during this time, too, that the protagonists of the open shop were secretly marshalling their forces for a still more lawless and brutal campaign.

Affairs gradually slipped from the hands of the Everett authorities into the grasp of those Snohomish County officials who were more completely dominated by the lumber interests.

"Tom," remarked Jake Michel one day to Chief of Police Kelley, "it seems funny that you can't handle the situation."

"I can handle it all right," replied Kelley, bitterly, "but McRae has been drunk around here for the last two or three weeks and he has butted into my business."

It was on August 30th that the lumber trust definitely stripped the city officials of all power and turned affairs over to the sheriff. On this point a quotation from the Industrial Relations Commission Report is particularly illuminating in showing a common industrial condition:

"Free speech in informal and personal intercourse was denied the inhabitants of the coal camps. It was also denied public speakers. Union organizers would not be permitted to address meetings. Periodicals permitted in the camps were censored in the same fashion. The operators were able to use their power of summary discharge to deny free press, free speech, and free assembly, to prevent political activities for the suppression of popular government and the winning of political control. **I find that the head of the political machinery is the sheriff."**

In Everett the sheriff's office was controlled by the Commercial Club and the Commercial Club in turn was dominated, thru an inner circle, by the lumber trust. Acting for the trust a small committee meeting was held on the morning of the 30th with

the editor of a trust-controlled newspaper, the secretary of the Commercial Club, two city officials, a banker and a lumber trust magnate in attendance. A larger meeting of those in control met in the afternoon and, pursuant to a call already published in the Everett Herald, several hundred scabs, gunmen, and other open shop advocates were brought together that night at the Commercial Club.

Commissioner of Finance, W. H. Clay, suggested that as Federal Mediator Blackman, an authority on labor questions, was in the city it might be well to confer with him regarding a settlement. Banker Moody said he did not think a conference would be advisable as Mr. Blackman might be inclined to lean toward the side of the laboring men, and at a remark by "Governor" Clough, formerly Governor of Minnesota and spokesman for the mill owners, to the effect that there was nothing to be settled the suggestion was not considered further.

H. D. Cooley, special counsel for a number of the mills, Governor Clough, a prominent mill owner, and others then addressed the meeting in furtherance of the plans already laid. Clough asked McRae if he could handle the situation. McRae said he did not have enough deputies.

"Swear in the members of the Commercial Club, then!" demanded Clough. This was done. Nearly two hundred of the men whose membership had been paid for by the mill owners "volunteered" their services. McRae swore in a few and then, for the first time in his life, found swearing a difficulty, so W. W. Blain, secretary of the Commercial Club, who was neither a city nor a county official, administered the remainder of such oaths as were taken by the deputies. The whole meeting was illegal.

From time to time the deputy force was added to until it ran way up in the hundreds. It was divided into sections A, B, C, etc. Each division was assigned to a special duty, one to watch incoming trains for free speech advocates, another to watch the boats for I. W. W. members, and others for various duties such as deporting and beating up workers.

This marked the beginning of a reign of terror during which no propertiless worker or union sympathizer was safe from attack.

About this same time the Commercial Club made a pretense of investigating the shingle weavers' strike. Not one of the strikers was called to give their side of the controversy, and J. G. Brown, international president of the Shingle Weavers' Union, was refused permission to testify. The committee claimed that the employers could not pay the wages asked. An adverse report was returned and was adopted by the club.

Attorneys E. C. Dailey, Robert Fassett, and George Loutitt, along with a number of other fair minded members who did not favor the open shop program, withdrew from membership on account of these various actions. Their names were placed on the bulletin board and a boycott advised. Feeling against the organization responsible for the chaotic conditions in Everett finally became so strong that practically all of the merchants whose places were not mortgaged or who were not otherwise dependent upon the whims of the lumber barons, posted notices in their windows,

"WE ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE COMMERCIAL CLUB."

Their names, too, were placed on the bulletin board, and the boycott and other devices used in an endeavor to force them into bankruptcy.

Prior to these occurrences and for some time thereafter, the club was addressed by emmissaries of the open shop interests. A. L. Veitch, special counsel for the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, on one occasion addressed the deputies on labor troubles in San Francisco and the methods used to handle them. Veitch was later one of the attorneys in the case against Thomas H. Tracy, and he was employed by the state, it being stipulated that he receive no state compensation. H. D. Cooley,

lumber mill lawyer and former prosecuting attorney, also spoke at different times on the open shop questions. Cooley was likewise an attorney for the prosecution in the Tracy case and he, like Veitch, was retained by "interested parties." Cooley was one of the anti-union speakers at a meeting of the deputies which was also addressed by F. C. Beach, of San Francisco, president of the M. & M., Robert Moody, president of the First National Bank of Everett, Governor Clough, mill magnate, F. K. Baker, president of the Commercial Club, and Col. Roland H. Hartley, open shop candidate for the nomination as governor of Washington at the pending election. Leigh Irvine, of Seattle, secretary of the Employers' Association, and Murray, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, were also active in directing the destinies of the Commercial Club.

A special open shop committee was formed, the nature of its operations being apparent when the following two quotations from its minutes, taken from among others of similar purport, are considered:

"Decided to go after advertisements in labor journals and the Northwestern Worker."

"Matter of how far to go on open shop propaganda at the deputies meeting this morning was discussed. Also the advisability of submitting pledges. Mr. Moody to take up matter of the legality of pledges with Mr. Coleman. Note: At deputies meeting all speakers touched quite strongly on the open shop, and as far as it was possible to see all in attendance seemed favorable."(**)

Just how far they finally did go is a matter of history. At the time, however, there were appropriations made for the purchase of blackjacks, leaded clubs, guns and ammunition, and for the employ-

---

Minutes of Open Shop Committee, Sept. 27th.
(**) Minutes of Open Shop Committee, October 29.

ment of detectives, labor spies, and "agents provocateur."(*)

(*) The incidents of the foregoing chapter are corroborated by the sworn testimony of prosecution witnesses Donald McRae, sheriff of Snohomish County; and D. D. Merrill, Mayor of Everett; and by witnesses called by the Defense, W. W. Blain, secretary of the Commercial Club: J. G. Brown, International president of the Shingle Weavers' Union; W. H. Clay, Commissioner of Finance in Everett; Robert Faussett, Everett attorney; Harry Feinberg, one of the defendants; Mrs. Letelsia Fye, Everett citizen; Jake Michel, Secretary Everett Building Trades Council; Herbert Mahler, Secretary Seattle I. W. W. and subsequently secretary of the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee; Robert Mills, business agent Everett Shingle Weavers' Union; James Orr, and Levi Remick, I. W. W. members; James Rowan, I. W. W. organizer; and James P. Thompson, National Organizer for the I. W. W. and a speaker of international reputation.

J. T. (Red) Doran Capt. Jack Mitten
The Launch Wanderer.

CHAPTER III.

A REIGN OF TERROR

No sooner had Mediator Blackman left Everett than the "law and order" forces resumed their hostilities with a bitterness and brutality that seems almost incredible. On September 7th Mrs. Frennette, H. Shebeck, Bob Adams, J. Johnson, J. Fred, and Dan Emmett were dragged from the platform at Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues and were literally thrown into their cells. Next morning Mrs. Frenette was released but the men were "kangarood" for 30 days each. Petty abuses were heaped upon them and Johnson was cast into the "black hole" by the sheriff. Some of the men were severely beaten just before their release a few days afterward.

When Fred Reed and James Dwyer were arrested the next night for street speaking, the crowd of Everett citizens, in company with the few I. W. W. members present, followed the deputies to the county jail, demanding the release of Reed, Dwyer and Peck, and those who had been arrested the night before. In its surging to and from the crowd pushed over a post-rotted picket fence that had been erected in the early days of Everett. This violence, together with cries of "You've got the wrong bunch in jail! Let those men out and put the 'bulls' in!" was the basis from which the trust-owned press built up a story of a riot and attempted jail delivery. On the same flimsy basis a warrant was issued charging Mrs. Frennette with inciting a riot.

The free speech committee sent John Berg to Everett that same day to retain an attorney for the men held without warrants. He secured the services of E. C. Dailey, and, while waiting to learn the result

of the lawyer's efforts, he went to the I. W. W. hall only to find it closed. A man was there waiting to get his blankets to go to work and Berg volunteered to get them for him. He then went to the county jail and asked for McRae. When McRae came in and learned that Berg wanted to see the secretary in order to get the keys to the hall, he yelled out:

"You are another I. W. W. Throw him in jail, the old son-of-a-b—!"

Without having any charges placed against him, Berg was held until the next morning, when McRae and a deputy took him out in a roadster to a lonely spot on the county road. Forcing him to dismount, McRae ordered Berg to walk to Seattle under threats of death if he returned, and then knocked Berg down and kicked him in the groin as he lay prostrate. McRae was drunk. Berg subsequently developed a severe rupture as a result of this treatment. He managed to make his way to Seattle and in spite of his condition returned to Everett that same night.

Undaunted by their previous deportations, and determined to circumvent the deputies who were seizing men from the railroad trains and regular boats, a body of free speech fighters, on September 9th, took the train to Mukilteo, a village about four miles from Everett, and there, by pre-arrangement, were taken aboard the launch "Wanderer."

The little boat would not hold the entire party and six men were towed behind in a large dory. There were 17 first class life preservers on board, the captain borrowing some to supplement his equipment.

When the "Wanderer" reached a point about a mile and a half from the Weyerhouser dock a boat was seen approaching. It was the scab tug "Edison," belonging to the American Tugboat Company. On board was Captain Harry Ramwell, Sheriff McRae and a body of about sixty deputies. When the "Edison" was about 200 feet away the sheriff commenced shooting—but let Captain Jack Mitten tell his own story.

"The first shot went over the bow. I don't know whether there was one or two shots fired, then there was a shot struck right over my head onto the big cast iron muffler. The next shot came on thru the boat,—I had my bunk strapped up against the wall, — and thru the blanket, — and the cotton in the blanket turned the bullet,—and it struck flat on the bottom of the bunk.

"I shut the engine down and went out to the stern door and just as I stepped out there was a shot went right by my head and at the same time McRae hollered out and says 'You son-of-a-b—, you come over here!' Says I, "If you want me, you come over here." With that they brought their boat and my boat up together. Six shots in all were fired.

"McRae commenced to take the people off the boat and when he had them all off he kicked the pilot house open and says, 'Oho, there is a woman here!' Mrs. Frennette was sitting in the pilot house. Anyhow, they took her and he says, 'You'll get a one piece suit on McNeil's island for this,' and then he says to Cap Ramwell—Cap Ramwell was sitting on the side—"This is Oscar Lindstrom, drag him along too.'

"Then they were going to make fast the line—they had made fast my stern line—and as I bent over with the line McRae struck me with his revolver on the back of the head, and when I straightened up he struck me in here, a revolver about that long. (Indicating.) I said something to him and then he ran the revolver right in here in my groin and he ruptured me at the same time. I told him 'It's a fine way of using a citizen.' He says, 'You're a hell of a citizen, bringing in a bunch like that,' he says, 't cause a riot in this town.' I says, 'Well, they are all union men anyway.' He says, 'You shut your damn head or I will knock it clean off!' and I guess he would, because he had whiskey enough in him at the time to do it.

"There was a small man, I believe they call him Miller, he saw him standing there and he says, 'You here, too?' and he hauled off and struck him in the

temple and the blood flowed way down over his face and shirt. He struck him again and staggered him. If he hadn't struck him so he would have gone inboard, he would have gone over the edge, close to the edge.

"Then there was a man by the name of Berg, it seemed he knowed John Berg. He said, 'You———, I will fix you so you will never come back!' and then he went at Berg, but Berg was foxy and kept ducking his head. He rapped him on the shoulders two or three different times, I wouldn't say how often, but he didn't draw blood on Berg. (An I. W. W. member named Kurgvel was also beaten on the head and shoulders.)

"They drove us all in alongside of the boiler between the decks, down on the main deck of the "Edison" and kept us there till they docked and got automobiles and the patrol wagon and filed us off into them and took us to jail."

The arrest of Captain Mitten and acting engineer Oscar Lindstrom made twenty-one prisoners in all, and these were jailed without any charge being placed against them. As Berg was taken into the jail, McRae cursed him roundly, ordering two deputies to hold him while a beating was administered over the shoulders and back with a leather strap loaded with lead on the tip.

The men were treated with great brutality within the jail. One young fellow was asked by the deputies, "Are you an I. W. W.?" and each time the lad answered "Yes!" he was thrown violently agains the steel walls of the cell, until his body was a mas of bruises. Mitten was denied a chance to communcate with his Everett friends in order to get bai. The nights were cold and the prisoners had to slee on the bare floor without blankets.

At the end of nine days all the men were offerd their liberty except Mitten. They promptly refusd the offer. "All or none!" was their indignant demand, and Peck and Mitten were set at liberty with the rest as a result of this show of solidarity.

Upon his release Captain Mitten found that the life preservers had been stolen from his boat, and the flattened bullet removed from his bunk. Scotty Fife, the Port Captain of the American Tugboat Company, told Captain Mitten that he had straightened up the things on the "Wanderer!"

Thus to the crimes of unlawful arrest, false imprisonment, theft, deportation, assault and physical injury, the lumber trust added that of piracy on the high seas. And all this was but a taste of what was yet to come!

Organizer James Rowan returned to Everett from Anacortes on the afternoon of September 11th and was met at the depot by three deputies who promptly took him to the county jail. There were at that time between thirty and forty other members of the I. W. W. being unlawfully held. Rowan learned that these men had been taken from their cells one at a time and beaten by the deputies, Thorne and Dunn having especially severe cuts on the face and head.

Rowan's story of the outrage that followed gives a glimpse of the methods employed by the lumber trust.

"As soon as I dropped off the train at Everett I was met by three deputies. One of them told me the sheriff wanted to see me and I asked if he was a deputy. He said, 'Yes,' and showed me a badge. Then I went up with two of the deputies to the county jail. In a minute or two Sheriff McRae came in and he was pretty drunk. He caught hold of me and gave me a yank forward, and he says, 'So you are back, eh?' and I says 'Yes.' And he says 'We are going to fix you so you won't come back any more.' There was some more abusive talk and then I was searched and put in a cell.

"Just after dark that night I was taken out of the cell, my stuff was given back, and McRae says, 'We are going to start you on the road to Seattle.' With a deputy he took me out to the automobile and McRae drove the automobile, and we had some conversation. McRae seemed to feel very sore because

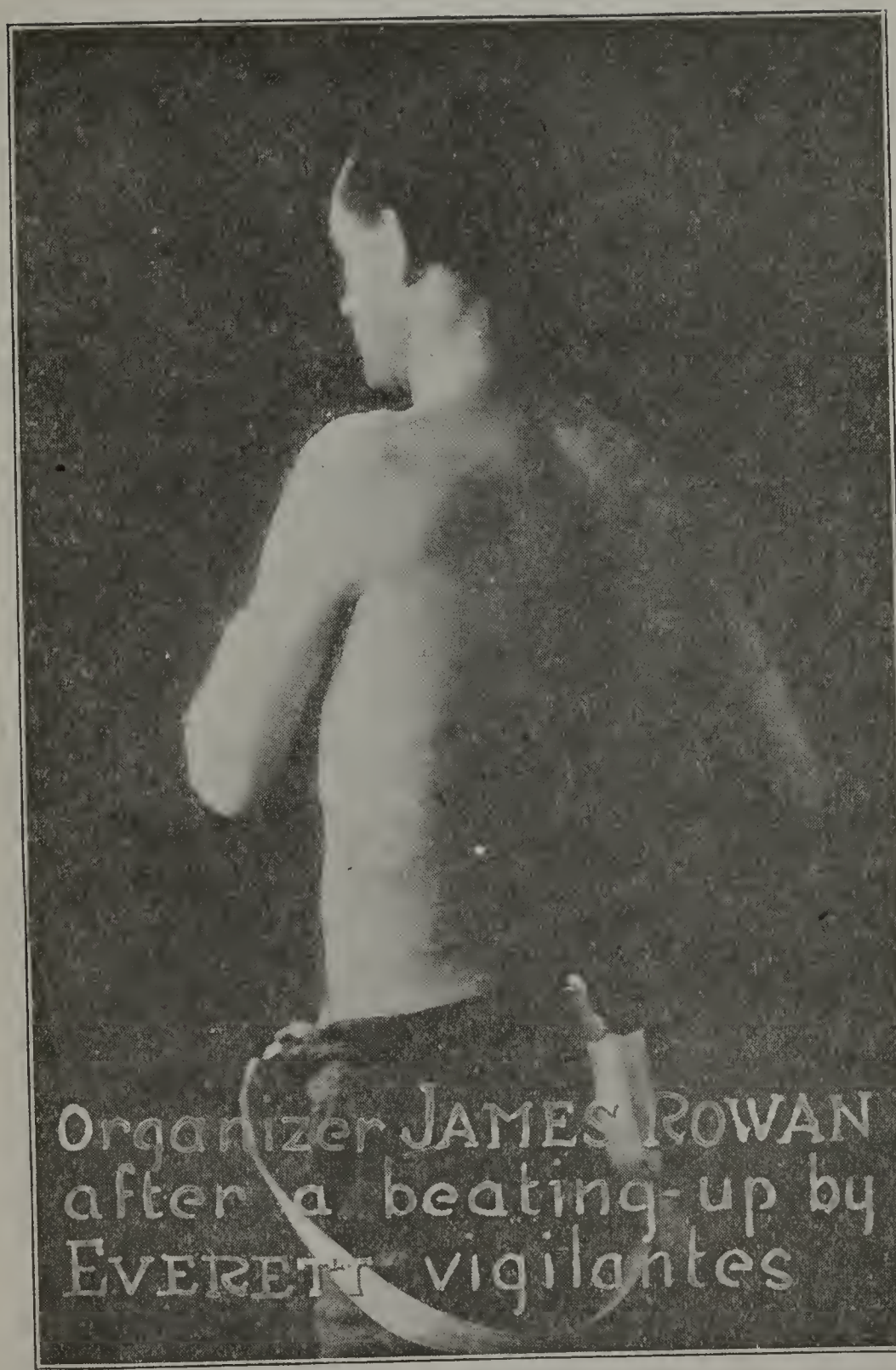
I told the people on the street that the jail was lousy, and he says 'We wanted you to get out of here and you would not do it, and now,' he says, 'Now instead of dealing with officers you have to deal with a bunch of boob citizens, and there is no telling what these boobs will do.' There was more talk that is not worth repeating and most of it not fit to repeat anyhow.

"We went out in the country until we came to where the road crosses the interurban tracks about two miles from Silver Lake and McRae told me to get out. He then pointed down the track and says, 'There is the road to Seattle and you beat it!' so I started down the track.

"I hadn't gone far, maybe 50 or 75 yards, when I met a bunch of gunmen. They came at me with guns. They had clubs and they started to beat me up on the head with the butts of their guns and with the clubs. They all had handkerchiefs over their face except one. They threw a cloth over my head and beat me some more on the head with their gun butts and then they dragged me thru the fence at the right-of-way and went a little ways back into the woods. Then they held me down over a log about eighteen inches or two feet in diameter. There were about a dozen of them I would say. Two or three held each arm and two or three each leg and there were four or five of them holding guns around my ribs—they had the guns close around my ribs all the time, several of them—and they tore my clothes off, tore my shirt and coat off. Then one of them beat me on the back, on the bare back with some kind of a sap, I don't know just what kind it was, but I could hear him grunt every time he was going to strike a blow. I was struck fifty times, or more.

"After he got thru beating me they went back to the fence toward the road and I picked up my scattered belongings and went down to Silver Lake, taking the first car to Seattle."

Rowan exhibited his badly lacerated and bruised back to several prominent Seattle citizens, and then



Organizer James Rowan;
Showing his back lacerated by Lumber Trust thugs.

had a photograph made, which was widely circulated. Contrary to the expectation of the lumber barons this treatment did not deter free speech fighters from carrying on the struggle. Instead, it brought fresh bodies of free speech enthusiasts to the scene within a short period.

The personnel of the free speech committee changed continually because of the arrest of its members. On Sunday, September 10th, at a mass meeting in Seattle Harry Feinberg and William Roberts were elected to serve. Roberts had just come down from Port Angeles and desired to investigate conditions at first hand, so in company with Feinberg he went to Everett on the 11th. They met Jake Michel, who telephoned to Chief of Police Kelley for permission to hold a street meeting.

"I have no objection to this meeting," replied Kelley, "but wait a minute, you had better call up McRae and find out."

Attempts to reach McRae at the Commercial Club and the sheriff's office met with failure. Meanwhile Feinberg had gone ahead with the meeting, the following being his sworn statement of what transpired:

"I went to Everett at 7:30 Monday night. I got a box and opened a meeting for the I. W. W. There must have been three thousand people on the corner, against buildings and looking out of the windows.

"I spoke about 35 minutes, with the crowd boisterous in their applause. Three companies of deputies and vigilantes, about one hundred and fifty thugs in all, marched down the street and divided up in three companies. One of the deputies came up and told me he wanted me and grabbed me off the box.

"They took me up to the jail, took my description, and my money and valuables, which were not returned. By that time Fellow Worker Roberts was brought in. A drunken deputy came in and grabbed me by the coat and dragged me out of the jail, with the evident permission of the officers. The vigilantes proceeded to beat me up on the jail steps. There

were anyway fifty deputies waiting outside and all of them crowded to get a chance to hit me. They gave me a chance to get away finally and shot after me, or in the air, I could not tell which, but I was not hit by the bullets."

The sworn statement of William Roberts corroborated the foregoing:

"I took the box after Fellow Worker Feinberg had been arrested. The crowd were extreme in their hostility to the lawlessness of the officers. I told them to keep cool, that the I. W. W. would handle the situation, in their own time and way. They arrested me, and, right there, they clubbed me on the head. They brought me to the jail, where Feinberg was at the desk. They took me out of the jail and threw me into the bunch of vigilantes with clubs. They started beating me around the body. One of them said: 'Do anything, but don't kill him!'

"Finally one of them hit me on the head and I came out of it and as I was getting away they shot in the air. A bunch of them then jumped into an automobile, came after me and again clubbed me. One of them knocked me out for ten minutes, according to one of the women who were watching.

"While we were in the jail, two men we did not know were brought into the jail with their heads cut open. The vigilantes were clubbing women right and left, and a young girl, about eight years of age, had her head cut open by one of Sheriff McRae's Commercial Club tools."

Roberts ran down the street to the interurban depot, where he hid behind a freight car until just before the car left for Seattle. Feinberg, with his face and clothing covered with blood, got on the same car about a mile and a half from Everett and the two returned to Seattle.

John Ovist, a resident of Mukilteo who had joined the I. W. W. in Everett on Labor Day, got on the box and said, "Fellow comrades——" but got no further. He was knocked from the box. Ovist states: "Mr. Henig was standing alongside of me when Sheriff McRae came up and cracked him over

the forehead with a club. I don't know what else happened to him for just then Sheriff McRae came in front of me and pushed the fellow off the box. When the two fellows were arrested I started to speak and McRae took me and turned me over to one of them—I don't know what you call them—deputies, or whatever they are. He had a white handkerchief around his neck and he took me toward the county jail. There was a policeman standing in front of the jail. If I am not mistaken his name is Ryan, a short heavy-set fellow. I walked by him. Of course, I never thought he was going to hit me, but I felt something over behind. He hit me with a club behind the ear and cut my head until it was bleeding awful."

"When we came to the county jail, Henig, he was in there already. His face was red and he was full of blood. And they took us into the toilet to have us wash the blood off, and when I came back I heard screams and pounding.

"Then the sheriff recognized me, he had been down in Mukilteo before, and he says, 'What are you doing up here?' I said, 'Well, I didn't come up here, they brought me up here.' He says, 'You are a member of the I. W. W., too.' So I told him, I don't see why I should come and ask you what organization I should belong to!' So he opened the gate and says, 'Here is a fellow from Mukilteo,' he says. 'Beat it!' And I seen, I guess—a hundred and fifty or maybe two hundred, I didn't have time to count them, right out back of the jail lined up in lines on either side. And I had to run between them and come out the other end. They banged me on the head with clubs, and all over. I looked bad and I felt worse. I had blue marks on my shoulders and on my hips and under my knees.

"I got thru them and there was a couple ran after me, but I beat it ahead of them. I guess they intended to club me. I ran down to that depot where the electric car goes thru to Seattle and then I turned to look around because the car was at Hewitt and Colby, and as I went down the walk two

men stopped me and asked me if I hadn't had enough. They told me to beat it, and as I turned around the same policeman, Ryan, I think his name is, hit me on the forehead and then pulled his gun and said, 'Beat it!' He was drunk and they were all swearing at me.

"After I got a block or so, there were two or three shots. I walked two more blocks and then was so dizzy I had to rest. Finally I walked further and an automobile came past me and I tried to holler but they didn't hear me. And then I walked a little further and the stage came along and they picked me up."

Eye witnesses declared that officer Daniels was one of those who fired shots at the fleeing men after they had been forced to run the gauntlet.

Frank Henig, an Everett citizen, tells what happened in these words:

"I will start from the time I left the house. My wife and I, and the little baby were going to the show. When we got on Wetmore there was a big crowd standing there. I had worked the night before in the mill and I had cedar asthma, so I said to my wife, 'I would like to stay out in the fresh air,' And she said, 'All right, I will meet you at nine o'clock at Wetmore and Hewitt.'

"There was quite a crowd and I got up pretty close in front so I could hear the speaker. I stood there a little while and finally the sheriff came along with a bunch of deputies, and the speaker said, 'Here they come, but now people, I will tell you, don't start anything, let them start it.'

"They took him off the box and arrested a couple of others with him, and then immediately after that the Commercial Club deputies came along in a row. They had white handkerchiefs around their necks. So I looked out there and the crowd commenced to yell and cheer like, and McRae got excited and started toward me, saying, 'We have been looking for you before.' When he said that I stopped—before that I had tried to get farther back—I stopped and he got hold of me. Meanwhile

Commissioner Kelley came up and took care of me and McRae walked away a little way. Kelley had hold of my right arm and he pinched me a little bit and I said 'Let go Kelley and I will go with you.'

"We stood there a few minutes longer and McRae came back. Kelley said 'Come along with me,' and just as I said 'All right,' McRae grabbed me by the coat and hit me on the head with a black club fastened to his strap with a leather thong. I was looking right at him and he knocked me unconscious. Then Kelley picked me up and shook me and I came to again, and I fell over the curb of the sidewalk.

"Kelley then turned me over to Daniels, a policeman in Everett, and he turned me over to a couple of Commercial Club deputies. Then Fred Luke came along and said, 'I will take care of him.' So we walked a little ways and he said, 'You better go to the doctor and have that dressed.' I said to him, 'Oh, I guess it ain't so bad,' and so he said, 'Come along with me and we will wash up at the jail.' I said, 'All right,' and while I was going up the steps to the jail, why a policeman by the name of Bryan or something like that,—a little short fellow, well anyhow he got canned off the force for being drunk, that is how I heard of him,—when I was kind of slow walking along because I was bleeding pretty bad. he said, 'Hurry up and get in there, you low-down, dirty son-of-a-b——!' And I answered, 'I guess I ain't arrested, I don't have to hurry in there.' So he cursed some more.

"I went into the jail and washed up and came back into the office of the county jail. The fellows that they had arrested were sitting in the chairs and McRae came in and grabbed one of the I. W. W.'s —I guess they were I. W. W.'s, anyway one of them that was arrested—and he says, 'What in hell are you doing up here, don't you know I told you to keep away from here?' and while he was going in the door into the back office I saw him haul off with his sap, but I don't see him hit him, but the little fellow cried like a baby.

"McRae came back and he looked at me and said, 'What in hell are you doing up here?' I didn't know what to say for a little while and then I said, 'I didn't do nothing, Mac, I don't see what you wanted to sap me for.' And he said, 'I didn't sap you,' he said, 'Kelley hit you.' Then I said to him, 'My wife says for me to meet her down at the corner of Wetmore and Hewitt at nine o'clock and I would like to go down there and meet her.' So he said, 'All right, you go; you hurry and go.' I was going out the front door and he said, 'No, don't go out there. If you go out there, they will kill you!' He led me to the back door of the jail, I don't know where it was, I never was in jail in my life before, and he said, 'Hurry and beat it, and pull your hat down over your head so they wont know you.' But when I got to town everybody knew, because there was blood still running all over my face after I washed up."

Henig endeavored to prosecute McRae for his illegal and unwarranted assault but all attempts to secure a warrant met with failure. Lumber trust law operates only in one direction.

In this raid upon the meeting McRae smashed citizens right and left, women as well as men. He was even seen to kick a small boy who happened to get in his path. Deputy Sam Walker beat up Harry Woods, an Everett music teacher; another deputy was seen smashing an elderly gentleman on the head; still another knocked Mrs. Louise McGuire, who was just recovering from a sprained knee, into the gutter; and Ed Morton, G. W. Carr and many other old-time residents of Everett were struck by the drunken Commercial Club thugs.

Mrs. Leota Carr called up Chief of Police Kelley next morning, the following being an account of the conversation that ensued:

"I said, 'What are you trying to kill my husband for?' and he kind of laughed and said he didn't believe it, and I said, 'Did you know they struck him over the head last night and he could hardly go to work today?' He said, 'My God, they didn't strike

him, did they?' and I said, 'They surely did!' And he said 'Why there isn't a better man in town than he is,' and I said, 'I know it.' It surprised me to think that he thought I didn't know it myself. And then I said, 'These here deputies are making more I. W. W.'s in town than the I. W. W.'s would in fifty years.' And he said, 'I know it.' Then I said, 'Why do you allow them to do it? You are the head of the police department.' He replied, 'McRae has taken it out of my hands; the sheriff is ahead of me and it is his men who are doing it, and I am not to blame.' "

At the city park four nights after this outrage, only one arrest for street speaking having occurred in the meantime, the aroused citizens of Everett met to hear Attorney E. C. Dailey, T. Webber, and various local speakers deal with the situation, and to view at first hand the wounds of Ovist, Henig and other towns people who had been injured. Thousands attended the meeting, and disapproval of the actions of the Commercial Club and its tools was vehemently expressed.

This remonstrance from the people had some effect. The Commercial Club, knowing that all arrests so far had been unlawful, took steps to "legalize" any further seizing of street speakers at Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues. The lumber interests issued an ordinance preventing street speaking on that corner. The Mayor signed it without ever putting it to a reading, thus invalidating the proposed measure. This made no difference; henceforth it was a law of the city of Everett and as such was due to be enforced by the lumber trust.

During the whole controversy there had not been an arrest made on the charge of violation of any street speaking ordinance. With the new ordinance assumed to be a law, Mrs. Frennette went to Everett and interviewed Chief Kelley. After telling him that the I. W. W. members were being disturbed and mistreated by men who were not in uniform, she said:

"It seems that there is an ordinance here against street speaking and we feel that it is unjust. We feel that we have a right to speak here. We are not blocking traffic and we propose to make a test of the ordinance. Will you have one of your men arrest me or any other speaker who chooses to take the box, personally, and bring me to jail and put a charge against me, and protect me from the vigilantes who are beating the men on the street?"

Kelley replied that so far as he was concerned he would do the best he could but McRae had practically taken the authority out of his hands and that he really could not guarantee protection. So a legal test was practically denied.

Quiet again reigned in Everett following the brutalities cited. A few citizens were manhandled for too openly expressing their opinion of mob methods and several wearers of overalls were searched and deported, but the effects of bootleg whiskey seemed to have left the vigilantes.

On Wednesday ,Sept. 20th, a committee of 2000 citizens met at the Labor Temple and arranged for a mass meeting to be held in the public park on the following Friday. The meeting brought forth between ten and fifteen thousand citizens, one-third of the total population at least, who listened to speakers representing the I. W. W., Socialists, trades unions and citizens generally. Testimony was given by some of the citizens who had been clubbed by the vigilantes. Recognizing the hostile public opinion, Sheriff McRae promised that the office of the I. W. W. would not again be molested. As he had lied before he was not believed, but, as a test, Earl Osborne went from Seattle to open up the hall once more.

For a period thereafter the energies of the deputies were given to a course of action confined to the outskirts of the city. Migratory workers traveling to and from various jobs were taken from the trains, beaten, robbed and deported. As an example of McRae's methods and as depicting a phase of the life of the migratory worker the story of "Sergeant" John J. Keenan, sixty-five years old,

and still actively at work, is of particular interest:

"I left Great Falls, Mont., about the 5th of September after I had been working on a machine in the harvest about nine miles from town. The boys gathered together—they were coming from North Dakota—and we all came thru together. We had an organization among ourselves. We carried our cards. There was a delegate with us, a field delegate, and I was spokesman, elected by the rank and file of the twenty-two. There was another division from North Dakota on the same train with us, going to Wenatchee to pick apples. We were going to Seattle. I winter in Seattle every year and work on the snow sheds.

"We carried our cooking utensils with us, and when we got off at a station we sent our committee of three and bought our provisions in the store, and two of the cooks cooked the food, and we ate it and took the next train and came on. This happened wherever we stopped.

"We arrived in Snohomish, Wash., on Sept. 23rd at about 8:45 in the morning. When the committee came down I sent out and they brought me back the bills—I was the treasurer as well—one man carried the funds, and they brought back $4.90 worth of food down, including two frying pans, and when I was about cooking, a freight train from Everett pulled in and a little boy, who was maybe about ten years old, he says, 'Dad, are you an I. W. W.?' I says, 'I am, son.' 'Well,' he says, 'there are a whole bunch of deputies coming out after you.' I laughed at the boy, I thought he was joshing me.

"About half an hour after the boy told me this the deputies appeared. In the first bunch were forty-two, and then Sheriff McRae came with more, making altogether, what I counted, sixty-four. The first bunch came around the bush alongside the railroad track where I was and the sheriff came in about twenty minutes later with his bunch from the opposite way.

"In the first bunch was a fat, stout fellow with two guns. He had a chief's badge—a chief of police's

badge—on him. He was facing toward the fire and he says, 'If you move a step, I will fill you full of lead!' I laughed at him, says I, 'What does this outrage mean?' There was another old gentleman with a chin beard, fat, middling fat, probably my own age, and he picked up my coat which was lying alongside me and looked at my button. He says, 'Oh, undesirable citizen!' I says, 'What do you mean?' He says, 'Are you an I. W. W.?' I says, 'I am, and I am more than proud of it!' 'Well,' he says, 'we don't want you in this county.' I says, 'Sure?' He says, 'Yes.' I says, 'Well, I am not going to stay in this county, I am going to cook breakfast and go to Seattle.' He says, 'Do you understand what this means?' I says, 'No.' He says, 'The sheriff will be here in a few minutes and he will tell you what it means.' I heard afterward that this man was the mayor of Snohomish.

"I was sitting right opposite the fire wtih my coffee and bread and meat in my hand when Sheriff McRae came up and says, 'Who is this bunch?' So a tall, black deputy, a tall, dark complected fellow, says, 'They are a bunch of harvest hands coming from North Dakota.' McRae says, 'Did you search these men?' And he says, 'Yes.' 'Did you find any shooting arms on them?' He says, 'No.' They had searched us and we had no guns or clubs.

"McRae then asked, 'Who is their leader?' and this old gentleman that spoke to me first, he says, 'They have no leader, but that old man over there is the spokesman.' So he came over to me and says, 'Where are you going?' I says, 'I am going to Seattle.' Then he used an expression that I don't think is fit for ladies to hear. I says, 'My mother was a lady and she never raised any of us by the name you have mentioned, and,' I says, 'I don't think I have done anything that I will have to walk out of the county.' He says, 'Do you see that track?' I says, 'Yes.' He says, 'Well, you will walk down that track!' I says, 'But for these twenty-one men that are here in my hands I wouldn't walk a foot for you.' He says, 'You get out. I am going to shoot all

these things to pieces.' I says, 'You will shoot nothing to pieces, I bought them with my hard-earned money.' He says, 'All right, take them with you.' Then he shot up the cans and things, and he says, 'That is the track to Seattle and you go up it, and if I ever catch you in this county again you will get what you are looking for.'

"So we walked up the hill toward Seattle and there is a town, I think they call it Maltby, and we got there between four and five o'clock in the evening. Fellow Worker Thornton, Adams and Love were the committee men and they asked me how I felt. I told them my feet were pretty sore.

"I went over to the station agent and found out that there was a freight due at 9:30 but that sometimes it didn't get in until three in the morning. I then asked permission to light a fire and cook some coffee, and after we were thru eating we lay down.

"About 9:30 the train came along and I called the men. As the train was backing up I saw some light come, and one auto throwing her searchlight, and I counted four automobiles. That is all I could count but there were a whole lot of them coming. I says, 'Men, we have run up against a stone wall.'

"Fellow Worker Love and I—he came off the machine with me in Great Falls—we were first in line and Sheriff McRae and two other men with white handkerchiefs around their necks came forward first and he says, 'You son-of-a-b——, I thought you were going to Seattle?' I says, 'Ain't I going to Seattle? I can't go till the train goes,' I says, 'you've had me walking now till I have no foot under me. What do you mean by this outrage? My father fought for this country and I have a right here. I am on railroad property and have done nothing to anybody.' McRae then hit Fellow Worker Love on the head and I yelled 'Break and run, men, or they will kill you!' He turned around then and he said to me, 'You dirty old Irish bastard, now I will make you so you can't run. I'll show you!' With that he let drive and hit me, leaving this three cornered mark here (indicating place on head).

And when the others went up the track he says, 'Get now. God damn your old soul, or I will kill you!' I says, 'Sheriff, look here. you are a perfect gentleman, you are, to hit a fellow old enough to be your father.' He made as if to hit me again and then Fellow Worker Love came back and says, 'Have a heart!' I says 'You run,' and he says 'No, they are not going to kill you while I am here.' And Fellow Worker Paterson came back down the track and I says, 'What is the matter, Paterson, are you crazy? Get the men and tell them to go over the line. Don't stay in this county or they are liable to murder you!' Then Love and I went off the track into the thick bushes and lay down till next morning.

"At daylight we got up, went down to the junction and gathered up fifteen of the men. When the train pulled in the trainman asked me where I was going and I said I was going to Seattle. He says, 'Do you carry a card?' "Yes,' says I. 'Produce!' says he. That is the word the trainmen use. So I put my hand in my pocket and pulled it out. 'You better get back in the caboose, you are hurt,' he said. He saw the blood where Fellow Worker Love had bandaged my head with his handkerchief. 'No,' says I, 'Where the men are riding is good enough for me.' So we went to where the interurban comes in and I was seven men short. I paid two-fifty into Seattle, and we came in, and I made a report to the Seattle locals."

Incidents similar to this were of almost daily occurrence, scores of deportations taking place during the month of September. Then on the 26th, despite his promises to refrain from molesting the hall, McRae entered the premises, forcibly seized Earl Osborne, the secretary, took him a long distance out in the country, and at the point of a gun made him start the thirty-mile trip on foot to Seattle. On the 29th of September the Everett authorities arrested J. Johnson and George Bradley in Seattle. Johnson was held on an arson charge but no legal warrant for his arrest was issued until October 17th, or until he had been in jail for nineteen

days. Then the charge against him was that he had set fire to a box factory—but this was soon changed when it was learned by the authorities that the box factory had not caught fire until after Johnson was in jail, and for the first charge they substituted the claim that Johnson had burned the garage of one Walter Smith, a scab shingle weaver deputy. George Bradley, who had been deported from Everett after having served one day as secretary, was accused of second degree arson as an alleged accomplice. Each man was told that the other had confessed and the best thing to do was to make a clean breast of matters, but this scheme of McRae's fell thru for two reasons: the men were not guilty, and they had never seen or heard of each other before. Johnson was in jail fifty-eight days without a preliminary hearing. Both men were released on property bonds, and the trials were "indefinitely postponed," that still being their status at this writing.

No further attempts were made to open the hall after Osborne's deportation until October 16th when the organization in Seattle again selected a man to act as secretary in Everett. Thomas H. Tracy took charge on that date, remaining in Everett until a few days prior to November 5th, at which time he resigned, his place being taken by Chester Micklin.

During the month of October there were between three and four hundred deportations, the vigilantes operating mainly from the Commercial Club. Many of these "slugging parties" were attended by Mayor D. D. Merrill, Governor Clough, Captain Harry Ramwell, T. W. Anguish, W. R. Booth, Edward Hawse, and other "pillars of society" in Everett. Most of the men were deported without any formalities whatever, and the methods used in handling the others may well be judged by frequent entries on the police blotter to the effect that men arrested by Great Northern detective Fox were ordered turned over to Sheriff McRae by Mayor Merrill. The railroad company, acting in conjunction with the lumber trust, put on a private army, and had its men roughly dressed to resemble honest

workingmen. Cases of "hi-jacking" became quite numerous about this time, but no redress from this highway robbery could be had.

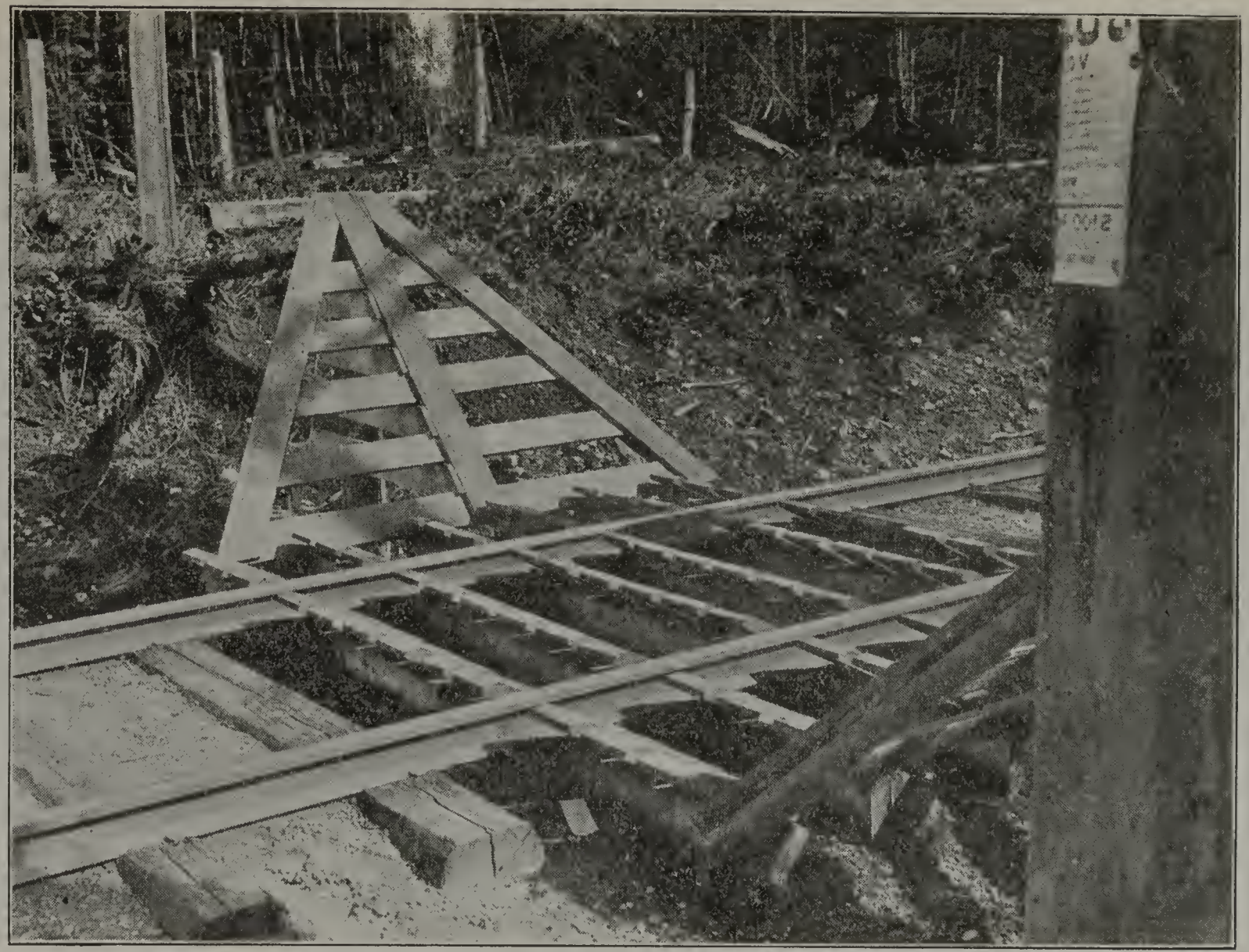
On the question of the hiring of armed forces by the railroads the Industrial Relations Commission Report has this to say:

"Under the authority granted by the several states the railroads maintain a force of police, and some, at least, have established large arsenals of arms and ammunition. This armed force, when augmented by recruits from detective agencies and employment agencies, as seems to be the general practice during industrial disputes, constitutes a private army clothed with a degree of authority which should be exercised only by public officials; these armed bodies, usurping the supreme functions of the state and oftentimes encroaching on the rights of citizens, are a distinct menace to public welfare."

A number of the men deported during September and October were not members of the I. W. W., some even being opposed at the time to the tenet of the organization, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common," but almost without exception the non-members who suffered deportation made it a point to join the union when the nearest branch or field delegate was reached. In Everett, delegates working quietly among the millmen, longshoremen, and other workers, were also getting numerous recruits as the class struggle stood forth in its naked form. All the efforts of the lumber trust to suppress the I. W. W. were as tho they had tried to quench a forest fire with gasoline.

It was on October 30th that forty-one men left Seattle by boat in a determined effort to reach the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues in order to test the validity of the alleged ordinance prohibiting free speech at that point. They were the first contingent of an army of harvesters who were just returning from a hard season's labor in the fields

Beverly Park



A close up view of Beverly Park showing cattle guards.

and orchards. The party was double the size of any free speech group that had tried to enter Everett at any previous time.

They were met at the dock by a drunken band of deputies, most of whom wore white handkerchiefs around their necks as a means of identification. The deputies were armed with guns and clubs, and they outnumbered the I. W. W. body five to one. Several of the lawless crew were so intoxicated they could scarcely stand, and one in particular had to be forcibly restrained by his less drunken associates from attempts to commit murder in the open. The I. W. W. men were clubbed with gun butts and loaded clubs whenever their movements were not swift enough to suit the fancies of the drunken mob. John Downs' face was an indistinguishable mass of blood where Sheriff McRae had "sapped up" on him and split open his upper lip. Boat passengers who remonstrated were promised the same treatment unless they kept still. In its mad frenzy the posse struck in all directions. So blindly drunk and hysterical was deputy Joseph Irving that he swung his heavy revolver handle with full force onto the head of deputy Joe Schofield. He continued the insane attack, while McRae, awry-eyed and lusting for blood, assisted in the brutal task until warning cried from the other vigilantes showed them their mistake. Schofield was carried to an automobile and hastened to the nearest drug store, where it was found necessary to call a physician to take three stitches to bind together the edges of the most severe wound.

The prisoners were loaded into large auto trucks and passenger cars, more than twenty of which were lined up in waiting, and were taken out to a lonely wooded spot near Beverly Park on the road to Seattle. McRae, with deputies Fred Luke, William Pabst and Fred Plymale, took one I. W. W. out in their five-passenger Reo, McRae afterward endeavored unsuccessfully to prove an alibi because his own car was in a garage. Deputy Sheriff Jefferson Beard also took out a prisoner.

Upon their arrival at Beverly the prisoners were made to dismount at the point of guns and stand in the cold drizzling rain until their captors had formed two lines reaching from the roadway to the interurban tracks. There in the darkness the men were forced to run stumbling over the uneven ground down a gauntlet that ended only with the cruel sharp blades of a cattle guard, while on their unprotected heads and shoulders the drunken outlaws rained blow after blow with gun-butts, black-jacks, loaded saps and pick-handles. In the confusion one boy escaped from Ed Hawse, but before he could get away into the brush this bully, weighing about 260 pounds, bore down upon him, and with a couple of other deputies proceeded to beat him well-nigh into insensibility. Deputies who lost their clubs in the scramble aimed kicks at the privates of the men as they passed down the line. Deputy Fred Luke swung at one man with such force that the leather wrist thong parted and the club disappeared into the woods. With drunken deliberation Joseph Irving cracked the head of man after man, informing each one that they were getting an extra dose because of his mistake in beating up a brother deputy. In the thick of it all, smashing, kicking, and screaming obscene curses at the helpless men and boys who dared demand free speech within the territory sacred to the lumber trust, was the deputy-sheriff of Snohomish County, Jefferson E. Beard!

A few of the men broke the lines and ran into the woods, a bullet past their heads warning others from a like attempt. Across the cattle guard, often sprawling on hands and knees from the force of the last blows received, went the men who had cleared the gauntlet. Legs sank between the blades of the guard and strained ligaments and sprained ankles were the result. One man suffered a dislocated shoulder at the hands of a Doctor Allison, another had the bridge of his nose broken by a blow from McRae, and dangerously severe wounds and bruises were sustained by nearly all of the forty-one.

So horrible were the moans and outcries of the

stricken men, so bestial were the actions of the infuriated deputies, that one of their own number, W. R. Booth, sickened at the sight and sound, went reeling up the roadway retching as he left the brutal scene.

Attracted by the curses of the deputies, the sound of the blows, and the moans and cries of the wounded men, Mrs. Ruby Ketchum came to the door of her house nearly a quarter of a mile away, and remained there listening to the hideous din, while her husband, Roy Ketchum, and his brother, Lew, went down to the scene of the outrage to investigate. The Ketchum brothers reported that the deputies were formed in two lines ending in six men, three on each side of the cattle guard. A man would be taken out of the car and two deputies would join his arms up behind him meanwhile hammering his unprotected face from both sides as hard as they could strike with their fists. Then the man was started down the line, one deputy following to club him on the back to make him hurry, and the other deputies striking with clubs and other weapons and kicking the prisoner as he progressed. Just before reaching the cattle guard he was made to run, and, in crossing the blades, the three men on the east side of the track would swing their clubs upon his back while the men on the west clubbed him across the face and stomach. This was repeated with the men as fast as they were dragged from the autos. They also heard the sound of blows and then cries of "Oh my God! Doc, don't hit me again, doc, you're killing me!" Lew Ketchum took deputy Fred Luke by the coat tails and pulled him back from the cattle guard, asking, "What are you doing, what is going on here?" and Luke replied, "We are beating up forty-one I. W. W.'s"

Harry Hubbard tells the story in these words from the time the autos arrived at Beverly:

"I got out of the car with another fellow, Rice, and I says, 'We had better stay together, it looks to me like we were going to get tamped up,' and somebody grabbed hold of him, and I stood a min-

ute, and then I ran by one fellow up into the woods. Just as I got out of the radius of the automobile lights I fell over a stump on the edge of the embankment. I was in kind of a peculiar predicament and I had to get hold of the stump to pull myself up, and just as I did that some fellow behind me swung with a blackjack and grazed my temple, knocking me to my knees. I got up and he grabbed hold of me and we both fell down the bank together. Then two or three others grabbed me, and this Hawse had me by the collar, and Sheriff McRae walked up and said 'You are the son-of-a—— that was over here last week,' and I answered, 'I was working here last week.' Then he said, 'Are you an I. W. W.?' I said, 'Yes,' and he hit me an upward swing on the nose. He repeated, 'You are an I. W. W., are you?' and again I said, 'Yes.' He then swore at me and said, 'Say that you ain't!' and I replied, 'No, I won't say that I ain't,' and he hit me three more times on the nose.

"Then the man who was holding my left wrist with one hand and my shoulder with the other, said, 'Wait a minute until I get a poke at him,' and McRae said, 'All right, doc,' and then someone else said "All right Allison, hit him for me!' This fellow they called Doc Allison hit me and blackened my eye. McRae swore at me, he seemed to be intoxicater and he looked and acted like a maniac, he said 'If you fellows ever come back some of you will die, that's all there is to it.' I said, 'I don't think there is any necessity for killing anybody,' and he answered 'I will kill you if you come back,' and he raised his blackjack and said 'Run!' I said 'I wont run,' and he hit me again and I dropped to the ground. He raised his foot over my face, and used some pretty raw language, and as he stood there with his heel over my face I grabbed hold of a fellow's leg and pulled myself along so instead of hitting my face his heel scraped my side. Then I got some kicks, three of them in the small of the back around my kidneys.

"When I got up I walked thru the line, there

were twenty or thirty different ones hollered for me to run, but I was stubborn and wouldn't do it. And when I got to the cattle guard and stood at the other side kind of wiping the blood off my face I heard some one coming and I said, 'Four Hundred," and he said 'Yes,' and he was crying. It was a young boy and I walked down the track with him afterward.

"At the City Hospital in Seattle next day the doctor told me my nose was badly fractured and that I had internal injuries. A few days later my back pained me severely and I passed blood for a time after that."

C. H. Rice, whose shoulder was dislocated, gives about the same version.

"Two big fellows would hold a man until they were thru beating him and then turn him loose. I was turned loose and ran probably six or eight feet, something like that, and I was hit and knocked down. As I scrambled to my feet and ran a few feet again I was hit on the shoulder with a slingshot. This time I went down and I was dazed, I think I must have been unconscious for a moment because when I came to they were kicking me, and some of them said, 'He is faking,' and others said, 'No, he is knocked out.' I remember seeing some of the boys during that time running by me, and when they got me up I started to run a bit farther and was knocked down again.

"Then they called for somebody there, addressing him as Dr. Allison, and he grabbed my arm and pulled me up, and he raised my arm up and said, 'Aw, there is nothing the matter with you,' and jerked it down again. My arm was out of place, it seemed way over to one side, and I couldn't straighten it up.

"As I was going over the cattle guard several of them hit me and some one hollered 'Bring him back here, don't let him go over there.' They brought me back and this doctor said 'You touch your shoulder with your hand,' and I couldn't. He says 'There is nothing the matter with you.'

"Then the fellow who was on the dock, and who had been drinking pretty heavily, because they would have to shove him back every once in a while, he shouted out 'Let's burn him!' About that time Sheriff McRae came over and got hold of my throat and said, 'Now, damn you, I will tell you I can kill you right here and there never would be nothing known about it, and you know it.' And some one said, 'Let's hang him!' and this other fellow kept hollering 'Burn him! Burn him!' McRae kept hitting me, first on one side and then the other, smacking me that way, and then he turned me loose again and hit me with one of those slingshots, and finally he said 'Oh, let him go,' and he started me along, following behind and hitting me until I got over the cattleguard.

"I went down to the interurban track until I caught up with some of the boys. They tried to pull my shoulder back into place and then they took handkerchiefs and neckties, and one thing and another, and made a kind of a sling to hold it up. We then went down to the first station and the boys took up a collection and the eight of us who were hurt the worst got on the train and went to Seattle. The others had to walk the twenty-five miles into Seattle. Most of us had to go to the hospital next day."

Sam Rovinson was beaten with a piece of gas-pipe, but taking advantage of the fact that the shooting when Archie Collins made his escape had attracted the attention of the deputies he got thru the gauntlet with only minor injuries. Rovinson testifies that McRae said to him:

"This time we will let you off with this, but next time you come up here we will pop you full of holes."

"I just came up here to exercise my constitutional right of free speech," expostulated Rovinson.

"To hell with free speech and the Constitution!" shouted McRae, "You are now in Snohomish county, and we are running the county!"

After the deputies had returned to town the two Ketchum brothers took their lanterns and went out to the scene thinking they might find some of the men out there hurt, with a broken leg, or arm or something, and that they could be taken to their house to be cared for. No men were seen, but three covered with blood were found and after examination were returned to where they had been picked up.

Early next morning some of the deputies, frightened at their cowardly actions of the previous night, were seen at Beverly Park making an examination of the ground. Two of them approached the Ketchum residence and asked if any I. W. W.'s had been found lying around there. After being assured that they had stopped short of murder, the deputies departed.

A little later an investigation committee composed of Rev. Oscar McGill of Seattle, and Rev. Elbert E. Flint, Rev. Jos. P. Marlatt, Jake Michel, Robert Mills, Ernest Marsh, E. C. Dailey, Commissioner W. H. Clay, Messrs. Fawcett, Hedge, Ballou, Houghton and others from Everett, made a close examination of the grounds. In spite of the heavy rain and notwithstanding the fact that deputies had preceded them, the committee found blood-soaked hats and hat bands and big brown spots of blood soaked into the cement roadway. In the cattle guard was the sole of a shoe, evidently torn off as one of the fleeing men escaped his assailants.

"Hearing of the occurrence I accompanied several gentlemen, including a prominent minister of the gospel of Everett, next morning to the scene. The tale of that struggle was plainly written. The roadway was stained with blood. The blades of the cattle guard were so stained, and between the blades was a fresh imprint of a shoe where plainly one man in his hurry to escape the shower of blows, missed his footing in the dark and went down between the blades. Early that morning workmen going into the city to work, picked up three hats from the ground, still damp with blood. There can

be no excuse for nor extenuation of such an inhuman method of punishment," reported President E. P. Marsh to the State Federation of Labor.

J. M. Norland stated that "there were big brown blotches on the pavement which we took to be blood. They were perhaps two feet in diameter, and there were a number of smaller blotches for a distance of twenty-five feet. In the vicinity of the cattle guard the soil was disarranged and there were shoe marks near the cattle guard. You could also notice where, in their hurry to get across, they would go in between, and there would be little parts or shreds of clothing there, and on one there was a little hair."

All that day the talk in Everett centered around the crime of the preceding night. Little groups of citizens gathered here and there to discuss the matter. The deputies went about strenuously denying that they had a hand in the infamous affair, and friends of long standing refused to speak to those who were known positively to have been concerned in the outrage. A number of the ministers of the city conferred regarding a course of action, but finding the problem too deep for them to solve they left it to up to the individual. Various Everett citizens, representing a large degree of public sentiment, felt that the thing to do was to hold an immense mass meeting in order to present the facts of the hideous crime to the whole public. This plan met with immediate approval from many quarters, and the I. W. W. in Seattle was notified of this desire by mail, by telephone, and by means of citizens' delegations. Rev. Oscar McGill conferred with secretary Herbert Mahler and was quite insistent upon the necessity for such a meeting, as the Everett papers had carried no real information about the affair in Beverly. He brought out the fact that there had been thousands in attendance at the mass meeting in the Everett city park a month or so previous to this occurrence, and the speakers were then escorted by a large body of citizens from the interurban depot to the meeting place, and the feelings of the people

were such that similar or even more adequate protection would be given were another meeting held. He suggested that the meeting he held in broad daylight and on a Sunday. That the plan met with the approval of the I. W. W. membership was shown by its adoption at a meeting the night following the trouble at Beverly Park. And the date selected was Sunday, November 5th.

Immdiately steps were taken to inform the various I. W. W. branches in the Northwest of the proposed action. Telegrams were sent to Solidarity, and a ringing call for two thousand men to help in the fight for free speech was published in the Industrial Worker. In addition to telegraphing the story and its attendant call for action to the unions of the Pacific Coast there were various members selected from among the forty-one who had been beaten, and these were dispatched to different points to spread the tale of Everett's atrocities, and to gain new recruits for the "invading army" of free speech fighters.

Seeking the widest possible publicity the free speech committee had printed and circulated thousands of handbills in Everett to call attention to the proposed meeting.

CITIZENS OF EVERETT
ATTENTION!

A meeting will be held at the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore Aves., on Sunday, Nov. 5th, 2 p. m. Come and help maintain your and our constitutional right. **Committee.**

The authorities in Everett were notified, the editors of all the Seattle daily papers were requested to have representatives present at the meeting, and reporters were called in and told of the intentions of the organization. During the week frequent meetings were held in the hall in Seattle to arrange for the incoming free speech fighters, and without an exception all these meetings were held with no

examination of membership books and were open to the public. With their cards laid upon the table the members of the Industrial Workers of the World were preparing to call the hand of the semi-legalized outlaws of Snohomish county who had cast aside the law, abrogated the Constitution of the United States, and denied the right of free speech and free assembly.

Following the Beverly affair the Commercial Club redoubled its activities. Blackjacks and "Robinson clubs," so called because they were manufactured especially for the deputies by the Robinson Mill, were set aside for revolvers and high power rifles, and the ranks of the deputies were enlarged by the off-scouring and scum of the open shop persuasion.

McRae entered the I. W. W. hall on Friday, Nov. 3rd, the day Thomas H. Tracy turned the office over to Chester Micklin, and abruptly said "By God, I will introduce myself. I am Sheriff McRae! I won't have a lot of sons-of-bitches hanging around this place like in Seattle."

Micklin looked at the drunken sheriff a moment and replied, "The constitution guarantees us free speech, free assembly, and free——"

"To hell with the Constitution," broke in McRae. "We have a constitution here that we will enforce."

"You believe in unions, you believe in organized labor, don't you?" asked Micklin.

"Yes, I belonged to the shingle weavers at one time," returned McRae, "but when the shingle weavers went out on strike I donated $25.00 to their strike fund and they gave me a rotten deal and sent the check back to me, and to hell with the shingle weavers and the rest of the unions!"

Then, as he was leaving the hall, McRae pulled from his pocket a letter; took from it a black cat cut from pasteboard and stuck it in the secretary's face, saying "That's the kind of————s that is in your organization!"

Next morning the sheriff raided the hall and seized the men who were found there, with the ex-

ception of the secretary. Turning to Micklin he said boastfully "I'll bet you a hundred dollars you——s won't hold that meeting tomorrow!" McRae was drunk.

The arrested men were searched and deported and, as was the case in every previous arrest and deportation, there was no resistance offered, no physical violence threatened, and no weapons of any character found upon any of the I. W. W. men.

That night the deputies were secretly assembled at the Commercial Club where they were given their final instructions by the lumber trust and ordered to report fully armed and ready for action at the blowing of the mill whistles. With these preparations the open shop forces were ready to go to still greater lengths to uphold "law and order!"

The answer of the I. W. W. to this damnable act of violence at Beverly Park and to the four months of terrorism that had preceded it was a call for two thousand men to enter Everett, there to gain by sheer force of numbers that right of free speech and peaceable assembly supposed to have been guaranteed them by the Constitution of the United States.

---

* (The incidents in the foregoing chapter are corroborated by the sworn testimony of I. W. W. men who were shot at, beaten, robbed, and abused; by citizens of Everett and Seattle who were also beaten and mistreated or who witnessed the scenes; by physicians, attorneys, public officials, members of craft unions, and by deputies who hoped to make amends by testifying to the truth for the defense.)

The Ketchum Home near Beverly Park

CHAPTER IV.

BLOODY SUNDAY

How shall we enter the kingdom of Everett? was the question that confronted the committee in charge of affairs in Seattle on the morning of November 5th. Inquiries at the Interurban office developed the fact that sufficient cars could not be had to accommodate the crowd. The cost of making the trip by auto truck was found to be prohibitive. At the eleventh hour the committee, taking the money pooled by the members, secured the regular passenger steamship Verona, and an orderly and determined body of men filed down the steps leading from the I. W .W. headquarters and marched by fours to the Colman Dock.

Their mission was an open and peaceable one. Cheerful, optimistic, enthusiastic, the band of social crusaders felt that the conquest of free speech was assured. Not for a moment did they think that the Everett Klu-Klux-Klan would dare resort to violent and criminal tactics in the broad daylight of that beautiful sunny day and in plain view of a host of conscientious Everett citizens.

Assisted by Harry Feinberg and John T. (Red) Doran, Captain Chauncey Wiman checked the number of men who went on board, stopping further entry when the legal limit of two hundred and fifty persons was reached, Feinberg joining the men on board in order to serve as the main speaker at the proposed meeting. Among those who secured passage were several who were not members of the free speech party, but in the work of checking, the tickets of these persons were not collected, their fares being paid in the lump sum that was handed

to the captain. Regular passengers of the Verona were informed that their tickets would be good for the steamer Calista, lying at Pier 3. Thirty-eight additional members of the free speech band joined the regular patrons who took passage on the Calista.

Laughter and jest were on the lips of the men who crowded the Verona, and songs of the One Big Union rang out over the sparkling waters of Puget Sound. Loyal soldiers were these in the great class war, enlightened workers who were willing to give their all in the battle for bread, happiness and liberty. Men of all callings these—logger, carpenter, laborer, railroad clerk, painter, miner, printer, seaman and farmhand, all united with one common aim—the desire to gain for Labor the right of free expression.

Among their number, however, were two individuals of a breed reckoned among the lowest order of the human species; two "stool pigeons," low informers upon whom even a regular detective looks down with contempt. One of these, carrying an I. W. W. card and in the employ of Snohomish county and the Everett Commercial Club under the direction of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, had sneaked out of the I. W. W. headquarters long enough to telephone Lieutenant Hedges of the Seattle Police force that there was a boatload of I. W. W. men leaving for Everett. There was no secret in connection with the trip, but that there exist such class traitors, relatively few as they are, to whom the enemies of the workers can look for information is one of the sad features of the class struggle. The "stool's" message was relayed to the Everett authorities and, after being revised by the advocates of the open shop, it finally reached the deputies in the form of a report that a boatload of I. W. W.'s, armed to the teeth, were about to invade, pillage, and burn the city.

At one o'clock the mill whistles blew; the mill deputies armed with their mill clubs, mill revolvers, rifles and shotguns, assembled at the mill headquarters—the Commercial Club—and from there

were transported in mill automobiles down the alleys and back streets to the City Dock.

Citizens were driven from the dock and a rope, guarded by armed deputies, was stretched across the land end to prevent access by any save men with guns. Part of the equipment of the Naval Militia was stored in readiness at the Commercial Club—a stubborn fact for those who deny that government is a class institution. At the Pacific Hardware Company, deputy Dave Oswald had an auto load of rifles and ammunition prepared for immediate transportation and use. In Captain Ramwell's office, at the point where the rope was stretched, there were stacked a number of high-power rifles, brought there from the same source. It is even rumored that there was a machine gun on the dock. On the scab tugboat Edison, moored at the north side of the dock, men armed with rifles lay in waiting. The Everett Improvement Dock to the south was also prepared for action. Hundreds of deputies were admitted to the City Dock and were lined up under the direction of Sheriff McRae, Deputy-Sheriff Jefferson Beard, and Lieutenant Charles O. Curtis, of the Officers' Reserve Corps of the National Guard of Washington. Boards were removed from the sides of the warehouses so as to command a view of the landing place, and sacks of potatoes and lumber were used as partial barricades. A few of the deputies were in the west warehouse at the extreme end of the dock, but the majority of them were in the larger warehouse to the east of the open docking space. Plentifully supplied with ammunition and "booze," the cowardly deputies lay hidden in this ambush. The scene was set and the tragedy of November Fifth about to be staged.

As the Verona cleaved the placid, sunlit waters of the Bay and swung up to the City Dock at Everett, shortly before two o'clock, the men were merrily singing the English Transport Workers' strike song,

"HOLD THE FORT!"

We meet today in Freedom's cause,
And raise our voices high;
We'll join our hands in union strong,
To battle or to die.

CHORUS

Hold the fort for we are coming,
Union men be strong.
Side by side we battle onward,
Victory will come!

Look, my comrades, see the union,
Banners waving high.
Reinforcements now appearing,
Victory is nigh.

See our numbers still increasing;
Hear the bugle blow:
By our union we shall triumph
Over every foe.

Fierce and long the battle rages,
But we will not fear.
Help will come whene'er it's needed,
Cheer, my comrades, cheer!

From a hillside overlooking the scene thousands upon thousands of Everett citizens sent forth cheer after cheer as a hearty welcome to the "invading army." High up on the flag-pole of the Verona clambered Hugo Gerlot, a youthful free speech enthusiast, to wave a greeting to the throng that lined the shore. Passenger Oscar Carlson and his friend Ernest Nordstrom, from their position on the very bow of the boat, caught the spirit of the party and endeavored to join in the song that resounded louder and clearer as many of the men left the cabins to go out upon the deck.

Completely filling the bow of the boat and blocking the passageway on either side, the singers crowded to the rail in the usual joyously impatient manner of holiday excursionists, and then for the first time observed a body of deputies march from the large warehouse and settle into lines across the back and sides of the open landing space on the dock, where Curtis, McRae, and Beard were stationed.

Waiting until Captain Ramwell's wharfinger, William Kenneth, had made fast the bowline to prevent the boat from backing out, Sheriff Donald McRae gave his belt holster a hitch to bring his gun directly across his middle and then lurched forward to the face of the dock. Holding up his left hand to check the singing, he yelled to the men on board:

"Who is your leader?"

Immediate and unmistakable was the answer from practically every member of the Industrial Workers of the World:

"We are all leaders!"

Angrily jerking his gun from its holster and flourishing it in a threatening manner, McRae cried:

"You can't land here!"

"The hell we can't!" came the reply as the men stepped toward the partly thrown-off gang plank.

A shot rang out from the immediate vicinity of deputy W. A. Bridges, then another, closely followed by a volley that sent them staggering backward. Many fell to the deck. Evidently the waving of McRae's revolver was the prearranged signal for the carnage to commence. The long months of lumber trust lawlesness had culminated in cowardly, deliberate, premeditated and foul murder!

Young Gerlot crumpled up and slid part way down the flag pole, then suddenly threw out both arms and crashed lifeless to the deck, his bullet-torn and bleeding body acting as a shield for several who had thrown themselves prostrate. Passenger Oscar Carlson threw himself flat upon the forward deck and while in that position seven bullets found their way into his quivering flesh, life clinging to the

shattered form by a strange vagary of fate. With a severe bullet wound in his abdomen, Ed Roth swayed back and forth for a moment and then toppled forward on his face.

When a bullet whistled past the head of Captain Chauncey Wiman, and another tore a spoke as thick as a man's wrist from the pilot wheel beneath his hand, he deserted his post to barricade himself behind the safe with a mattress, remaining in that position until the close of the hostilities.

At the first shot and during the first volley the unarmed men wildly sought cover from the deadly leaden hail. Those who had not dropped to the deck, wounded or seeking shelter, surged to the starboard side of the boat, causing it to list to an alarming degree, the fastened bowline alone preventing it from capsizing. Several men lost their footing on the blood-slimed decks and were pitched headlong overboard. There, struggling frantically in the water,—by no possible chance combatants—a storm of rifle bullets churning little whirlpools around their heads, one by one they were made the victims of lumber trust greed by the Hessianized deputies stationed at the shore end of the City Dock and upon the dock to the south. The bay was reddened with their blood. Of all who went overboard, James Hadley alone regained the deck, the rest disappearing beneath the silent waters to be dragged by the undertow out to an unknown and nameless ocean grave.

Young Joe Ghilezano seized the rail preparatory to jumping overboard, but seeing two men shot dead while they were in the water he lay down on the deck instead. While there a bullet pierced his hip, another went thru his back close to the spine, and a third completely tore off his left knee cap. Harry Parker slipped over the starboard side in order to gain the lower deck, and a rifle bullet from the vicinity of the tug Goldfinch, along the Everett Improvement Company Dock, ranged thru his back from left to right, just as his friend, Walter Mulholland, also wounded, pulled him in thru a hole torn

in the canvas wind shield. An abdominal wound laid Felix Baran low. The thud of bullets as they struck the prostrate men added to the ghastly sound caused by the firing of rifles and revolvers, the curses of the deputies and the moans of the wounded men.

Following the first volley the deputies who had been out in the open scuttled into the warehouses on either side. Thru their scattering ranks the scabs on the tug Edison poured their rifle fire toward the men on the Verona. Lieutenant C. O. Curtis pitched forward and fell dead upon the dock—the victim of a rifle bullet. One of the fleeing deputies paused behind the corner of the waiting room just long enough to flinchingly reach out his hand and, keeping his head under cover, emptied his revolver without taking aim. Deputy Sheriff Jefferson Beard fell mortally wounded as he turned to run, and was dragged into the warehouse by some of the less panic stricken murderers. Sheriff McRae, with a couple of slight wounds in his left leg and heel, was forced to his knees by the impact of bullets against the steel jacket which he wore, remaining in a supplicating attitude for a few seconds while he sobbed out in a quavering tone, "O-o-oh! I'm hit! I-I'm hit!! I-I-I'm hit!!!"

Placed on board the Verona to serve the interests of the lumber trust, what were the two Pinkerton operatives doing while the boat was landing and just before the first heavy firing commenced? Their actions were shrouded in mystery. But, as if anticipating something, one was seen directly after the first shot scurrying into hiding where he lay shivering until long after the firing had ceased. The other, while under cover, was struck on the head by a glancing bullet. He became so enraged at this lack of thoughtfulness on the part of his degenerate brothers that he emptied his revolver at their backs as they broke for cover. From a safe position on the dock, deputy H. D. Cooley, with a pair of field glasses, was tremblingly trying to spy for the approach of the Calista.

Inside the waiting room and the warehouses the drink-crazed deputies ran amuck, shooting wildly in all directions, often with some of their own number directly in the line of fire—bullet holes in the floor and a pierced clock case high up on the waiting room wall giving mute evidence of their insane recklessness. One deputy fled from the dock in terror, explaining to all who would listen that a bullet hole in his ear was from the shot of one of his associates on the dock.

"They've gone crazy in there!" he cried excitedly. "They're shootin' every which way! They shot me in the ear!"

Thru the loopholes already provided, and even thru the sides of the warehouses they blazed away in the general direction of the boat, using revolvers and high powered rifles with steel and copper-jacketed missles. Dum-dums sang their deadly way to the Verona and tore gaping wounds in the breasts of mere boys—an added reward by the industrial lords for their first season of hard labor in the scorching harvest fields. John Looney was felled by a rifle bullet and even as he fell shuddering to the deck another leaden missile shattered the woodwork and impaled one of his eyeballs upon a spear of wood, gouging it from the socket.

At the foot of the dock, protected by the Klatawa slip, (Indian name for runaway) C. R. Schweitzer, owner of a scab plumbing establishment, fired time after time with a magazine shotgun, the buckshot scattering at the long range and raking the forward deck with deadly effect. The pilot house was riddled and the woodwork filled with hundreds of the little leaden messengers that carried a story of "mutual interests of Capital and Labor." Deputy Russell and about ten others assisted in the dastardly work at that point, pouring shot after shot into the convulsive struggling heaps of wounded men piled four and five deep on the deck. One boy in a brown mackinaw suddenly rose upright from a tangled mass of humanity, the blood gushing from his wounds, and with an agonized cry of "My God! I

can't stand this any longer!" leaped high in the air over the side of the boat, sinking from sight forever, his watery resting place marked only by a few scarlet ripples.

Two bodies, one with the entire throat shot away, were found next morning washed up on the beach, and that fact was reported to the Everett police by Ed. and Rob. Thompson. That night some men fishing in a little sailboat far out in the bay saw five weighted objects about six feet long, and apparently wrapped in canvas, thrown overboard from a launch, but in none of the daily papers was there any mention of bodies having been found. Six uncalled-for membership cards, deposited by men who took passage on the Verona, may represent as many murders by the cowards on the dock. Those cards are made out to Fred Berger, William Colman, Tom Ellis, Edward Raymond, Peter Viberts, and Chas. E. Taylor. Some of the deputies gloatingly declared that the death toll of the workers was twelve men at the lowest count.

So wanton was the slaughter of the helpless men and boys that strong men who witnessed the scene turned away vomiting. From the hillside the women —those whom the deputies were pretending to protect from the "incoming horde,"—casting aside all womanly fears, raced to the dock in a vain endeavor to stop the commission of further crime, crying out in their frenzy, "The curs! The curs! The dirty curs! They're nothing but murderers!" They, as well as the men who tried to launch boats to rescue the men in the water, were halted by the same citizen deputies whose names head the list of Red Cross donors.

For a short period of time, seemingly endless hours to the unarmed and helpless men on the boat, the rain of lead continued. Tho the boat had righted itself, the men were still unable to extricate themselves from the positions into which they had been thrown. Near the top of one heap lay Abraham Rabinowitz, a young Jewish college graduate, and as he struggled to regain his footing a bullet tore

off the whole back part of his head, his blood and brains splashing down over Raymond Lee and Michael Reilly who lay just beneath him. Rabinowitz died in the arms of Leonard Broman, his "pal" in the harvest fields, without ever having regained consciousness.

"Hold me up, fellow workers!" suddenly called out Gus Johnson as he was fatally stricken by a bullet. "I want to finish the song." Then, above the din of the gunfire and curses of the deputies, the final verse of "Hold the Fort" rang out in defiance of industrial tyranny, and with the termination of the words "Cheer, my comrades, cheer!" the bright red death-foam flecked the ever-to-be silent lips of the brave Swedish revolutionist.

Splintering the stairways, seats and woodwork, and wounding many of the men crouched in hiding, thousands of rounds of ammunition found their way into the boat during the ten long minutes of the onslaught. Finally, with a 41 Colts revolver to enforce his demand, J. F. Billings ordered engineer Ernest Shellgren to back the boat away from the dock. With no pilot at the wheel the propeller churned madly backward for a moment, the bowline drew taut and snapped, and the Verona pulled away from the murderous crew of vigilantes. Not content with the havoc they had wrought at close quarters some of the deputies continued to fire as long as the boat was within range, a bullet from a high powered rifle shattering the left leg of Harry Golden, a youth of twenty-two years, when the boat was far out in the bay. Amputation of the limb was necessary, a cork leg daily reminding young Golden of the majesty of the law.

The Verona with its grim cargo of dead and wounded steamed toward Seattle, meeting the steamer Calista about four miles out, stopping just long enough for Captain Wiman to shout thru his megaphone, "For God's sake don't land! They'll kill you! We have dead and wounded on board now."

With unaccustomed fingers the uninjured men bathed the wounded, tearing up shirts and underclothing in order to bind up their injuries, and making the men as comfortable as possible during the two and one half hour return trip.

A few of the men on board had been armed. These voluntarily threw overboard their revolvers, together with the few empty shells that lay scattered upon the deck, George Reese alone having to be forced to discard the "souvenirs" he had picked up.

It was a quiet crowd that pulled into Seattle, not only because they realized that the class struggle is not all jokes and songs, but also in deference to the sufferings of their wounded comrades. This same spirit animated the men when they were met by drawn cordons of police at the Seattle dock, their first thought and first words being, "Get the wounded fellows out and we will be all right." In the city jail, located on the floor above the hospital, the same generous consideration of their wounded fellow workers' condition led them to forego the demonstration usually attending the arrest and jailing of any body of I. W. W. members.

The four dead members, their still forms covered with blankets, were first removed from the boat and taken to the morgue. Police and hospital ambulances were soon filled with the thirty-one wounded men, who were taken to the city hospital. The uninjured men were then lined up and slowly marched to the city jail. From the Calista the thirty-eight I. W. W. members were taken and placed in the county jail.

At the hospital, Felix Baran, shot in the abdomen, slowly and painfully passed away from internal hemorrhage. Dr. Mary Equi, of Portland, Ore., who examined the body, stated that with surgical attention there would have been more than an even chance of recovery.

No one will ever know how many brave workers were swept out to sea and lost, but Sunday, November Fifth, of the year Nineteen-sixteen, wrote in

imperishable letters of red on the list of Labor's martyrs who gave up their lives in Freedom's Cause the names of

FELIX BARAN;
HUGO GERLOT;
GUSTAV JOHNSON;
JOHN LOONEY;
ABRAHAM RABINOWITZ.

French, German, Swedish, Irish, and Russian Jew,—these are the true internationalists of the world-wide brotherhood of toil who died for free speech and the right to organize in this "land of liberty." To them Courtenay Lemon's tribute to the I. W. W. applies with full force.

"Again and again its foot-free members, burning with an indignation and a militant social idealism which is ever an inscrutable puzzle to local authorities, have hastened to towns where free speech fights were on, defied the police, braved clubbings, and voluntarily filled the jails to overflowing, to the rage and consternation of the police and taxpayers. It has acted as the flying squadron of liberty, the unconquered knight-errantry of all captive freedoms; and the migratory workers who constitute a large part of its membership, ever on the march and pitching their camp wherever the industrial battle is thickest, form a guerilla army which is always eager for a fight with the powers of tyranny. Whether they disagree with its methods and aims, all lovers of liberty everywhere owe a debt to this organization for its defense of free speech. Absolutely irreconcilable, absolutely fearless, and unsuppressibly persistent, it has kept alight the fires of freedom, like some outcast vestal of human liberty. That the defense of traditional rights to which this government is supposed to be dedicated should devolve upon an organization so often denounced as

'unpatriotic' and 'un-American,' is but the usual, the unfailing irony of history."(*)

Baran, Gerlot, Johnson, Looney, Rabinowitz,—these names will be a source of inspiration to the workers when their cowardly murderers have long been forgotten.

Those who survived their wounds, saving as pocket pieces the buckshot, copper and steel jacketed and dum-dum bullets extracted from their persons, were; mentioning their more serious wounds:

Harry Golden, age 22, shot in left leg, making amputation necessary.

Joseph Ghilazano, age 20, shot in shoulder and both legs, entire knee-cap shot off and replaced with a silver substitute.

Albert Scribner, age 32, severely wounded in hip, probably lamed for life.

Mario Marino, age 18, shot thru the lungs.

Edward Roth, age 30, severely wounded in abdomen.

Walter Mulholland, age 18, shot in buttock.

Carl Bjork, age 25, wounded in back.

Harry Parker, age 22, shot above abdomen, in back, and in legs.

John Ryan, age 21, wounded in right shoulder and left leg.

Leland E. Butcher, age 28, shot in the left leg.

J. A. Kelly, age 31, shot in right leg.

Hans Peterson, age 32, wounded in head.

Fred Savery, age 25, wounded in hip.

Steve Sabo, age 21, shot in left shoulder.

Robert Adams, age 32, shot in left arm.

Owen Genty, age 26, wounded in right kidney.

C. C. England, age 27, shot in left knee.

Nick Canaeff, age 35, shot in left arm.

Albert Doninger, age 20, wounded in left arm.

Brockman B. Armstrong, age 35, wounds on head.

E. J. Shapeero, age 24, wounded in right leg.

Carl Burke, age 25, shot in back and shoulder.

(*) Courtenay Lemon, "Free Speech in the United States." Pearson's Magazine, December 1916.

Ira Luft, age 27, shot in right side of back.
George Turnquist, age 26, wounded in left leg.
George Brown, age 21, shot in back.
D. J. McCarthy, age 37, shot in side of head and in right leg.
John Adams, age 28, wounded in right elbow.
Edward Truitt, age 28, shot in right elbow.

Others on the boat who were wounded were Oscar Carlson, passenger, nine severe bullet wounds in all parts of his body; L. S. Davis, ship steward, wounded in the arm, and Charles Smith, Pinkerton "stool pigeon" with a slight scalp injury.

The wounded men were none too well treated at the city hospital, only a part of the neglect being due to the overcrowded condition of the wards. Wounds were hastily dressed and in some cases the injured men were placed in jail at once where they had to care for themselves as best they might.

In Everett the deputies left the dock when the Verona had steamed out of the range of their rifle fire, taking with them the corpse of gunman C. O. Curtis, office manager of the Canyon Lumber Company, and deputy-sheriff Jefferson Beard, whose wounds caused his death the following morning. The injured deputies were H. B. Blackburn, James A. Broadbent, R. E. Brown, E. P. Buehrer, Owen Clay, Louis Connor, Jr., Fred Durr, A. J. Ettenborough, Athol Gorrell, Thomas Hedley, Joe Irving, James Meagher; Donald McRae, J. C. Rymer, Edwin Stuchell, and Charles Tucker. Hooted, hissed, and jeered at by the thousands of citizens on the viaduct and hill above the dock, these self-immolated prostitutes to the god of greater profits were taken to the hospitals for treatment.

Among the crowd of citizens was Mrs. Edith Frennette, who had been in Everett a couple of days in connection with a lumber trust charge against her, and with her were Mrs. Lorna Mahler and Mrs. Joyce Peters, who had come from Seattle to attend the proposed street meeting. Making the claim that Mrs. Frenette had threatened the life of Sheriff McRae with a gun and had tried to throw red pepper

into his eyes as he was being transported from the dock, the Everett authorities caused the arrest of the three women in Seattle as they were returning in an auto to meet the Verona at the Seattle dock. They were held several days before being released, no charges having been placed against Mrs. Mahler or Mrs. Peters, and the case against Mrs. Frenette was eventually dismissed, just as had been all previous charges made by McRae. These three arrests brought the total number of free speech prisoners up to two hundred and ninety-four.

What were the feelings of the Everett public directly following the massacre can best be judged from the report of an Everett correspondent to the Seattle Union Record, the official A. F. of L. organ.

"Your correspondent was on the street at the time of the battle and at the dock ten minutes afterward. He mingled with the street crowds for hours afterwards. The temper of the people is dangerous. Nothing but curses and execrations for the Commercial Club was heard. Men and women who are ordinarily law abiding, who in normal times mind their own business pretty well, pay their taxes, send their children to church and school, pay their bills, in every way comport themselves as normal citizens, were heard using the most vitriolic language concerning the Commercial Club, loudly sympathizing with the I. W. W.'s. And therein lies the great harm that was done, more menacing to the city than the presence of any number of I. W. W.'s, viz., the transformation of decent, honest citizens into beings mad for vengeance and praying for something dire to happen. I heard gray-haired women, mothers and wives, gentle, kindly, I know, in their home circles, openly hoping that the I. W. W.'s would come back and 'clean up.'"

Corroborating this is the report of President E. P. Marsh to the State Federation of Labor.

"A dangerous situation existed in Everett after the battle of November 5. Public feeling ran high and anything might have happened. Half a thousand citizens were under arms enraged at the Industrial

Workers of the World and deadly determined to stamp out their organization in Everett. It is no exaggeration to say that literally thousands of the working people of Everett were just as enraged toward the members of the Commercial Club who participated in the gun battle. * * * As an instance of how high the feeling ran let me tell you that on the following morning the mayor of the city appeared on the (shingle weavers') picket line with a high power rifle and told the union pickets that he had every reason to believe that an attempt might be made by snipers to pick them off. He asked them to scatter as much as possible, make no demonstration whatever, and declared he would defend them with his life if necessary."

Mayor Merrill, equally guilty with the deputies who were on the dock, taking advantage of a means of spreading information that was denied to the workers, directly after the massacre spoke from a soap box on the corner of Wetmore and California Avenues, telling all who would listen that he was not responsible for the trouble as the Commercial Club had taken the power away from him and put it in the hands of McRae. The insincerity of this vacillating lackey of the lumber trust was demonstrated by his brutal treatment of young Louis Skaroff, who with Chester Micklin and Osmond Jacobs, had been arrested and thrown into jail when the three, bravely taking their lives in their hands, attempted to speak on the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore two hours after the tragedy. It was on Monday night about ten o'clock that the night jailer took Skaroff into a room where Mayor Merrill and a man posing as an immigration officer were seated. The fake immigration officer tried to frighten the prisoner with threats of deportation, after which the jailer beat Skaroff across the head. Merrill arose and took a hand in the proceedings, buffeting the boy back and forth until he fell to the floor. Then, with the aid of the jailer, Skaroff's fingers were placed, one by one, beneath the legs of an iron bed in the room while the ponderous mayor jumped up and down on the

bed, mashing and tearing flesh and knuckles. Upon regaining consciousness the mutilated boy found himself in the jail corridor, crushed beneath Merrill's massive form, the mayor having grasped Skaroff by the hair in order to repeatedly hammer the lad's head against the hard cement floor. Finding that Skaroff's spirit could not be broken the cowards finally desisted. Skaroff was released at the end of eleven days.

Chaos reigned in Everett following the tragedy. That night over five hundred deputies patrolled the streets, fearing just retribution for their criminal misdeeds. Those who had been on the dock as parties to the massacre were overheard saying to each other, "We must stick together on this story about the first shot coming from the boat." Certain officials called for the state militia which was mobilized in Seattle but not used. One militiaman, a young lad named Ted Kennedy, refused to serve, claiming that it was the same as strike duty. The fact that the militia was mobilized at once, and that Governor Ernest Lister went to Everett to confer with officials and mill owners there, when he had refused to furnish protection or even to make an investigation at the request of the I. W. W. a short time before showed the governor's bias in favor of the employers. In this lumber district the militia was apparently the property of the mill owners.

A hastily gathered coroner's jury in Everett on November 6th brought in a verdict that C. O. Curtis and Jefferson F. Beard met death from "gunshot wounds inflicted by a riotous mob on the Steamer Verona at the city dock." If any of the jury dissented from its false statement they were too spineless to express their opinion. The deliberations were under the direction of Coroner A. R. Maulsby and the members of the jury were Adam Hill, C. E. Anthony, O. H. King, Chris Culmback, C. Sandstein, and Charles F. Manning.

The inquest was a farce. Those who were outside the "deadline" and who were willing to swear

that the first shots came from the dock were not permitted to testify, only sympathizers with the Commercial Club being called as witnesses. No real attempt to take testimony was made. The Seattle Central Labor Council on November 8th appropriated $100 for a more complete investigation after branding the Everett inquest as fraudulent in the following resolution:

"Whereas, It appears to this council that, following a lockout and open-shop campaign by Roland H. Hartley and others of Everett, Wash., the police and business men of that city have attempted to ruthlessly and lawlessly suppress all street speaking and demonstrations by labor organizations, and that unarmed men have been brutally beaten and terrorized, and

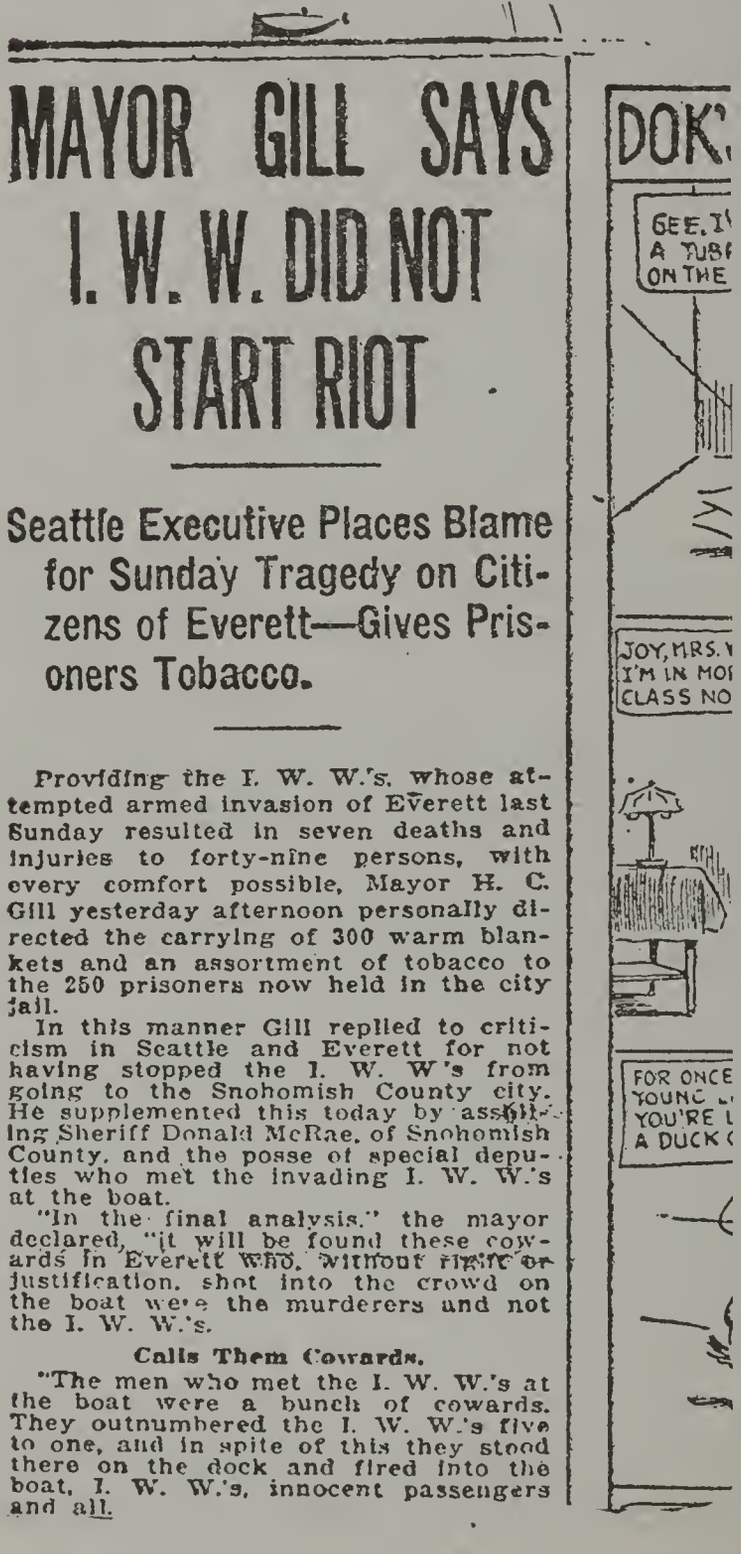
Whereas, This policy culminated in a bloody battle on Sunday, November 5, resulting in the death of seven or more men and the wounding of many more, and

Whereas, A fair inquest should be held to fix responsibility for this crime, and it appears that this has not been done, but that only witnesses favorable to the bosses have been heard;

Therefore, we demand another inquest, free from control by the forces opposed to labor, and a change of venue, if that be necessary."

Capitalism stood forth in all its hideous nakedness on that day of red madness, and public opinion was such that the striking shingle weavers had but to persistently press their point in order to win. A conference of prominent men, held in Everett on Monday, decided that the situation could be relieved only by a settlement of the strike. The mill men, when called in, abruptly refused to grant a single demand so long as the men were still out, an attitude they could not have maintained for long. Listening to the false advice of "friends of labor" and "labor leaders" the shingle weavers, albeit grudgingly, re-

turned to their slavery, unconditional surrender being the price they were forced to pay for the doubtful privilege of "relieving the social tension." But with the pay envelopes that could not be stretched to cover the increased cost of living, the weavers, discouraged to an extent and lacking their former solidarity, were forced to down tools again within a few weeks by the greatest of all strike agitators—Hunger.



MAYOR GILL SAYS I. W. W. DID NOT START RIOT

Seattle Executive Places Blame for Sunday Tragedy on Citizens of Everett—Gives Prisoners Tobacco.

Providing the I. W. W.'s, whose attempted armed invasion of Everett last Sunday resulted in seven deaths and injuries to forty-nine persons, with every comfort possible, Mayor H. C. Gill yesterday afternoon personally directed the carrying of 300 warm blankets and an assortment of tobacco to the 250 prisoners now held in the city jail.

In this manner Gill replied to criticism in Seattle and Everett for not having stopped the I. W. W's from going to the Snohomish County city. He supplemented this today by assisting Sheriff Donald McRae, of Snohomish County, and the posse of special deputies who met the invading I. W. W.'s at the boat.

"In the final analysis," the mayor declared, "it will be found these cowards in Everett who, without right or justification, shot into the crowd on the boat were the murderers and not the I. W. W.'s.

Calls Them Cowards.

"The men who met the I. W. W.'s at the boat were a bunch of cowards. They outnumbered the I. W. W.'s five to one, and in spite of this they stood there on the dock and fired into the boat, I. W. W.'s, innocent passengers and all.

The prisoners in Seattle were held incommunicado for several days. They were fed upon the poorest grade of prison fare, and were made to sleep on the winter-chilled cement floors without blankets. But Mayor Hiram Gill, realizing that public sentiment was with the imprisoned men, ordered that they be placed upon a proper

"McRae and his deputies had no legal right to tell the I. W. W.'s or anyone else that they could not land there. When the sheriff put his hand on the butt of his gun and told them they could not land, he fired the first shot, in the eyes of the law, and the I. W. W.'s can claim that they shot in self-defense."

Mayor Gill asserted the Everett authorities have no intention of removing the I. W. W.'s now in jail here to Snohomish County.

"They are afraid to come down here and get them," he declared, "because Everett is in a state of anarchy and the authorities don't know where they're at."

Asked what he would have done at Everett Sunday when the I. W. W.'s appeared at that city, the mayor said he would have permitted them to land.

"After they had been allowed to come ashore," he said, "I would have had them watched. Then if they violated the law I would have had them thrown in jail. There would have been no trouble that way."

No Fight in Seattle.

"Because Everett has been reduced to a state of anarchy by their high-handed methods of dealing with this situation it is no reason they are going to attempt to bring their fight down in Seattle, at least while I am mayor.

"If I were one of the party of forty I. W. W.'s who was almost beaten to death by 300 citizens of Everett without being able to defend myself, I probably would have armed myself if I intended to visit Everett again.

"If the Everett authorities had an ounce of sense, this tragedy would have never happened. They have handled the situation like a bunch of imbeciles, and they have been trying to unload these men onto Seattle. You don't see any disturbances here, because we don't use nickel methods."

The mayor charged that Everett officials were inconsistent in their handling of this situation. He said that they permit candidates for office to violate the city ordinances by speaking on the streets and yet run the I. W. W.'s out of town if they endeavor to mount a soap box.

violen
preach
structi
they m
city the
pal an
larg
corner
nance,
anarch
"Pre
dertoo
ous na
minat
Seat
armed
the pr
the le
wer
who,
infor
ceed
repli
ing s
ing o
"I
these
ere

diet, be given blankets and be allowed to see relatives and friends. On November 8th in the Seattle Times there appeared a statement by Gill that played a very important part in riveting the attention of the people upon the real criminals in the case. As the Times is a notoriously conservative and labor-hating sheet, being largely responsible for the raid on the I. W. W. and Socialist Halls on July 19, 1913, and for the attack by drunken sailors and soldiers on the I. W. W. hall on June 16, 1917, it can hardly be accused of exaggeration in favor of the workers in this interview.

Following the publication of this interview the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Seattle's "Commercial Club," endeavored to father a movement looking to the recall of Gill from office. Back of this attempt were Judge Thomas Burke, Louis Lang, Jay Thomas, and four stall-fed ministers, the Reverends W. A. Major, E. V. Shailer, Wood Stewart and

Carter Helm Jones. Of these, Thomas represented the liquor interests, Lang was the former police chief who had been discharged in disgrace and was herding scabs on the waterfront, Burke was chief spokesman for the low-wage open-shop interests, and as to the preachers—the less said the better. The lumber and shipping trusts had adequate representation at the "Law and Order" meeting as the attempted recall gathering was styled. But the whole thing fell flat when Gill himself offered to sign the recall for the opportunity it would give him to tell the real facts about the Everett case and the interests lined up behind the prosecution and the recall.

On the night of the tragedy a report was circulated in Seattle to the effect that every known I. W. W. would be arrested on sight. The answer to this was a street meeting at which nearly ninety dollars were collected as the first money toward the Everett Prisoners' Defense, and the packing of the hall for weeks thereafter by members and sympathizers who had not attended meetings for a long time. A temporary committee was chosen to handle the work of the defense of the imprisoned men, and this committee acted until November 16th, at which time at a mass meeting of I. W. W. members Herbert Mahler was elected secretary of the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee, Charles Ashleigh, publicity agent, and W. J. Houser, Morris Levine and Thomas Murphy as the committee. Richard Smith was afterward chosen to take the place vacated by Levine. This committee functioned thruout the case and up until the final audit of their account on June 12, 1917.

Within the jail a process of selection had gone on. One by one the free speech prisoners were taken from their cells and slowly led past a silent and darkened cell into whose gloomy depths the keenest eye was unable to penetrate. Again and again they were marched past the peephole, first with hats on and then with them off, while two sinister looking

fingers were slid out of a narrow opening from time to time to indicate those who should be held.

"I'd give two of my fingers," muttered one of the prisoners bitterly, "to know the skunk that belongs to those two fingers."

Little did he and his fellow workers realize that they were to learn later, thru the development of the trial, that the principal person engaged in the despicable work was George Reese, a member of the I. W. W. and of the I. L. A. It was on learning this that many of the actions of Reese were made clear; his connection with dock riots during the longshoremen's strike, his establishment of a "flying squadron" to beat up scabs on the waterfront, his open boast on the floor of I. L. A. meetings that his pockets were lined with money gained by robbing the strike-breakers after they had been beaten up and his advice to other strikers to do likewise, his activities just prior to the various dock fires, his seemingly miraculous escape in every instance when strikers were arrested, his election as delegate from the longshoremen to the Seattle Central Labor Council, his requests of prominent I. W. W. members that they purchase various chemicals for him, his giving of phosphorus to members of the I. L. A. and the I. W .W. with instructions as to how and where to use it, his attempts to advocate violence at an Everett street meeting, his gathering of "souvenirs" on the Verona—all actions designed either to aid the employers in their fights against the workers or to furnish an excuse for his further employment as an "informer."

Well may the question be asked—What was Reese doing just as the Verona docked in Everett on November 5th? Was Reese merely a "stool pigeon" or was he an "agent provocateur?"

Aiding Reese in the selective process was Charles Smith, the other Pinkerton operative who had been on the boat. One of the men first picked out was I. P. McDowell, alias Charles Adams, and this individual was weak enough to fall for the promise of immunity offered by agents of the lumber trust

if he would point out the "leaders" and then take the stand to swear that the men on the boat were armed and the first shot came from one of them. McDowell pointed out some of the men, but lacking the nerve to carry out the last part of the program he was held with the rest for trial. The seventy-four men thus picked were formally charged with murder in the first degree. The first charge carried the names of C. O. Curtis as well as that of Jefferson Beard, but later the name of Curtis was dropped from the information. The men so charged were:

Charles Auspos, alias Austin, age 38, teamster, born in Wisconsin.

James D. Bates, age 29, steam fitter, born in Illinois.

E. M. Beck, age 45, laborer, born in New York.

Charles Berg, age 22, laborer, born in Germany.

J. H. Beyer, age 56, painter, born in Michigan.

J. F. Billings, age 35, cook, born in Nebraska.

Charles Black, age 23, laborer, born in Pennsylvania.

J. J. Black, age 27, longshoreman, born in Massachusetts.

John W. Bowdoin, age 35, laborer, born in Sweden.

Frank Boyd, age 43, laborer, born in Illinois.

Pete Breed, age 26, laborer, born in Holland.

W. H. Brown, age 40, laborer, born in Maryland.

H. T. Cheetman, age 25, carpenter, born in Florida.

Fred Crysler, age 26, laborer, born in Canada.

Charles H. Cody, age 46, painter, born in Montana.

William Coffin, age 34, motorman, born in California.

Clarence Cyphert, age 35, logger, born in Washington.

Roy Davis, age 47, laborer, born in California.

William Davis, age 35, cook, born in Maryland.

Axel Downey, age 17, laborer, born in Iowa.

John Downs, age 28, sailor, born in Colorado.

Adolph Ersson, age 26, laborer and sailor, born in Sweden.

Harry Feinberg, age 25, cleaner and dyer, born in Illinois.

Charles Hawkins, age 28, laborer, born in Indiana.

Charles Haywood, age 46, miner, born in Minnesota.

E. F. Hollingsworth, age 29, fireman, born in North Carolina.

J. E. Houlihan, age 36, miner, born in Ireland.

Alfred Howard, age 28, coal packer, born in New York.

Harvey Hubler, age 21, teamster, born in Illinois.

Oscar Johnson, age 24, laborer, born in Sweden.

Victor Johnson, age 37, laborer, born in Finland.

J. A. Kelly, age 31, logger, born in Ohio.

Theodore Lauer, age 29, laborer, born in New York.

William Lawson, age 32, laborer, born in Washington.

Jack Leonard, age 27, laborer, born in Kentucky.

Pat Lyons, age 48, laborer, born in England.

Jim Mack, age 31, laborer, born in Ireland.

Joseph Manning, age 28, automobile repairer, born in Pennsylvania.

Laurence Manning, age 26, laborer, born in New York.

Ed Miller, age 48, painter, born in New York.

Harold Miller, age 21, gas fitter, born in Kansas.

John Mitchell, age 38, miner, born in Illinois.

George Murphy, age 28, laborer, born in Kentucky.

Louis McCall, age 24, laborer, born in Texas.

I. P. McDowell, alias Charles Adams, age 28, printer, born in Illinois.

C. D. McLennan, age 48, longshoreman, born in Georgia.

Carl Newman, age 30, laborer, born in Sweden.

John Nugent, age 38, laborer, born in New York.

Malachi O'Neill, age 34, blacksmith, born in Ireland.

Earl Osborne, age 33, logger, born in North Carolina.

Jack Paterson, age 24, laborer, born in Illinois.

Harston Peters, age 32, laborer, born in Virginia.

James Powers, age 47, sheet metal worker, born in Massachusetts.

John Rawlings, age 26, laborer, born in Wisconsin.

Michael J. Reilly, age 23, laborer, born in New York.

John Ross, age 36, laborer, born in Massachusetts.

Ed. Roth, age 31, longshoreman, born in New York.

Thomas Savage, age 50, machinist, born in New York.

E. J. Shapeero, age 23, timekeeper, born in Pennsylvania.

William Shay, age 28, laborer, born in Massachusetts.

H. Shebeck, age 24, laborer, born in Wisconsin.

Albert Shreve, age 40, laborer, born in Iillinois.

H. Sokol, age 26, laborer, born in Russia.

D. Stevens, age 21, longshoreman, born in Canada

Robert Struick, age 24, farmer, born in Michigan.

Frank Stewart, age 35, logger, born in Canada.

Tom Tracy, age 30, crane driver, born in Pennsylvania.

Thomas H. Tracy, age 36, teamster, born in Nebraska.

Edwart Truitt, age 28, longshoreman, born in Pennsylvania.

F. O. Watson, age 35, blacksmith, born in Louisiana.

James Whiteford (Kelly), age 36, cook, born in New York.

Abraham B. Wimborne, age 22, buss-boy, born in England.

William Winn, age 44, miner, born in Maryland.

All of these men, with the exception of J. H. Beyer, were heavily handcuffed and secretly transferred to Everett, forty-one being taken in the first contingent and the balance later.

Meanwhile the I. W. W. branches in Seattle had communicated with the General Headquarters of the organization and steps had been taken to secure legal aid. Attempts to enlist the services of Frank P. Walsh, former chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission, were unsuccessful. For various reasons other well known attorneys refused to ally themselves with the defense.

Attorney Fred H. Moore of Los Angeles, responding to the call from Seattle, reached Seattle just one week after the tragedy, on Sunday, November, 12th. Moore acted as chief counsel for the defense. He had first come into prominence thru his connection with the great free speech fight waged in Spokane, Wash., during the fall of 1909 and the spring of 1910. During that fight he handled the legal end of the cases of many hundreds of free speech fighters whose arrests ran into the thousands. He was also connected with various other cases in connection with the Industrial Workers of the World, notably that of Jack Whyte and others arrested in the contest for free speech in San Diego, Cal., and the famous Ettor-Giovannitti case that developed from the great strike of textile workers in Lawrence, Mass., in 1912. His sympathy with the workers and his understanding of the class struggle made him invaluable to the defense.

Of equal importance was attorney George F. Vanderveer, who was called into the case a little later than Moore. Vanderveer was formerly the prosecuting attorney for King county, in which position he won a reputation for clever and merciless cross-examination. One of Seattle's most prominent and brilliant lawyers, his wide acquaintance with all classes of people and his comprehensive knowledge of conditions in King and Snohomish counties, coupled

with his keen satire and compelling logic, gave a force to the case that cannot be underestimated.

Attorney E. C. Dailey of Everett, Caroline A. Lowe of Kansas City, Mo., and Harry Sigmond and J. L. Finch, both of Seattle, completed the list of counsel for the defense.

After being held in the Seattle city jail for nine days without any charge having been placed against them, one hundred twenty-eight men who were on the Verona were released, small bodies of them being sent out at different periods in order to avoid demonstrations from the public. Those who were released were:

James Agen, Frank Andrews, Brockman Armstrong, W. D. Beachy, J. H. Beyer, John Bolan, J. Bonfield, Elmer Brisbon, Leonard Broman, George Brown, James Burns, Martin Cable, Val Calze, A. L. Cameron, James Carlough, J. H. Carr, Ray Clark, Joseph Cline, Archie Collins, Robert Conning, Nick Conaieff, Joseph Costello, R. F. Dalton, Frank Dante, C. W. Davis, Lawrence Davis, Albert Doninger, John Donohue, William Dott, Joseph Dougherty, Ned Dustard, J. H. Elliott, C. C. England, John Fitzpatrick, A. Fletcher, Russell Free, Alfred Freeman, Ben Freeman, James Freeman, John Gibson, Frank Gillarkey, P. A. Gragler, Charles Gray, James Gray, Paul Grossman, Ed Gruberg, Raymond Gurber, Robert Hansen, Joe Harris, L. W. Harris, Arnold Hensel, Roy Howell, G. H. Isenberg, Carl Jacobson, George Johnson, Ray Johnson, John Karne, Henry Krieg, Fred Laveny, Henry Lea, Raymond Lee, William Ledingham, Charles Leider, Ira Luft, Ed Lynn, George Maguire, William Micklenburg, August Miller, Dennis Miller, Frank C. Miller, John Miller, Frank Millet, Roy Mitchell, William Montgomery, William Moore, James Murray, Leo McCabe, J. McCoy, Bernard Narvis, Al. Nickerson, Ben Noll, Tom Norton, Tom O'Connor, Jack Osborne, E. Peckman, Hans Peterson, A. Pilon, Ira Porter, Max Ramsey, Edward Rays, Herman Rechlenberg, Frank Reiner, Ernest Rich, John J. Riley, C. H. Ross, M.

Rountell, Steve Sabo, J. L. Samuel, Joe Sarracco, Ed Schwartz, Carl Schultz, H. Stredwick, Arthur Shumek, Charles Smith, Harry Smith, E. J. Smith, Cecil Snedegar, Frank Sofer, Stanley Stafl, Raymond St. Clair, John Stroka, Mike Stysco, C. Thomas, Richard Tibbs, John Utne, Joseph Vito, John Walker, Benny Warshawsky, F. Westwood, Ben Whitehead, Arley Whiteside, William Wilke, H. Wilson, Frank Wise, and Charles Wolskie.

Most of these were mere boys. Mere boys—but undaunted by their recent terrible experience on the Verona where the open shop fiends had fired upon them without warning. Mere boys—and yet they loyally marched straight to the I. W. W. hall as soon as they were released, there to inquire about the condition of their wounded fellow workers and to gain news of those who had been taken to Everett to answer charges of first degree murder. Mere boys—youthful enthusiasm shining on their beardless faces. Scattered among them were a few men of middle years, and here and there a grey head stood out in bold relief—but the majority of them were mere boys, youthful soldiers in the Social Revolution, fine and clean and loyal material called together by the compelling ideal of a New Society.

The predominance of young blood in the organization was noted in the report of the 1912 convention, where it was shown that ninety per cent of the membership were under thirty years of age, due of course to the fact that the modern tendency is to displace the older men in industry. As one wit has put it "If a man works as hard as the employers want him to he is worn out at forty-five; if he isn't worn out at forty-five he is not the kind of worker the employers want." Others have noted the percentage of the very young. John Graham Brooks, for instance, in "American Syndicalism—The I. W. W." has this to say:

"Of the same nature as a characteristic is the **youth** of the membership. The groups I saw in the West bore this stamp so unmistakably as to suggest

bodies of students at the end of a rather jolly picnic. The word 'bum' usually applied to them in that region does not fit them. There are plenty of older men, as there are men with every appearance of being 'down and out'—with trousers chewed off at the heels, after the manner of tramps, but in face and bearing they are far from 'bums.' In one of the speeches the young were addressed as 'best material;' because they could stand the wear and tear of racking journeys. They were free from family responsibilities, and could at any moment respond to the call of duty."

Bearing out this idea, tho along a somewhat different line, is an excerpt from an article by Anna Louise Strong which appeared in the Survey magazine just prior to the trial. This and other articles, together with the personal efforts of Miss Strong, whose official standing as a member of the Seattle School Board and as Executive Secretary of the Seattle Council of Social Agencies gave weight to her opinion, did much toward creating a favorable public sentiment during the trial. Says Miss Strong:

"The boys in jail are a cheerful lot. The 'tanks' which contain them are the tanks of the usual county jail, much overcrowded now by the unusual number. Bunks crowded above each other, in full sight thru the bars; a few feet away, all the processes of life open to the casual beholder. But they sit in groups playing cards or dominoes; they listen to tunes played on the mouth-organ; most of all they sing. They sing whenever visitors come, and smile thru the bars in cheerful welcome. Theirs is the spirit of the crusader of all ages, and all causes, won or lost, sane or insane. Theirs is the irresponsibility and audacious valor of youth. When they disliked their food, says a conservative newspaper, they went on strike and 'sang all night.' Sang all night! What sane adults in our drab, business-as-usual world would think of doing that? Who, in fact, could think of doing it but college boys or Industrial Workers of the World, cheerfully defying authority?"

Thru an absurd and laughable error J. H. Beyer, one of the seventy-four men charged with first degree murder, was among those who were released. Beyer immediately sought out and told attorney Moore his story. Then this "hardened criminal" walked the street of Seattle after public announcement had been made that he was willing to be taken to Everett to be incarcerated with the rest of his fellow workers, and that he awaited rearrest. The prosecution made no move to apprehend him, so on December 14th Beyer went to Everett and asked the authorities to lock him up. The Snohomish officials shamefacedly granted this unique request but they absolutely refused to refund the money Beyer had paid to deliver himself up to "Justice."

Before leaving Seattle Beyer made this statement: "I have waited here nearly a month since my release from the Seattle jail, yet no officer from Everett has come for me. In justice to the other boys accused I feel that I should share their lot as well as the accusation. I do not fear returning to Everett and giving myself up for I am confident that we shall be all exculpated. I am fifty-three years of age and have had many and varied experiences in my career, but I never expected to be accused of crime because I endeavored to assert my constitutional right of Free Speech."

The same day that Beyer surrendered himself, bonds of $50 each were secured for thirty-eight men who had been selected from the Verona and Calista and held on charges of unlawful assembly. Bail was given by James Duncan, Secretary of the Central Labor Council, and E. B. Ault, editor of the Union Record, both of Seattle. The released men were Dewey Ashmore, E. Belmat, C. Burke, L. E. Butcher, James Callahan, Harry Chase, Charles Day, A. J. Deach, Charles Ellis, J. Ford, Owen Genty, Hy Gluckstad, Frank Goff, James C. Hadley, Steve Heletour, A. O. Hooper, C. C. Hulbert, H. P. Hunsberger, C. L. Johnson, R. W. Jones, Joe Kelley, F. Lansing, W. O. Lily, E. McBride, William Mc-

Gregor, R. Nicholson, David O'Hern, Harry Parker, J. Ryan, Sam Scott, Mark Skomo, Thomas Smye, and F. Thorpe.

Altho an inquest had been held over the dead gunmen at such an early date after the tragedy and with such haste as to seem suspicious, repeated demands for an inquest over Labor's dead were of no avail. No such inquest was ever held. Only by strong protest were the bodies kept from the potter's field.

Thirty-eight charged with unlawful assembly, seventy-four in jail accused of first degree murder, thirty-two severely wounded and at least two of these crippled for life, six unaccounted for and probably shot and drowned, and five known dead in the city morgue,—this was the answer of the tyrannical timber barons to Labor's demand for free speech and the right to organize within the confines of the Lumber Kingdom.

CHAPTER V.

BEHIND PRISON BARS

"One of the greatest sources of social unrest and bitterness has been the attitude of the police toward public speaking. On numerous occasions in every part of the country the police of cities and towns have, either arbitrarily or under the cloak of a traffic ordinance, interfered with or prohibited public speaking, both in the open and in halls, by persons connected with organizations of which the police or those from whom they receive their orders did not approve. In many instances such interference has been carried out with a degree of brutality which would be incredible if it were not vouched for by reliable witnesses. Bloody riots frequently have accompanied such interference, and large numbers of persons have been arrested for acts of which they were innocent or which were committed under the extreme provocation of brutal treatment by police or private citizens.

"In some cases this suppression of free speech seems to have been the result of sheer brutality and wanton mischief, but in the majority of cases it undoubtedly is the result of a belief by the police or their superiors that they were 'supporting and defending the Government' by such invasion of personal rights. There could be no greater error. Such action strikes at the very foundation of government. It is axiomatic that a government which can be maintained only by the suppression of criticism should not be maintained. Furthermore, it is the lesson of history that attempts to suppress ideas result only in their more rapid propagation."

The foregoing is the view of the Industrial Relations Commission as it appears on page 98 and 99 of Volume One of their official report to the United States Government.

Jail at Everett

The growth of a public sentiment favorable to the Industrial Workers of the World was clearly shown on November 18th, at which time the bodies of Felix Baran, Hugo Gerlot and John Looney were turned over to the organization for burial. Gustav Johnson had already been claimed by relatives and a private funeral held, and the body of Abraham Rabinowitz sent to New York at the request of his sister.

Thousands of workers, each wearing a red rose or carnation, formed in line at the undertaking parlors and then silently marched four abreast behind the three hearses and the automobiles containing the eighteen women pall bearers and the floral tributes to the martyred dead.

To the strains of the "Red Flag" and the "Marseillaise" the grim and imposing cortege wended its way thru the crowded city streets, meeting with expressions of sorrow and sympathy from those who lined the sidewalk. Delegations of workers from Everett, Tacoma, and other Washington cities and towns were in line, and a committee from Portland, Ore., brought appropriate floral offerings. The solidarity of labor was shown in this great funeral procession, by all odds the largest ever held in the Northwest.

Arriving at the graveside in Mount Pleasant cemetery the rebel women reverently bore the coffins from the hearses to the supporting frame, surrounded by boughs of fragrant pine, above the yawning pit. A special chorus of one hundred voices led the singing of "Workers of the World, Awaken," and as the song died away Charles Ashleigh began the funeral oration.

Standing on the great hill that overlooks the whole city of Seattle, the speaker pointed out the various industries with their toiling thousands and referred to the smoke that shadowed large portions of the view as the black fog of oppression and ignorance which it was the duty of the workers to dispel in order to create the Workers' Commonwealth. The entire address was marked by a simple note of

resolution to continue the work of education until the workers have come into their own, not a trace of bitterness evincing itself in the remarks. Ashleigh called upon those present never to falter until the enemy had been vanquished. "Today," he said, "we pay tribute to the dead. Tomorrow we turn, with spirit unquellable, to give battle to the foe!"

As the notes of "Hold the Fort!" broke a moment of dead silence, a shower of crimson flowers, torn from the coats of the assembled mourners, covered the coffins and there was a tear in every eye as the bodies slowly descended into their final resting place. As tho loath to leave, the crowd lingered to sing the "Red Flag" and "Solidarity Forever." Those present during the simple but stirring service were struck with the thought that the class struggle could never again be looked upon as a mere bookish theory, the example of those who gave their lives in the cause of freedom was too compelling a call to action.

But the imperious exactions of the class war left no time for mourning, and ere the last man had left the graveside the first to go was busily spreading the news of an immense mass meeting to be held in Dreamland Rink on the next afternoon. At this meeting five thousand persons from all walks of life gathered to voice their protest against the Everett outrage and to demand a federal investigation. The labor unions, the clergy, public officials and the general citizenry, were represented by the speakers. This was the first of many mass meetings held by the aroused and indignant people of Seattle until the termination of the case.

The "kept" press carried on a very bitter campaign against the I. W. W. for some few days after the dock tragedy, but dropped that line of action when the public let them understand that they were striking a wrong note. Thereafter their policy was to ignore, as far as possible, the entire affair. Practically the only time this rule was broken was in the printing of the song "Christians At War" by John F. Kendrick, taken from the I. W. W. song book.

Funeral of GERLOT,
LOONEY and BARAN

The Seattle Post-Intelligencer gave a photographic reproduction of the cover page of the book and of the page containing the song. The obvious intent was to have people think that this cutting satire was an urge for the members of the I. W. W. to do in times of peace those inglorious things that are eminently respectable in times of war. Later the Times, and several other papers, reproduced the same cover and song, the only change being that certain words were inked out to make it appear that the song was obscene. And tho the P.—I. had published the song in full the Times placed beneath their garbled version these words, "The portions blotted out are words and phrases such as never appear in The Times or in any other decent newspaper." The simultaneous appearance of this song in a number of papers was merely a coincidence, no doubt; there is no reason to believe that the lumber trust inspired the attack!

Allied as usual with the capitalist press and "stool pigeons" and employers' associations in a campaign to discredit the workers involved in the case, was the moribund Socialist Labor Party thru its organ, the Weekly People.

The entire I. W. W. press came to the support of the imprisoned men as a matter of course. The Seattle Union Record and many other craft union papers, realizing that an open shop fight lay back of the suppression of free speech, also did great publicity work. But no particular credit is due to those "labor leaders" who, like J. G. Brown, president of the Shingle Weavers' Union, grudgingly gave a modicum of assistance under pressure from radicals in their respective organizations.

The Northwest Worker of Everett deserves especial praise for its fearless and uncompromising stand in the face of the bitterest of opposition. This paper had practically to suspend publication because of pressure the lumber trust brought to bear on the firm doing their printing. This, with the ac-

tion recorded in the minutes of the Commercial Club, "decided to go after advertisements in labor journals and the Northwest Worker," shows that a free press is as obnoxious to the lumber lords as are free speech and free assembly.

It scarcely needs noting that the International Socialist Review rendered yeoman service, as that has been its record in all labor cases since the inception of the magazine. Several other Socialist publications, to whom the class struggle does not appear merely as a momentary quadrennial event, also did their bit. Diverse foreign language publications, representing varying shades of radical thought, gave to the trial all the publicity their columns could carry.

Just why seventy-four men were picked as prisoners is a matter of conjecture. Probably it was because the stuffy little Snohomish county jail could conveniently, to the authorities, hold just about that number. The men were placed four in a cell with ten cells to each tank, there being two tanks of steel resting one above the other. Even with all the windows thrown open the ventilation was so poor that the men were made ill by the foul air.

For almost two full months after being transported to Everett the men were held incommunicado; were not allowed to see papers or magazines or to have reading matter of any description; were subjected to the brutalities of Sheriff McRae and other jail officials who had been prominent in previous outrage and participants in the massacre at the dock; and were fed on the vilest prison fare. Mush was the principal article of diet; mush semi-cooked and cold; mush full of mold and maggots; mush that was mainly husks and lumps that could not be washed down with the pale blue prison milk; mush—until the prisoners fitfully dreamed of mush and gagged at the mere mention of the word. Finding themselves slowly starving the men decided that it were better to complete the job at once rather than to linger in misery. A hunger strike was de-

clared! Meal after meal—or mush after mush—passed and the men refused to eat. Those who were thought to be leaders in the miniature revolt were thrown in the blackhole where there was neither light nor fresh air. Still the men refused to eat, so the authorities were forced to surrender and the men had something to eat besides mush.

Great discomfort was experienced by the prisoners from having to sleep on the cold steel floors of the unheated cells during the chill November nights. Deciding to remedy the condition they made a demand for mattresses and blankets from the authorities, not a man of them being willing to have the Defense Committee purchase such supplies. The needed articles were refused and the men resorted to a means of enforcing their demands known as "building a battleship."

With buckets and tins, and such strips of metal as could be wrenched loose, the men beat upon the walls, ceilings, and floors of the steel tanks. Those who found no other method either stamped on the steel floors in unison with their fellows, or else removed their shoes to use the heels to beat out a tattoo. To add to the unearthly noise they yelled concertedly with the full power of their lungs. Three score and ten men have a noise-making power that words cannot describe. The townspeople turned out in numbers, thinking that the deputies were murdering the men within the jail. The battleship construction workers redoubled their efforts. Acknowledging defeat, the jail officials furnished the blankets and mattresses that had been demanded.

A few days later the men started their morning meal only to find that the mush was strongly "doped" with saltpeter and contained bits of human manure and other refuse—the spite work, no doubt, of the enraged deputies. Another battleship was started. This time the jailers closed all the windows in an effort to suffocate the men, but they broke the glass with mop-handles and continued the din. As

before, the deputies were defeated and the men received better food for a time.

On November 24th an official of the State Board of Prisoners took the finger prints and photographs of the seventy-four men who were innocent until proven guilty under the "theory" of law in this country, and, marking these Bertillion records with prison serial numbers, sent copies to every prison in the United States. In taking the prints of the first few men brute force was used. Lured from their cells the men were seized, their hands screwed in a vise, and an imprint taken by forcibly covering their hands with lampblack and holding them down on the paper. When the others learned that some had thus been selected they voted that all should submit to having their prints taken so the whole body of prisoners would stand on the same footing. Attorney Moore was denied all access to the prisoners during the consummation of this outrage.

After obtaining permission of the jail officials a committee of Everett citizens, with the voluntary assistance of the Cooks' and Waiters' Union, prepared a feast for the free speech prisoners on Thanksgiving Day. When the women arrived at the jail they were met by Sheriff McRae who refused to allow the dinner to be served to the men. McRae was drunk. In place of this dinner the sheriff set forth a meal of moldy mush so strongly doped with chemicals as to be unfit for human consumption. This petty spite work by the moon-struck tool of the lumber trust was in thoro keeping with the cowardly characteristics he displayed on the dock on November 5th. And the extent to which the daily press in Everett was also under the control of the lumber interests was shown by the publication of a faked interview with attorney Fred Moore published in the Everett Herald under date of November 29th, Moore having been credited with the statement that the prison food deserved praise and the prisoners were "given as good food and as much of it as they could wish."

During the whole of McRae's term as sheriff

there was no time that decent food was given voluntarily to the prisoners as a whole. At times, with low cunning, McRae gave the men in the upper tank better food than those confined below, and also tried to show favoritism to certain prisoners, in order to create distrust and suspicion among the men. All these attempts to break the solidarity of the prisoners failed of their purpose.

On one occasion McRae called "Paddy" Cyphert, one of the prisoners whom he had known as a boy, from his cell and offered to place him in another part of the jail in order that he might escape injury in a "clubbing party" the deputies had planned. Cyphert told McRae to put him back with the rest for he wanted the same treatment as the others and would like to be with them in order to resist the assault. In the face of this determination, which was typical of all the prisoners, the contemplated beating was never administered.

McRae would oftentimes stand outside the tanks at a safe distance and drunkenly curse the prisoners and refer to them as cowards, to which the men would reply by repeating the words of the sheriff on the dock, "O-oh, I'm hit! I-I'm h-hit!! I-I-I'm h-h-hit!!!" Then they would burst forth with a song written by William Whalen in commemoration of the exploits of the doughty sheriff, a song which since has become a favorite of the migratory workers as they travel from job to job, and which will serve to keep the deeds of McRae fresh in the minds of the workers for many years to come.

TO SHERIFF McRAE

Call out your Fire Department, go deputize your bums;
Gather in your gunmen and stool pigeons from the slums;
You may resolute till doomsday, you ill-begotten knave;
We'll still be winning Free Speech Fights when you are in your grave!

You reprobate, you imp of hate, you're a traitor to the mind
That brought you forth in human shape to prey upon mankind.
You are lower than the snakes that cawl or the scavengers that fly;
You're the living, walking image of a damn black-hearted lie!

We'll still be here in Everett when your career is ended,
And back among the dregs of life your dirty hide has blended;
When you shun the path of honest wrath and fear the days to come,
And bow your head to the flag of red, you poor white-livered bum!

For the part you played in Everett's raid that fateful Sunday morn,
May your kith and kindred live to curse the day that you were born;
May the memory of your victims haunt your conscience night and day,
Until your feeble, insect mind beneath the strain gives way!

Oh, Don McRae, you've had your day; make way for Freedom's host:
For Labor's sun is rising, soon 'twill shine from coast to coast!
The shot you fired at Everett re-echoes thru the night
As a message to the working class to organize and fight!

Those graves upon the hillside as monuments will stand
To point the way to Freedom's goal to slaves thruout the land;
And when at last the working class have made the masters yield,
May your portion of the victory be a grave in the Potter's Field!

The end of the first week in January brought about the change in the administrative force of Snohomish county that had been voted at the November election. A new set of lumber trust lackeys were placed in office. James McCullogh succeeded Donald McRae as sheriff, and Lloyd Black occupied the office vacated by Prosecuting Attorney O. T. Webb.

The advent of a new sheriff made some slight difference in the jail conditions, but this was more than offset by the underhanded methods used from that time on with the idea of breaking the solidarity of the free speech fighters. Liquor was placed in the bathrooms where the men could easily get hold of it, but even among those who had been hard drinkers on the outside there were none who would touch it. Firearms were cunningly left exposed in hopes that the men might take them and attempt a jail break, thus giving the jailers a chance to shoot them down or else causing the whole case to be discredited. The men saw thru the ruse and passed by the firearms without touching them.

Working in conjunction with the prosecuting attorney was H. D. Cooley. This gentleman was one of the deputies on the dock, having displayed there his manly qualities by hiding behind a pile of wood at first, and later by telling others to go with rifles to head off the Calista which he had spied approaching from the direction of Mukilteo. Cooley had a practice among the big lumbermen, and in the case against the I. W. W. he was hired by the state with no stipulation as to pay. The general excuse given for his activities in the case, which dated from November 6th, was that he was retained by "friends of Jefferson Beard" and other "interested parties."

Attorney A. L. Veitch was also lined up with the prosecution. He was the same gentleman who had lectured to the deputies during the preceding fall as a representative of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, and had told the deputies how to handle "outside agitators." Veitch was also em-

ployed by the state as a matter of record, but there was a direct stipulation that he receive no pay from state funds. He also was employed by "friends of Jefferson Beard" and other "interested parties."

With Veitch there was imported from Los Angeles one Malcolm McLaren, an M. and M. detective and office partner with Veitch, to act as "fix-it" man for the lumber trust. McLaren was at one time an operative for the infamous Wm. J. Burns, and Burns has well said "Private detectives, ninety per cent of them, as a class, are the worst of crooks, blackmailers and scoundrels." Under McCullogh's regime this open-shop gumshoe artist had free access to the jail with instructions to go as far as he liked.

Just what the prisoners thought about jail conditions during the time they were incarcerated is given in the following report which was smuggled out to the Industrial Worker and published on March 3rd:

" 'Everything is fine and dandy on the outside, don't worry, boys.' "

"This is the first thing we heard from visitors ever since we seventy-four have been incarcerated in the Snohomish County Jail at Everett.

"While 'everything is fine and dandy on the outside' there are, no doubt, hundreds who would like to hear how things are on the inside. Let us assure everyone on the outside that 'everything is fine and dandy' on the inside. We are not worrying as it is but a short time till the beginning of the trials, the outcome of which we are certain will be one of the greatest victories Labor has ever known, if there exists a shadow of justice in the courts of America.

"One hundred days in jail so far—and for nothing! Stop and think what one hundred days in jail means to seventy-four men! It means that in the aggregate the Master Class have deprived us of more than twenty years of liberty. Twenty years! Think of it, and a prospect of twenty more before all are at liberty.

"And why?

"There can be but one reason, one answer: We are spending this time in jail and will go thru the mockery of a trial because the masters of Everett are trying to shield themselves from the atrocious murders of Bloody November Fifth.

"After being held in Seattle, convicted without a trial, except such as was given us by the press carrying the advertising of the boss and dependent on him for support, on November 10th forty-one of us were brought to Everett. A few days later thirty more were brought here.

"We found the jail conditions barbarous. There were no matresses and only one blanket to keep off the chill of a Puget Sound night in the cold, unheated steel cells. There were no towels. We were supplied with laundry soap for toilet purposes, when we could get even that. Workers confined in lower cells were forced to sleep on the floors. There were five of them in each cell and in order to keep any semblance of heat in their bodies they had to sleep all huddled together in all their clothing.

"The first few days we were in the jail we spent in cleaning it, as it was reeking with filth and probably had never been cleaned out since it was built. It was alive with vermin. There were armies of bedbugs and body lice. We boiled up everything in the jail and it is safe to say that it is now cleaner than it had ever been before, or ever will be after the Wobblies are gone.

"When we first came here the lower floor was covered with barrels, boxes and cases of whiskey and beer. This was moved in a few days, but evidently not so far but McRae and his deputies had access to it, as their breath was always charged with the odor of whiskey. It was an everyday occurrence to have several of the deputies, emboldened by liquid courage and our defenseless condition—walk around the cell blocks and indulge in the pastime of calling us vulgar and profane names. Threats were also very common, but we held our peace and were content with the thought that 'a barking dog seldom bites.'

"The worst of these deputies are gone since the advent of sheriff McCullogh, but there are some on the job yet who like their 'tea.' About two weeks ago every deputy that came into the jail was drunk; some of them to the extent of staggering.

"When we first entered the jail, true to the principles of the I. W. W., we proceeded to organize ourselves for the betterment of our condition. A 'grub' committee, a sanitary committee and a floor committee were appointed. Certain rules and regulations were adopted. By the end of the week, instead of a growling, fighting crowd of men, such as one would expect to find where seventy-four men were thrown together, there was an orderly bunch of real I. W. W.'s, who got up at a certain hour every morning, and all of whose actions were part of a prearranged routine. Even tho every man of the seventy-four was talking as loudly as he could a few seconds before ten p. m., the instant the town clock struck ten all was hushed. If a sentence was unfinished, it remained unfinished until the following day.

"When the jailer came to the door, instead of seventy-four men crowding up and all trying to talk at once, three men stepped forward and conversed with him. Our conduct was astonishing to the jail officials. One of the jailers remarked that he had certainly been given a wrong impression of the I. W. W. by McRae. He said, 'this bunch is sure different from what I heard they were. You fellows are all right.' The answer was simply: 'Organization.' Instead of a cursing, swearing, fighting mob of seventy-four men, such as sheriff McRae would like to have had us, we were entirely the opposite.

"Time has not hung heavy on our hands. One scarcely notices the length of the days. Educational meetings are frequent and discussions are constantly in order. Our imprisonment has been a matter of experience. We will all be better able to talk Industrial Unionism than when we entered the jail.

"The meals! Did we say 'meals?' A thousand

pardons! Next time we meet a meal we will apologize to it. Up to the time we asserted our displeasure at the stinking, indigestible messes thrown up to us by a drunken brute who could not qualify as head waiter in a 'nickel plate' restaurant, we had garbage, pure and simple. Think of it! Mush, bread and coffee at 7:30 a. m., and not another bite until 4 p. m. Then they handed us a mess which some of us called 'slumgullion,' composed of diseased beef. Is it any wonder that four of the boys were taken to the hospital? But we will not dwell on the grub. Suffice it to say we were all more or less sick from the junk dished out to us. We were all hungry from November 10th until January 22nd. One day in November we had beans. Little did we surmise the pains, the agony contained in that dish of innocent looking nutriment, beans. At two in the morning every man in the jail was taken violently ill. We aroused the guards and they sent for a doctor. He came about eight hours later and looked disappointed upon learning that we were not dead. This doctor always had the same remedy in all cases. His prescription was, 'Stop smoking and you will be all right.' This is the same quack who helped beat up the forty-one members of the I. W. W. at Beverly Park on October 30th, 1916. His nerve must have failed him or his pills would have finished what his pickhandle had started.

"During the entire time of our confinement under McRae, drunken deputies came into the jail and did everything in their power to make conditions as miserable as possible for us. McRae was usually the leader in villification of the I. W. W.

"When on January 8th a change of administration took place, we called a meeting which resulted in an interview with Sheriff McCullogh. Among other things we demanded a cook. For days the sheriff stalled us off. He professed that he wanted to do things for our comfort. We gave him ample time —but there was no change in the conditions. On January 15th the matter came to a climax. For five

days prior to this we had been served with what some called 'mulligan.' In reality it was nothing more or less than water slightly colored with the juice of carrots. If there had ever been any meat in it that meat was taken out before the mulligan was served. We called for the sheriff and were informed that he had gone away. We called for one of our attorneys who was in one of the outer offices at the time, but Jailer Bridges refused to let us see him. Having tried peaceful methods without success, we decided to forcibly bring the matter to the attention of the authorities. We poured the contents of the container out thru the bars and onto the floor. The boys in the upper tank did the same thing. For doing this we were given a terrible cursing by Jailer Bridges and the drunken cook, the latter throwing a piece of iron thru the bars, striking one of the boys on the head, and inflicting a long, ugly wound. The cook also threatened to poison us.

"That night when we were to be locked in, one of our jailers, decidedly under the influence of liquor, was in such a condition that he was unable to handle the levers properly and in some manner put the locking system out of commission. After probably three quarters of an hour, during which all of us and every I. W. W. in the world were consigned to hell many times, the doors were finally locked.

" 'By God, you s—s-of-b——s will wish you ate that stew,' was the way in which the jailer said 'good night' to us. The significance of his words was brought back to us next morning when the time came for us to be unlocked. We were left in our cells without food and with the water turned off so we could not even have a drink. We might have remained there for hours without toilet facilities had we not taken matters into our hands. With one accord we decided to get out of the cells. There was only one way to do this—'battleship!'

"Battleship we did! Such a din had never before been heard in Everett. Strong hands and shoulders were placed to the doors which gave up

An all-I. W. W. crew raising a spar tree 160 ft. long, 22½ inches at top and 54½ inches at butt, at Index, Wash.

Another view of the same operation.

their hold on the locks as if they had been made of pasteboard, and we emerged into the recreation corridors. The lumber trust papers of Everett, which thought the events of November 5th and the murder of five workers but a picnic, next day reported that we had wrecked the jail and attempted to escape. We did do a little wrecking, but as far as trying to escape is concerned that is a huge joke. The jail has not been built that can hold seventy-four I. W. W. members if they want to escape. We had but decided to forcibly bring the jail conditions to the attention of the authorities and the citizens. We were not willing to die of hunger and thirst. We told Sheriff McCullogh we were not attempting to escape; he knew we were not. Yet the papers came out with an alleged interview in which the sheriff was made to say that we were. It was also said that tomato skins had been thrown against the walls of the jail. There were none to throw!

Summing up this matter: we are here, and here we are determined to remain until we are freed. Not a man in this jail would accept his liberty if the doors were opened. This is proven by the fact that one man voluntarily came to the jail here and gave himself up, while still another was allowed his liberty but sent for the Everett authorities to come and get him while he was in Seattle. This last man was taken out of jail illegally while still under the charge of first degree murder, but he preferred to stand trial rather than to be made a party to schemes of framing up to perjure away the liberties of his fellow workers.

"Signed by the workers in the Snohomish County Jail."

If the authorities hoped to save money by their niggardly feeding policy the battleship of January 19th, mentioned in the foregoing account, convinced them of their error. With blankets tied to the cell doors they first tore them open and then twisted them out of shape. Taking a small piece of gaspipe they disarranged the little doors that controlled the

locking system above each cell, and then demolished the entire system of locks. Every bolt, screw and split pin was taken out and made useless. While some were thus engaged others were busy getting the food supplies which were stacked up in a corner just outside the tanks. When Sheriff McCullogh finally arrived at the jail, some three hours later, he found the prisoners calmly seated amid the wreckage eating some three hundred pounds of corned beef they had obtained and cooked with live steam in one of the bath tubs. Shaking his head sadly the sheriff remarked, "You fellows don't go to the same church that I do." The deputy force worked for hours in cleaning up the jail, and it took a gang of ironworkers nine working days, at a cost of over $800.00, to repair the damage done in twenty minutes. Twenty of the "hard-boiled Wobblies" were removed to Seattle shortly after this, but it was no trouble for the men to gain their demands from that time on. They had but to whisper the magic word "battleship" to remind the jailers that the I. W. W. policy, as expressed in a line in Virgil, was about to be invoked:

"If I cannot bend the powers above,
I will rouse Hell."

Lloyd Black, prosecuting attorney only by a political accident, soon dropped his ideals and filled the position of prosecutor as well as his limited abilities allowed, and it was apparent that he felt the hands of the lumber trust tugging on the strings attached to his job and that he had succumbed to the insidious influence of his associates. He called various prisoners from their cells and by pleading, cajoling and threatening in turn, tried to induce them to make statements injurious to their case.

Fraudulently using the name of John M. Foss, a former member of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. and then actively engaged in working for the defense, Black called out Axel Downey, a boy of seventeen and the youngest of the free speech prisoners, and used all the resources of his depart-

ment to get the lad to make a statement. Downey refused to talk to any of the prosecution lawyers or detectives and demanded that he be returned to his cell. From that time on he refused to answer any calls from the office unless the jail committee was present. Nevertheless the name of Axel Downey was endorsed, with several others, as a witness for the prosecution in order to create distrust and suspicion among the prisoners.

About this time the efforts of Detective McLaren and his associates were successful in "influencing" one of the prisoners, and Charles Auspos, alias Charles Austin, agreed to become a state's witness. Contrary to the expectation of the prosecution, the announcement of this "confession" created no sensation and was not taken seriously on the outside, while the prisoners, knowing there was nothing to confess, were concerned only in the fact that there had been a break in their solidarity. "We wanted to come out of this case one hundred per cent clean," was the sorrowful way in which they took the news.

Auspos had joined the I. W. W. in Rugby, North Dakota, on August 10th, 1916, and whether he was at that time an agent for the employers is not known, but it is evident that he was not sufficiently interested in industrial unionism to study its rudimentary principles. It may be that the previous record of Auspos had given an opportunity for McLaren to work upon that weak character, for Auspos started his boyhood life in Hudson, Wisconsin, with a term in the reformatory, and his checkered career included two years in a military guard house for carrying side-arms and fighting in a gambling den, a dishonorable discharge from the United States Army, under the assumed name of Ed. Gibson, and various arrests up until he joined the I. W. W.

This Auspos was about 33 years of age, five foot eleven inches tall, weight about 175 pounds, brown hair, brown eyes, medium complexion but face inclined to be reddish, slight scar on side of face, and

was a teamster and general laborer by occupation, his parents living in Elk River, Minn.

And while Auspos had by his actions descended to the lowest depths of shame, there were those among the prisoners who had scaled the heights of self-sacrifice. There were some few among them whose record would look none too well in the light of day, but the spirit of class solidarity within them led them to say, "Do with me as you will, I shall never betray the working class." James Whiteford, arrested under the name of James Kelly, deserves the highest praise that can be given for he was taken back to Pennsylvania, which state he had left in violation of a parole, to serve out a long penitentiary sentence which he could have avoided by a few easily told lies implicating his fellow workers in a conspiracy to do murder on November 5th.

Shortly after the attempted "frame-up" with Axel Downey there was a strong effort made to bring pressure upon Harvey Hubler. A "lawyer" who called himself Minor Blythe, bearing letters obtained by misrepresentation from Hubler's father and sister, attempted to get Hubler from his cell on an order signed by Malcolm McLaren, the detective. With the experience of Downey fresh in mind, Hubler refused to go out of the tank, even tho the "lawyer" stated that he had been sent by Hubler's father and could surely get him out of jail.

The next day twelve armed deputies came into the jail to force Hubler to accompany them to the office. The prisoners as a whole refused to enter their cells, and armed themselves with such rude weapons as they could find in order to repulse the deputies. The concerted resistance had its effect and a committee of three, Feinberg, Peters and Watson, acompanied Hubler to the office. Hubler there refused to read the letter, asking that it be read aloud in the presence of the other men. The detectives refused to do this and the men were put back in the tank.

That afternoon, with two other prisoners, Hub-

ler went out of the tank to wash his clothes. The jailers had been awaiting this opportunity and immediately locked the men out. The gunmen then overpowered Hubler and dragged him struggling to the office. The letter was then read to Hubler, who made no comment further than to say that the I. W. W. had engaged attorneys to defend him and he wished to be taken back where the rest of the men were.

Meanwhile the men in the tanks had started another battleship. A hose had been installed in the jail since the previous battleship and the deputies turned this upon the men as soon as the protest started. The prisoners retaliated by taking all mattresses, blankets, clothing and supplies belonging to the county and throwing them where they would be ruined by the water, and not knowing what was happening to Hubler they shouted "Murder" at the top of their voices. While the trouble was going on several members of the I. W. W., many Everett citizens, and one attorney tried to gain admittance to the jail office to learn the cause of the disturbance, but this was denied for more than an hour. Hubler was finally brought back and the battleship ceased. The county had to furnish new bedding and clothing for the prisoners.

After this occurence the prisoners were allowed the run of the corridors and were often let out to play ball upon the jail lawn, with only two guards to watch them. There were no disorders in the jail from that time on.

A committee of Everett women asked permission to serve a dinner to the imprisoned men and when this was granted they fairly outdid themselves in fixing up what the boys termed a "swell feed." This was served to the men thru the bars but tasted none the less good on that account.

The Seattle women, not to be outdone, gave a banquet to the prisoners who had been transported to the Seattle county jail. The banquet was spread on tables set the full length of the jail corridor, and

Judge J. T. Ronald

the menu ran from soup to nuts. An after dinner cigar, and a little boutonniere of fragrant flowers furnished by a gray-haired old lady, completed the program.

These banquets and the jail visitors, together with numerous books, magazines and papers—and a phonograph that was in almost constant operation—made the latter part of the long jail days endurable.

The defense was making strong efforts, during this time, to secure some judge other than Bell or Alston, the two superior court judges of Snohomish County, finally winning a victory in forcing the appointment of an outside judge by the governor of the state.

Judge J. T. Ronald, of King County, was selected by Governor Lister, and after the men had pleaded "Not Guilty" on January 26th, a change of venue on account of the prejudice existing in Everett's official circles was asked and granted, Seattle being selected as the place where the trial would take place.

Eleven of the prisoners were named on the first information, the men thus arraigned being F. O. Watson, John Black, Frank Stuart, Charles Adams, Harston Peters, Thomas H. Tracy, Harry Feinberg, John Downs, Harold Miller, Ed Roth and Thomas Tracy. The title of the case was "State vs. F. O. Watson et, al.," but the first man to come to trial was Thomas H. Tracy. The date of the trial was set for March 5th.

On November 5th, when he was taken from the Verona to jail, Thomas H. Tracy gave his name at the booking window as George Martin, in order to spare the feelings of relatives to whom the news of his arrest would have proven a severe shock. When the officers were checking the names later he was surprised to hear them call out "Tracy, Thomas Tracy." Thinking that his identity was known because of his having been secretary in Everett for a time, he stepped forward. An instant later a little fellow half his size also marched to the front. There

were two Tom Tracys among the arrested men! Neither of them knew the other! Tracy then gave his correct name and both he and "Little Tom Tracy" were later held among the seventy-four charged with murder in the first degree.

During all the time the free speech fighters were awaiting trial the lumber trust exerted its potent influence at the national capital to the end of preventing any congressional investigation of the tragedy of November 5th and the circumstances surrounding it. The petitions of thousands of citizens of the state of Washington were ignored. All too well the employers knew what a putrid state of affairs would be uncovered were the lumber trust methods exposed to the pitiless light of publicity. That the trial itself would force them into the open evidently did not enter into their calculations.

In changing the information charging the murder of C. O. Curtis to the charge of murdering Jefferson Beard the prosecution thought to cover one point beyond the possibility of discovery, which change seems to have been made as a result of the exhuming of the body of C. O. Curtis in February. Curtis had been buried in a block of solid concrete and this had to be broken apart in order to remove the body. Just who performed the autopsy cannot be ascertained as the work was covered in the very comprehensive bill of $50.50 for "Exhuming the body of C. O. Curtis, and autopsy thereon," this bill being made out in the name of the superintendent of the graveyard and was allowed and paid by Snohomish County. This, together with the fact that at no time during the trial did the prosecution speak of C. O. Curtis as having met his death at the hands of the men on the Verona, seems to bear out the contention of the defense that Curtis was the victim of the rifle fire of one of his associates.

So on March 5th, after holding the free speech prisoners for four months to the day, the lumber trust, in the name of the State of Washington, brought the first of them, Thomas H. Tracy, to trial, on a charge of first degree murder, in the King County Court House at Seattle, Washington.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PROSECUTION

The King County Court House is an imposing, five story, white structure, covering an entire block in the business section of the city of Seattle. Its offices for the conduct of the county and city business are spacious and well appointed. Its corridors are ample, and marble. The elevator service is of the best. But the courtrooms are stuffy little dens, illy ventilated, awkwardly placed, and with the poorest of acoustics. They seem especially designed to add to the depressing effect that invariably attends the administration of "law and order." The court of Judge Ronald, like many other courts in the land, is admirably designed for the bungling inefficiencies of "justice." Yet it was in this theater, thru the medium of the Everett trial, that the class struggle was reproduced, sometimes in tragedy and sometimes in comedy.

To reach the greatest trial in the history of labor unionism, perhaps the greatest also in the number of defendants involved and the number of witnesses called, one had to ascend to the fourth floor of the court house and line up in the corridor under the watchful eyes of the I. W. W. "police," C. R. Griffin and J. J. Keenan, appointed by the organization at the request of the court. There, unless one were a lawyer or a newspaper representative, it was necessary to wait in line for hours until the tiny courtroom was opened and the lucky hundred odd persons were admitted to the church-like benches of J. T. Ronald's sanctum, where the case of State versus Tracy was on trial.

Directly in front of the benches, at the specially constructed press table, were seats provided for the representatives of daily, weekly and monthly pub-

lications whose policies ranged from the ultra conservative to the extreme radical. Here the various reporters were seen writing madly as some important point came up, then subsiding into temporary indifference, passing notes, joking in whispers, drawing personal cartoons of the judge, jury, counsel, court functionaries and out-of-the-ordinary spectators,—the only officially recognized persons in the courtroom showing no signs of reverence for the legal priesthood and their mystic sacerdotalism.

Just ahead of the press table were the attorneys for the prosecution: Lloyd Black, a commonplace, uninspired, beardless youth as chief prosecutor; H. D. Cooley, a sleek, pusillanimous recipient of favors from the lumber barons, a fixture at the Commercial Club, and an also-ran deputy at the dock on November 5th, as next counsel in line; and A. L. Veitch, handsome in a gross sort of a way, full faced, sensual lipped, with heavy pouches beneath the eyes, a self-satisfied favorite of the M. & M., and withal the most able of the three who by virtue of polite fiction represented the state of Washington. From time to time in whispered conference with these worthy gentlemen was a tall, lean, grey, furtive-eyed individual who was none other than the redoubtable Californian detective, Malcolm McLaren.

At right angles to this array of prosecutors the counsel for the defense were seated, where they remained until the positions were reversed at the close of the prosecution's case. Chief counsel Fred H. Moore, serious, yet with a winning smile occasionally chasing itself across his face and adding many humorous wrinkles to the tired-looking crow-feet at the corners of his eyes; next to him George F. Vanderveer, a strong personality whose lightning flashes of wit and sarcasm, marshalled to the aid of a merciless drive of questions, were augmented by a smile second only to Moore's in its captivating quality; then E. C. Dailey, invaluable because of his knowledge of local conditions in Everett and personages connected with the case; and by his side, at

times during the trial, was H. Sigmund, special counsel for Harry Feinberg.

Seated a little back, but in the same group, was a man of medium height, stocky built, slightly ruddy complexion, black hair, and twinkling blue eyes. He was to all appearances the most composed man in the courtroom. A slight smile crept over his face, at times almost broadened into a laugh, and then died away. This was Thomas H. Tracy, on trial for murder in the first degree.

To the rear of the defendant and forming a deep contrast to the determined, square-jawed prisoner was the guard, a lean, hungry-looking deputy with high cheek bones, unusually sharp and long nose and a pair of moustachios that drooped down upon his chest, a wholly useless and most uncomfortable functionary who could scarce seat himself because of the heavy artillery scattered over his anatomy.

The court clerk, an absurdly dignified court bailiff, a special stenographer, and Sheriff McCullogh of Snohomish county, occupied the intervening space to the pulpit from which Judge J. T. Ronald delivered his legal invocations.

The judge, a striking figure, over six feet in height and well proportioned, of rather friendly countenance and bearing in street dress, resembled nothing so much as a huge black owl when arrayed in his sacred "Mother Hubbard" gown, with tortoise-shell rimmed smoked glasses resting on his slightly aquiline nose and surmounting the heavy, closely trimmed, dark Vandyke beard.

To the right of the judge as he faced the audience was the witness chair, and across the whole of the corner of the room was a plat of the Everett City Dock and the adjacent waterfront, together with a smaller map showing part of the streets of the city. The plat was state's exhibit "A." Below these maps on a tilted platform was a model of the same dock, with the two warehouses, waiting room, Klatawa Slip, and the steamer Verona, all built to scale. This was defendant's exhibit "1."

Extending from these exhibits down the side of

the railed enclosure, were seats for two extra jurors. The filling of this jury box from a long list of talesmen was the preliminary move to a trial in which the defendant was barely mentioned, and which involved the question of Labor's right to organize, to assemble peaceably, to speak freely, and to advocate a change in existing social arrangements. Capital was lined up in a fight against Labor. There was a direct reflection in the courts of the masters of the age-long, world-wide class struggle.

The examination of talesmen occupied considerable time. Each individual was asked whether he had read any of the following papers: The Industrial Worker, The Socialist World, or the Pacific Coast Longshoreman. The prosecution also inquired as to the prospective juror's familiarity with the I. W. W. Song Book and the various works on Sabotage. Union affiliations were closely inquired into, and favorable mention of the right to organize brought a challenge from the state. The testing of the talesmen was no less severe on the part of the defense.

Fifty-one talesmen were disqualified, after long and severe legal battles, before a jury was finally secured from among the voters and property owners who alone were qualified to serve. The jury, as selected, was rather more intelligent than was to be expected when consideration is taken of the fact that any person who acknowledged having an impression, an opinion, or a conclusion regarding the merits of the case was automatically excused from service. Those who were chosen to sit on the case were:

Mrs. Mattie Fordran, wife of a steamfitter; Robert Harris, a rancher; Fred Corbs, bricklayer, once a member of the union, then working for himself; Mrs. Louise Raynor, wife of a master mariner; A. Peplan, farmer; Mrs. Clara Uhlman, wife of a harnessmaker in business for himself; Mrs. Alice Freeborn, widow of a druggist; F. M. Christian, tent and awning maker; Mrs. Sarah F. Brown, widow, working class family; James R. Williams, machinist's

helper, member of union; Mrs. Sarah J. Timmer, wife of a union lineman, and T. J. Byrne, contractor. The two alternate jurors, provided for under the "Extra Juror" law of Washington, passed just prior to this trial, were: J. W. Efaw, furniture manufacturer, president of Seattle Library Board and Henry B. Williams, carpenter and member of a union.

Judge Ronald realized the importance of the case as was shown in his admonition to the jury, a portion of which follows:

"It is plain, from both sides here, that we are making history. Let us see that the record that we make in this case,—you and I, as a court,—be a landmark based upon nothing in the world but the truth. We may deceive some people and we may, a little, deceive ourselves; but we cannot deceive eternal truth."

On the morning of March 9th Judge Ronald, the tail of his black gown firmly in hand, swept into the courtroom from his private chambers, the assembled congregation arose and stood in deep obeisance before His Majesty The Law, the pompous bailiff rapped for order and delivered an incantation, the Judge seated himself on the throne of "Justice," the assemblage subsided into their seats —and the trial was opened in earnest. Prosecuting Attorney Lloyd Black then gave his opening statement, the gist of which is contained in the following quotations:

"You are at the outset of a murder trial, murder in the first degree. The defendant, Thomas H. Tracy, alias George Martin, is charged with murder in the first degree, in having assisted, counselled, aided, abetted and encouraged some unknown person to kill Jefferson Beard on the 5th of November, 1916.

"* * * As far as the state is concerned, no one knows or can know or could follow the course of the particular bullet that struck and mortally wounded and killed Jefferson Beard.

"* * * The evidence further will show that the first, or one of the first, shots fired was from

the steamer Verona and was from a revolver held in the hand of Thomas H. Tracy.

"* * * As to the killing of Jefferson Beard itself the probabilities are, as the evidence of the state will indicate, that he was killed by someone on the hurricane deck of the Verona because the evidence will show that the revolver shots went thru his overcoat, missing his coat, and thru his vest, and had a downward course, so that it must have come from the upper deck. The evidence will show that Thomas H. Tracy was on the main deck firing thru an open cabin window.

"* * * Of the approximately 140 special and regular deputies of Snohomish County about one-half were armed, some with revolvers, some with rifles and some with clubs.

"* * * When the fusilade had come from the I. W. W.'s on the Verona, a portion of the deputies ran thru a door into this warehouse, (indicating): a portion of them went into that warehouse, and used some of the knotholes there, and some shot holes thru which they could see, * * *"

Black then gave a recital of the lumber trust version of the events leading up to November 5th, bringing in the threats of an alleged committee who were said to have declared "that they would call thousands of their members to the city of Everett, flood the jails, demand separate trials, and tie up and overwhelm the court machinery, and that the mayor should consider that they had beaten Spokane and killed its chief, killed Chief Sullivan of that city, that they had defeated Wenatchee and North Yakima, and now it was Everett's turn."

"* * * That in furtherance of their threats that they would burn the city of Everett, that a number of mysterious fires took place, fires connected with some person who was opposed to the I. W. W. * * * And in addition, the I. W. W. members were arrested at different times preceding this trouble on the 5th of November and phosphorus was found upon their person either in cans or wrapped up.

"* * * At different times, the evidence will show, Sheriff Donald McRae and other peace officers of the city of Everett, including Mayor Merrill, received anonymous letters, and also received direct statements from the I. W. W. that they would get them; and, as one speaker put it, he says 'Sheriff McRae will wake up some day and say ' "Good morning, Jesus!" '

Black continued his recital of events, admitting the "Wanderer" incident, but he tried to sidestep the criminal actions at Beverly Park.

"Now, there happened at Beverly Park an incident that the State in this action doesn't feel that it has anything to do with this particular cause."

Ironical laughter at this juncture caused the removal of several spectators from the courtroom. So disconcerted was Black that he proceeded to give away the real cause of action against the I. W. W.

"The I. W. W. organization itself is an unlawful conspiracy, an unlawful conspiracy in that it was designed for the purpose of effecting an absolute revolution in society and in government, effecting it not by the procedure of law thru the ballot, but for effecting it by direct action. The I. W. W. meant to accomplish the change in society, not by organization as the labor unions hope to get higher wages, not to get into effect their theory of society by the ballot, as the Socialists hope, but that they expressly state that the election of a Socialist president will accomplish no good, and that sabotage should be employed against government ownership as well as against private production, so that directly they might put into effect their theories of government and society."

The defense reserved the right to make their opening statement at the close of the prosecution's case, thus leaving the state in the dark as to the line of defense, and forcing them to open their case at once.

Lester L. Beard and Chester L. Beard, twin sons of the deceased deputy sheriff, testified as to the condition of their father's clothing, Attorney Van-

derveer drawing from Lester Beard the admission that his father was an employment agent in Seattle in 1914.

Following them, Drs. William O'Keef Cox, H. P. Howard, and William P. West testified to having performed an autopsy on Beard and described the course of the bullet upon entering the body. Dr. West was an armed guard at the land end of the City Dock on November 5th, Dr. Cox was also on the dock as a deputy, and Dr. Howard carried a membership in the Commercial Club. They were the physicians present when the autopsy was performed.

The next witness, Harry W. Shaw, a wood and coal dealer of Everett, admitted having joined the citizen deputies because of a call issued by the sheriff thru the Commercial Club. Shaw went to the dock on November 5th, carrying, as he claimed, a revolver with a broken firing pin which he had hoped to have repaired on that Sunday on the way to the dock. He was close to Beard when the latter fell and helped to carry him from the open space on the dock into the warehouse. He afterward accompanied Beard to the hospital in an automobile and returned to the dock with Beard's unfired revolver in his possession. He swore that he had seen McRae sober three times in succession! When asked by Attorney Moore he gave an affirmative answer to this pertinent question:

"You knew that the matter of the enforcement of the city ordinances of Everett was peculiarly within the powers of the police department of the city, didn't you?"

Owen Clay was then called to the stand. Clay had been made bookkeeper of the Weyerhouser Mill about a year and a half before this, and had been given a membership in the Commercial Club at the time. He was injured in the right arm in the trouble at the dock and then ran around the corner of the ticket office, after which he emptied his re-

volver with his left hand. Attorney Vanderveer questioned this witness as follows:

"Who shot Jeff Beard in the right breast?"

"I don't know."

"Did you do it?"

"I don't know."

"Thank you! That's all," said Vanderveer with a smile.

The next witness was C. A. Mitchell, employee of the Clark-Nickerson Mill. He testified that he belonged to Company "B" under the command of Carl Clapp. His testimony placed Sheriff McRae in the same position as that given by the preceding witness, about eight to ten feet from the face of the dock in the center of the open space between the two warehouses, but unlike Clay, who testified that McRae had his left hand in the air, he was positive that the sheriff had his right hand in the air at the time the shooting started.

W. R. Booth, engaged in real estate and insurance business, a member of the Commercial Club, and a deputy at the dock, was next called. Attorney Cooley asked this witness about the speech made at an unspecified street meeting. Vanderveer immediately objected as follows:

"We object to that as immaterial and calling for a conclusion of the witness. He does not know who was speaking, nor whether he was authorized to do it, or brought there by the Industrial Workers of the World, or a hireling of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' society. It has happened time and time again that people are employed by these capitalists themselves to go out and make incendiary speeches and cause trouble, and employed to go out and fire buildings and do anything to put the opposition in wrong."

When questioned about McRae's position on the dock, Booth stated that the sheriff had both hands in the air. This witness admitted having been a member of the "Flying Squadron" and being a participant in the outrage at Beverly Park. He named others who went out with him in the same auto-

mobile, Will Seivers and Harry Ramwell, and stated that A. P. Bardson, clerk of the Commercial Club, was probably there as he had been out on all the other occasions. He said that he would not participate in the beating up of anyone, and that when the affair started he went up the road for purposes of his own. He was asked by Vanderveer as to the reason for continuing to associate with people who had abused the men at Beverly Park, to which he replied:

"Because I believe in at least trying to maintain law and order in our city."

During the examination of this witness, and at various times thruout the long case, it was only with evident effort that Attorney Vanderveer kept on the unfamiliar ground of the class struggle, his natural tendencies being to try the case as a defense of a pure and simple murder charge.

W. P. Bell, an Everett attorney representing a number of scab mills, a member of the Commercial Club and a deputy on the dock, testified next, contradicting the previous witnesses but throwing no additional light upon the case. He was followed by Charles Tucker, a scab and gunman employed by the Hartley Shingle Company and a deputy on the dock. Tucker lied so outrageously that even the prosecution counsel felt ashamed of him. He was impeached by his own testimony.

Editor J. A. MacDonald of the Industrial Worker was called to the stand to show the official relation of the paper to the I. W. W. and to lay a foundation for the introduction of a file of the issues prior to November 5th. A portion of the file was introduced as evidence and at the same time the state put in as exhibits a copy of the I. W. W. Constitution and By-Laws, Sabotage by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Sabotage by Walker C. Smith, The Revolutionary I. W. W. by Grover H. Perry, The I. W. W., Its History, Structure and Methods by Vincent St. John, and the Joe Hill Memorial Edition of the Song Book.

Herbert Mahler, former secretary of the Seattle I. W. W. and at the time Secretary-Treasurer of the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee, was next upon the stand. He was asked to name various committees and to identify certain telegrams. The unhesitatingly clear answers of both MacDonald and Mahler were in vivid contrast to the mumbled and contradictory responses of the deputies.

William J. Smith, manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company was then called to further corroborate certain telegrams sent and received by the I. W. W.

As the next step in the case prosecutor Black read portions of the pamphlet "Sabotage" by Smith, sometimes using half a paragraph and skipping half, sometimes using one paragraph and omitting the next, provoking a remonstrance from Attorney Vanderveer which was upheld by the Court in these words:

"You have a right to do what you are doing, Mr. Black, but it don't appeal to my sense of fairness if other omissions are as bad as the one you left out. You are following the practice, but I don't know of an instance where there has been such an awful juggling about, and it is discretionary with the Court, and I want to be fair in this case. I want to let them have a chance to take the sting out of it so as to let the jury have both sides, because it is there. Now, Mr. Vanderveer, I am going to leave it to you not to impose upon the Court's discretion. Any new phases I don't think you have the right to raise, but anything that will modify what he has read I think you have the right to."

Thereupon Vanderveer read all the omitted portions bearing upon the case, bringing special emphasis on these two parts:

"Note this important point, however. Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life."

"Sabotage places human life—and especially the life of the only useful class—higher than all else in the universe."

With evidences of amusement, if not always approval, the jury then listened to the reading of numerous I. W. W. songs by Attorney Cooley for the prosecution, tho some of the jurymen shared in the bewilderment of the audience as to the connection between the song "Overalls and Snuff" and defendant Tracy charged with a conspiracy to commit murder in the first degree.

D. D. Merrill, Mayor of Everett, next took the stand. He endeavored to give the impression that the I. W. W. was responsible for a fire loss in Everett of $100,000.00 during the latter part of the year 1916. Vanderveer shot the question:

"From whom would you naturally look for information on the subject of fires?"

"From the Fire Chief, W. C. Carroll," replied the mayor.

"We offer this report in evidence," said Vanderveer crisply.

The report of the Fire Chief was admitted and read. It showed that there were less fires in 1916 that in any previous year in the history of Everett, and only four of incendiary origin in the entire list!

The prosecution tried to squirm out of this ticklish position by stating that they meant also the fires in the vicinity of Everett, but here also they met with failure for the principal fire in the surrounding district was in the co-operative mill, owned by a number of semi-radical workingmen at Mukilteo.

The mayor told of having been present at the arrest of several men taken from a freight train at Lowell, just at the Everett city limits. Some of these men were I. W. W.s, and on the ground afterward there was said to have been found some broken glass about which there was a smell of phosphorus. The judge ruled out this evidence because there were other than I. W. W. men present, no phosphorus was found on the men, and if only one package were found it would not indicate a conspiracy but might have been brought by an agent

of the employers. This was the nearest the prosecution came at any time in the trial in their attempt to connect the I. W. W. with incendiary fires.

A tense moment in this sensational trial came during the testimony of Mayor Merrill, when young Louis Skaroff was suddenly produced in court and the question flashed at the cringing witness:

"Do you recognize this boy standing here? Do you recognize him, Louis Skaroff?"

"I think I have seen him," mumbled the mayor.

"Let me ask you if on the 6th day of November at about ten o'clock at night in a room in the City Hall at Everett where there was a bed room having an iron bedstead in it, in the presence of the jailer, didn't you have an interview with this man?"

Merrill denied having mutilated Skaroff's fingers beneath the casters of the bed, but even the capitalist press reported that his livid face and thick voice belied his words of denial.

And Prosecutor Lloyd Black remarked heatedly, "I don't see the materiality of all this."

Merrill left the stand, having presented the sorriest figure among the number of poor witnesses produced by the prosecution.

Carl Clapp, superintendent of the Municipal Waterworks at Everett, and commander of one of the squads of deputies, followed with testimony to the effect that sixty rifles from the Naval Militia were stored in the Commercial Club on November 5th. At this juncture the hearing of further evidence was postponed for a half day to allow Attorney Vanderveer to testify on behalf of Mayor H. C. Gill in a case then pending in the Federal Court.

On several other occasions Vanderveer was called to testify in this case and there were times when it was thought that he also would be indicted and brought to trial, yet with this extra work and the threat of imprisonment hanging over him, Vanderveer never flagged in his keen attention to the work of the defense. It was commonly thought that the case against Gill and the attempt to involve

Vanderveer were moves of the lumber trust and Chamber of Commerce directed toward the I. W. W., for in the background were the same interested parties who had been forced to abandon the recall against Seattle's mayor. Gill's final acquittal in this case was hailed as an I. W. W. victory.

Upon the resumption of the trial the prosecution temporarily withdrew Clapp and placed Clyde Gibbons on the stand. This witness was the son of James Gibbons, a deceased member of the I. W. W., well and favorable known in the Northwest. James Gibbons was killed by a speeding automobile about a year prior to the trial, and his widow and son, Clyde, were supprted by the I. W. W. and the Boiler Makers' Union for several months thereafter.

Clyde Gibbons, altho but seventeen years old, joined the Navy by falsifying his age. Charity demands that the veil be drawn over the early days of Clyde's training, yet his strong imagination and general untruthfulness are matters of record. He was shown in court to have stolen funds left in trust with him by Mrs. Peters, one of the persons against whom his testimony was directed. It is quite probable that the deceit about his age, or some other of his queer actions, were discovered and used to force him to testify as the prosecution desired. The following testimony bears out this idea:

"Who was it that you met at the Naval Recruiting Station and took you to McLaren?"

"I don't know his name."

"Well, how did you get to talking to this total stranger about the Everett matter?"

"He told me he wanted to see me in the judge's office."

"And they took you down to the judge's office, did they?"

"Yes, sir."

"And when you got to the judge's office you found you were in Mr. McLaren's and Mr. Veitch's and Mr. Black's office in the Smith Building?"

"Yes, sir."

Gibbons testified as to certain alleged conversations in an apartment house frequented by members of the I. W. W., stating that a party of members laid plans to go to Everett and to take with them red pepper, olive oil and bandages. Harston Peters, one of the defendants, had a gun that wouldn't shoot and so went unarmed, according to this witness. Gibbons also stated that Mrs. Frenette took part in the conversation in this apartment house on the morning of the tragedy, whereupon Attorney Moore asked him:

"On directing your attention to it, don't you remember that you didn't see Mrs. Frenette at all in Seattle, anywhere, at any time subsequent to Saturday night; that she went to Everett on Saturday night?"

"Well, I am quite sure I saw her Sunday, but maybe I am mistaken."

The judge upheld the defense attorneys in their numerous objections to the leading questions propounded by prosecutor Black during the examination of this witness.

Clapp was recalled to the stand and testified further that Scott Rainey, head of the U. S. Naval Militia at Everett, had ordered Ensign McLean to take rifles to the dock, and that the witness and McLean had loaded the guns, placed them in an auto and taken them to the dock, where they were distributed to the deputies just as the Verona started to steam away.

Ignorance as to the meaning of simple labor terms that are in the every-day vocabulary of the "blanketstiff" was shown by Clapp in his answers to these queries:

"What is direct action?"

"Using force instead of lawful means."

"What do you mean?"

"Well, either physical force, or conspiracy."

"You understand conspiracy to be some kind of force, do you?"

"It may be force."

When asked where he had obtained information about sabotage, this witness said that he had looked up the word in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, a work in which the term is strangely absent.

Clapp was the first witness to admit the armed character of the deputy body and also to state that deputies with guns were stationed on all of Everett's docks.

After excusing this witness, Cooley brought in copies of two city ordinances covering street speaking in Everett. One of them which allowed the holding of meetings at the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues was admitted without question, but the other which purported to have been passed on September 19, 1916, was objected to on the ground that it had not been passed, was never put upon passage and never moved for passage in the Everett City Council.

Richard Brennan, chauffeur of the patrol wagon, A. H. Briggs, city dog catcher, and Floyd Wildey, police officer, all of Everett, then testified regarding the arrest of I. W. W. members during August and September. Wildey stated that on the night of August 30 four or five members of the I. W. W. came away from their street meeting carrying sections of gaspipe in their hands. This was thought to be quite a blow against the peaceful character of the meeting until it was discovered on cross-examination that the weapons were the removable legs of the street speaking platform.

David Daniels, Arthur S. Johnson, Garland Queen, J. R. Steik. M. J. Fox and, later on, Earl Shaver, all of whom were police officers in Everett, gave testimony along somewhat the same lines as the other witnesses from Everett who owed their jobs to the lumber trust. They stated that the I. W. W. men deported on August 23rd, had made threats against McRae and several police officers.

Ed. M. Hawes, proprietor of a scab printing and stationery company, member of the Commercial Club and citizen deputy, gave testimony similar

to that of other vigilantes as to the trouble on November 5th. When asked if he had ever known any I. W. W. men offering resistance, Hawes replied that one had tried to start a fight with him at Beverly Park. Having thus established his connection with this infamous outrage, further questioning of this witness developed much of the story of the brutal gauntlet and deportation. Hawes told of one of his prisoners making an endeavor to escape, and when asked whether he blamed the man for trying to get away, answered that he thought the prisoner was a pretty big baby.

"You thought he was a pretty big baby?" queried Vanderveer.

"Yes, sir."

"Or do you think the men were pretty big babies and cowards who were doing the beating?"

The witness had no answer to this question.

"How much do you weigh?" demanded Vanderveer sharply.

"I weigh 260 pounds," replied Hawes.

Frank Goff and Henry Krieg, two young lads who were severely beaten at Beverly Park, were suddenly produced in court and the big bully was made to stand alongside of them. He outweighed the two of them. It was plainly evident who the pretty big baby was!

Howard Hathaway, law student and assistant to the state secretary of the Democratic Central Committee, was forced to admit his connection with the raid upon the launch "Wanderer" and also upon the men peacefully camping at Maltby. His testimony was mainly for the purpose of making it appear that James P. Thompson had advocated that the shingle weavers set fire to the mills and win their strikes by methods of terrorism.

Two newspaper reporters, William E. Jones of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and J. J. Underwood of the Seattle Times, were placed upon the stand in order to lay the foundation for an introduction of an article appearing in the P-I on Sunday morning,

November 5th. Jones testified that he was present at the Seattle police station when Philip K. Ahern, manager of the Pinkerton Detective Agency, requested the release of Smith and Reese, two of his operatives who had been on the Verona. Underwood stated that upon hearing of the treatment given the I. W. W. men at Beverly Park he had exclaimed, "I would like to see anybody do that to me and get away with it."

"You meant that, did you?" asked Vanderveer.

"You bet I meant it!" asserted the witness positively.

The two reporters proved to be better witnesses for the defense than for the prosecution.

Sanford Asbury, T. N. Henry, Ronald Johnson, John S. Donlan, and J. E. Gleason, then testified regarding the movements of the men who left Seattle on the Verona and Calista on the morning of November 5th. They uniformly agreed that the crowd was in no way disorderly, nor were their actions at all suspicious. The defense admitted that the Verona had been chartered but stated that there were passengers other than I. W. W. members on board.

The first witness from the Verona was Ernest Shellgren, the boat's engineer, who testified that he was in the engine pit when the boat landed and heard crackling sounds telegraphed down the smoke stack that he knew an instant later were bullets. He was struck by a spent bullet and ran to various places on the boat seeking shelter from the hail of lead that appeared to come from all directions, finally returning to the boiler as the safest place on the boat. He stated that he saw one man firing a blue steel revolver from the boat, only the hand and revolver being in his line of vision. The only other gun he saw was one in the hands of the man who asked him to back the boat away from the dock during the firing. He also stated that the I. W. W. men on the way over to Everett comported themselves as was usual with any body of passengers.

Shellgren was asked if he could identify John

Downs or Thomas H. Tracy as being connected with the firing in any way and he stated that he could not do so. The defense objected to the use of Down's picture, as it did on every occasion where a picture of one of the prisoners was used, on the grounds that the photographs were obtained by force and in defiance of the constitutional rights of the imprisoned free speech fighters.

Seattle police detectives, Theodore Montgomery and James O'Brien, who made a search of the Verona upon its return to Seattle, testified to having found a little loose red pepper, two stones the size of a goose egg tied up in a cloth, and a few empty cartridges. These two witnesses also developed the fact that in no case were regular bandages used on the wounded men, thus establishing the fact that no serious trouble was anticipated.

James Meagher, occupation "home owner," member of the Commercial Club and citizen deputy, testified that a hundred shots were fired from the Verona before a gun was pulled on the dock, one of the first shots striking him in the leg. This witness was asked:

"Did you see a single gun on the boat?"

"No sir," was his mumbled response.

The prosecution witnesses disagreed as to the number of lines of deputies stretched across the back and sides of the open space on the dock, the statements varying from one to four files.

Chad Ballard, Harry Gray, and J. D. Landis, of the Seattle police detective bureau, and J. G. McConnell, Everett Interurban conductor, testified to the return and arrest of Mrs. Frenette, Mrs. Mahler and Mrs. Peters, after the trouble on November 5th. The police officers also told of a further searching of the Verona on its return. The defense admitted that some of the members had red pepper in their possession and stated that they would ask the judge to instruct the jury that red pepper is a weapon of defense and not of offense and that murder cannot be committed with red pepper.

Elmer Buehrer, engineer at the Everett High School, and citizen deputy, gave testimony that was halting, confused and relatively unimportant. He was prompted by the prosecution to such an extent that Attorney Vanderveer at the close of one question said, "Look at me and not at counsel."

"Look where you please," cried Cooley angrily.

"Well, look where you please," rejoined Vanderveer. "He can't help you."

It was apparent that the only reason for putting on this witness and former witness Meagher was because of a desire to create sympathy thru the fact that they had been wounded on the dock.

Edward Armstrong, master mariner on the Verona, testified that he had thrown out the spring line and lifted out the gate when the firing started. He fell to the deck behind a little jog, against the bulkhead, and while in that position two bullets went thru his cap. Altho this witness stated that he judged from the sound that the first shot came from some place to the rear of him, his testimony as to the attitude of McRae was as follows:

"I seen him with his right hand hanging on the butt of the gun."

"And that was before there was any shooting?"

"Yes sir."

As to the condition of the boat after the trouble he gave an affirmative answer to the question:

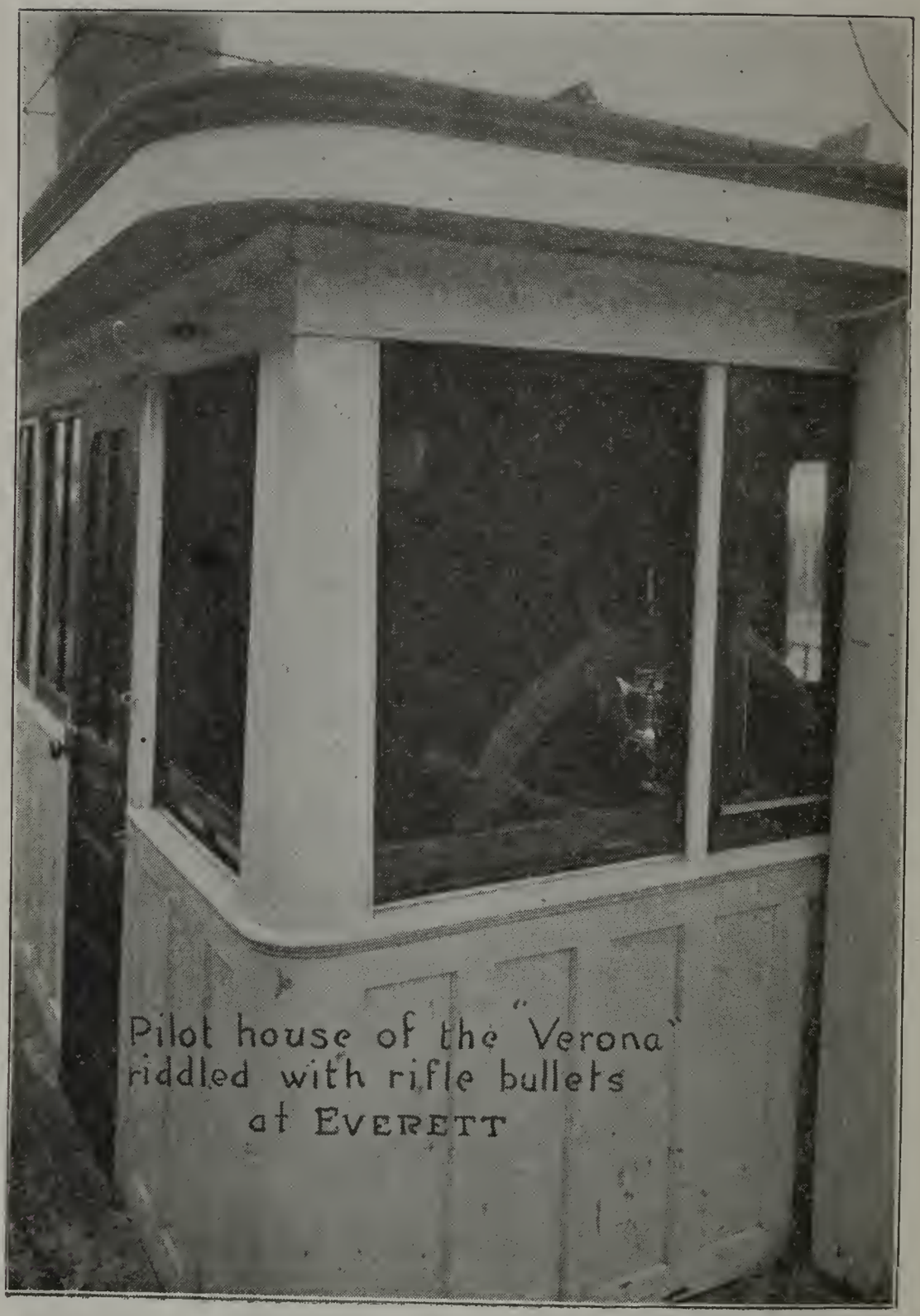
"You know that the whole front of the pilot house and the whole front of this bulkhead front of the forward deck leading to the hurricane deck is full of B. B. shot, don't you?"

James Broadbent, manager of the Clark-Nickerson Mill, and a citizen deputy, followed Armstrong with some unimportant testimony.

L. S. Davis, steward on the Verona, also stated that McRae committed the first overt act in taking hold of his gun. He was asked:

"He had his hand on his gun while he was still facing you?"

"Yes sir. I could see it plainly," answered Davis.



Pilot house of the "Verona"
riddled with rifle bullets
at EVERETT

"That was before he started to turn, before he was hit?"

"Yes sir."

Davis was wounded in the arm as he was on the pilot house steps.

He was asked about the general disposition, manner and appearance of the men on the Verona on the way over to Everett, and answered:

"I thought they were pretty nicely behaved for men—for such a crowd as that."

"Any rough talk; any rough, ugly looks?"

"No sir."

"Any guns?"

"No."

"Any threats?"

"I didn't hear any threats."

"Jolly, good-natured bunch of boys?"

"Yes."

"Lots of young boys among them, weren't there?"

"Yes, quite a few."

Davis stated that three passengers got off at Edmunds on the way up to Everett, thus establishing the fact that there were other than I. W. W. men on board.

R. S. "Scott" Rainey, commercial manager of the Puget Sound Telephone Company and a citizen deputy, was called and examined at some length before it was discovered that he was not an endorsed witness. This was the second time that the prosecution had turned this trick. Vanderveer objected, stating that there would be two hundred endorsed witnesses who would not be used.

"Oh no!" returned Mr. Veitch.

"Well," said Vanderveer, "a hundred then. A hundred we dare you to produce!"

"We will take that dare," responded Veitch. But the prosecution failed to keep their word, and deputy Dave Oswald of the Pacific Hardware Company, who during the various deportations tried to have the I. W. W. men stripped, covered with hot

tar, rolled in feathers and ridden out of town on a rail, and a number of his equally degenerate brother outlaws were never produced in court.

Rainey testified that he had seen a quantity of murderous looking black-jacks in the Commercial Club for distribution to the deputies. He also saw men fall overboard from the Verona and saw none of them rescued. He thought there were twenty-five men with guns on the boat, and he did his firing at the main deck.

"And you didn't care whether you hit one of the twenty-five or one of the other two hundred and twenty-five?" scornfully inquired Vanderveer.

"No sir," said the miserable witness.

The next witness called was William Kenneth, city dock wharfinger in the employ of Captain Ramwell. This witness testified that there were numerous holes in the warehouses that were smooth on the inside and splintered on the outside, thus indicating that they were from shots blindly fired thru the walls from within. On being recalled on the Monday morning session of March 26th the witness said he wished to state that he was unable to testify from which direction the holes in the warehouses had been made. It appeared that he had discovered the bullet marks to have been whittled with a penknife since he had last viewed them.

Arthur Blair Gorrell, of Spokane, student at the State University, was on the dock during the trouble and was wounded in the left shoulder blade. He stated that he knew that McRae had his gun drawn before he was shot.

Captain K. L. Forbes, of the scab tugboat Edison, next took the witness chair. He didn't like the idea of calling his crew scabs for the engineer carried a union card. When questioned about the actions of the scab cook on the Edison, this witness would not state positively that the man was not firing directly across the open space on the dock at the Verona and in line with Curtis and other deputies.

Thomas E. Headlee, ex-mayor of Everett, bookkeeper at the Clark-Nickerson mill, and a citizen deputy, said he went whenever and wherever he was called to go by the sheriff.

"Then it's just like this," said Vanderveer, "when you pull the string, up jumps Headlee?"

This witness tried to blame all the fires in Everett onto the I. W. W. and the absurdity of his testimony brought this question from the defense:

"Just on general principles you blame it on the I. W. W.?"

"Sure!" replied the witness, "I got their reputation over in Wenatchee from my brother-in-law who runs a big orchard there."

Lewis Connor, member of the Commercial Club, and his friend, Edwin Stuchell, university student, both of whom were deputies on the dock on November 5th, then testified, but developed nothing of importance. Stuchell's father was part owner of the Eclipse mill and was said to have been on the board of directors of the Commercial Club. These witnesses were followed by Raymond E. Brown, owner of an Everett shoe store, a weak-kneed witness who had been sworn in as a deputy by W. W. Blain, secretary of the Commercial Club.

One of the greatest sensations in this sensational trial was when former sheriff Donald McRae took the stand on Tuesday, March 27th.

McRae was sober!

The sheriff was fifty years of age, of medium height, inclined to stoutness, smooth-shaven, with swinish eyes set closely on either side of a pink-tinted, hawk-like nose that curved just above a hard, cruel and excessively large mouth. The sneering speech and contemptible manner of this witness lent weight to the admissions of his brutality that had been dragged from reluctant state's witnesses thru the clever and cutting cross-examination conducted by Moore and Vanderveer.

McRae told of his former union affiliations, having once been International Secretary of the Shingle

Weavers' Union, and on another occasion the editor of their paper—but he admitted that he had never in his life read a book on political economy.

He detailed the story of the arrests, deportations and other similar actions against the striking shingle weavers and the I. W. W. members, the recital including an account of the "riot" at the jail, the deportation of Feinberg and Roberts, the shooting at the launch "Wanderer" and the jailing of its passengers, and the seizing of forty-one men and their deportation at Beverly Park. McRae's callous admissions of brutality discounted any favorable impression his testimony might otherwise have conveyed to the jury.

He admitted having ordered the taking of the funds of James Orr to pay the fares of workers deported on August 23rd, but denied the truth of an account in the Everett Herald of that date in which it was said that I. W. W. men had made some remarks to him "whereupon Sheriff McRae and police officer * * promptly retaliated by cracking the I. W. W.'s on the jaw with husky fists."

Regarding the launch "Wanderer" the sheriff was asked:

"Did you strike Captain Mitten over the head with the butt of your gun?"

"Certainly did!" replied McRae with brutal conciseness.

"Did any blood flow?"

"A little, not much."

"Not enough to arouse any sympathy in you?"

"No," said the sheriff unfeelingly.

"Did you strike a little Finnish fellow over the head with a gun?"

"I certainly did!"

"And split his head open and the blood ran out, but not enought to move you to any sympathy?"

"No, not a bit!" viciously answered McRae.

"Did you hit any others?" inquired Vanderveer.

"No, not then."

"Why not?"

"They probably seen what happened to the captain and the other fellow for getting gay."

As to the holding of Mitten in jail for a number of days on a charge of resisting an officer, and his final release, McRae was asked:

"Why didn't you try him on that charge?"

"Because when we let the I. W. W.'s go they insisted on him going, too, and I said, 'all right, take him along.'"

"You did whatever the I. W. W.'s wanted in that?"

"Well, I was glad to get rid of them," remarked the sheriff.

McRae said that none of the men taken to Beverly Park were beaten on the dock before being placed in automobiles for deportation, but on cross-examination he admitted that one of the deputies got in a mix-up and was beaten by a brother deputy. The sheriff stated that he took one man out to Beverly Park in a roadster, and had then returned to Everett to attend a dance given by the Elks' lodge.

In relating the events on November 5th, McRae's story did not differ materially from that of the witnesses who had already testified. He stated that a bullet passed thru his foot, striking the heel of his shoe, and coming out of the side. The shoe was then offered in evidence. He testified that another shot struck the calf of his leg and passed completely thru the limb. Both these wounds were from the rear. His entire suit was offered in evidence. The coat had nine bullet holes in it, yet McRae was not injured at all in the upper portion of his body! The sheriff stated that he fired twenty shots in all, and was then removed to the Sister's Hospital while the shooting was still in progress.

McRae then identified Ed Roth, James Kelly and Thomas H. Tracy as three of the I. W. W. men who were most active in firing from the Verona. In his identification of Tracy, McRae stated that the defendant was in the second or third cabin window aft the door, and was hanging out of the window

with his breast against the sill and his elbow on the ledge. Vanderveer then placed himself in the position described by the sheriff and requested McRae to assume the same attitude he was in at the time he saw Tracy. Upon doing this it was apparent that the edge of the window sill would have cut off all view of Tracy's face from the sheriff, so McRae endeavored to alter his testimony to make it appear that Tracy's face was a foot or more inside the cabin window. This was the first identification of Tracy or other men on the boat that was attempted by the prosecution.

The sheriff stated that there were only twenty or twenty-five armed men on the Verona, and he admitted, before he left the stand, that he had told Attorney Vanderveer it was a pity that the spring line on the Verona did not break when the boat tilted so as to drown all the I. W. W.'s in the Bay.

Charles Auspos, alias Charles Austin, followed McRae as the state's witness second in importance only to the ex-sheriff. The testimony of these two was relied upon for a conviction.

Just why Auspos joined the I. W. W. will never be known, but his claim was that he could not work in the Dakota harvest fields or ride on the freight trains without an I. W. W. card. He was asked:

"When you did line up, you were then willingly a member, were you?"

"Yes sir."

"And you did not go to Yakima and come back to Seattle to fight for free speech because you were compelled to do so?" asked Moore.

"No," replied Auspos, "there was no compulsion."

Auspos stated that he was willing to take a chance in the fight for free speech and that the worst he expected was something similar to the happenings at Beverly Park. That he was not so willing in his testimony was shown by the uneasy actions of the prosecution lawyers, who moved from place to place around the court room during the examination

Arrival of the
VERONA at SEATTLE
1908

of this witness, with the view of having him look one of them in the eyes at all times during his recital. At one time Black nearly climbed into the jury box, while Cooley fidgeted in his chair placed directly in the middle of the aisle, and Veitch stood back of the court clerk on the opposite side of the court room, trying to engage the attention of the hesitating witness.

The testimony was to the effect that Auspos had reached Seattle on Saturday, November 4th, and had slept in the I. W. W. hall that night. Next morning at about eleven o'clock he returned from breakfast and was again admitted with examination for a membership card. A meeting was in progress in the gymnasium but was too crowded for him to be able to get in. There was no secrecy, however, just as there was no oath of fealty demanded of a worker upon joining the organization. The witness claimed that he and one of the defendants, J. E. Houlihan, were standing together in the hall when "Red" Doran called Houlihan aside into the gymnasium. Two minutes later Houlihan returned and said, "I made it." "What did you get?" Auspos declared he then asked his partner, receiving the reply, "A thirty-eight." Auspos claimed he saw Earl Osborne cleaning a gun in the gymnasium that same morning, and there was a rifle or shotgun in a canvas case in one corner. He said that men were breaking up chairs to obtain legs as clubs and that he, with others, was furnished with a little package of red pepper.

Regarding his actions upon the Verona the witness stated that he and James Hadley came up the steps from the freight deck to the passenger deck just as the boat was nosing against the dock and that he walked across the deck to a point within three feet of the rail. His description of the motion of McRae's hands differed from that given by the deputy witnesses and was such as would indicate the drawing of a gun from a belt holster. He testified that McRae swung around to the right just be-

fore being shot, thus contradicting McRae, who had declared that the turn he had made was to the left. The witness in a rather indefinite manner stated that the first shot came from the boat. All the damaging claims in the testimony of Auspos were severely shaken by the cross-examination conducted by Moore, and Auspos finally admitted that the only point on which he wished to have his evidence differ from the statement he had made to Vanderveer prior to the trial was in the matter of the firing of the first shot. Auspos made no attempt to identify anyone on the boat as having a firearm.

During the examination some reference was made to "Red" Downs, at which Judge Ronald remarked:

"I am a little confused. Did he say 'Red' Downs or 'Red' Doran?"

"There are two of them," responded Moore.

"Lots of red in this organization," cut in prosecutor Cooley, amid laughter from the spectators.

Attorney Moore brought from Auspos the admission that the plea of "Not Guilty" was a true one and he still believed that he and the other prisoners were not guilty of any crime. Yet such are the peculiarities of the legal game that an innocent man can turn state's evidence upon his innocent associates.

After uncovering the previous record of Auspos, he was asked about his "confession" as follows:

"Mr. McLaren and you had reached an understanding in your talk before Mr. Cooley came?"

"Yes sir."

"The question of what you are to get in connection with your testimony here has not as yet been definitely decided?"

"I am going to get out of the country."

"You are not going to get a trip to Honolulu?" asked Moore with a smile as he concluded the cross-examination of Auspos.

"No sir," stammered the tool of the prosecution unconvincingly.

It was at this point that the prosecution introduced several additional leaflets and pamphlets issued by the I. W. W. Publishing Bureau, the principal reason being to allow them to appeal to the patriotism of the jury by referring to Herve's pamphlet, "Patriotism and the Worker," and Smith's leaflet, "War and the Workers."

The next witness after Auspos was Leo Wagner, another poor purchase on the part of the prosecution. He merely testified that a man on the Calista had said that the men were armed and were not going to stand for being beaten up. Objection was made to the manner in which Cooley led the witness with his questions, and when Cooley stated that it was necessary to refresh the memory of the witness, Vanderveer replied that the witness had been endorsed but a few days before and his recollection should not be so very stale.

When this witness was asked what he was paid for his testimony he squirmed and hesitated until the court demanded an answer, whereupon he said:

"I got enough to live on for a while."

William H. Bridge, deputy sheriff and Snohomish county jailer, was the next witness. He stated on his direct examination that the first shot came from the second or third window back from the door on the upper cabin. Black asked Bridge:

"How do you know there was a shot from that place?"

"Because I saw a man reach out thru the window and shoot with a revolver."

"In what position was he when shooting?"

"Well, I could see his hand and a part of his arm and a part of his body and face."

"Who was the man, if you know?"

"Well, to the best of my judgement, it was the defendant, Thomas H. Tracy."

Under Vanderveer's cross-examination this witness was made to place the model of the Verona with its stern at the same angle as it had been at the time of the shooting. The witness was then asked

to assume the same position he had been in at the time he said he had seen Tracy. The impossibility of having seen the face of a man firing from any of the cabin windows was thus demonstrated to the jury.

Then to clinch the idea that the identification was simply so much perjury, Vanderveer introduced into evidence the stenographic report of the coroner's inquest held over Jefferson Beard in which the witness, Bridge, had sworn that the first shot came from an open space just beneath the pilot house and had further testified that he could not recognize the person who was doing the firing.

Walter H. Smith, a scab shingle weaver, and deputy on the dock, followed with a claim to have recognized Tracy as one of the men who was shooting from the Verona. He also stated that he could identify another man who was shooting from the forward deck. He was handed a number of photographs and failed to find the man he was looking for. Instead he indicated one of the photographs and said that it was Tracy. Vanderveer immediately seized the picture and offered it in evidence.

"I made a mistake there," remarked Smith.

"I know you did," responded Vanderveer, "and I want the jury to know it."

The witness had picked out a photograph of John Downs and identified it as the defendant.

The prosecution then called S. A. Mann, who had been police judge in Spokane, Wash., from 1908 into 1911, and questioned him in regard to the Spokane Free Speech fight and the death of Chief of Police John Sullivan. Here attorney Fred Moore was on familiar ground, having acted for the I. W. W. during the time of that trouble. Moore developed the fact that there had been several thousand arrests with not a single instance of resistance or violence on the part of the I. W. W., not a weapon found

on any of their persons, and no incendiary fires during the entire fight. He further confounded the prosecution by having Judge Mann admit that in the Spokane fight a prisoner arrested on a city charge was always lodged in the city jail and one arrested on a county charge was always placed in the county jail—a condition not at all observed in Everett.

Moore also brought out the facts of the death of Chief Sullivan so far as they are known. The witness admitted that Sullivan was charged with abuse of an adopted daughter of Mr. Elliott, a G. A. R. veteran; that desk officer N. V. Pitts charged Sullivan with having forced him to turn over certain Chinese bond money and the Chief resigned his position while under these charges; that the Spokane Press bitterly attacked Sullivan and was sued as a consequence, the Scripps-McRae paper being represented by the law firm of Robertson, Miller and Rosenhaupt, of which Judge Frank C. Robertson was the head; that the Chronicle and Spokesman-Review joined in the attack upon the Chief; and that when Sullivan was dying from a shot in the back the following conversation occurred between himself and the dying man: "I said to him 'John, who do you suppose did this?' He says, 'Judge F. C. Robertson and the Press are responsible for this.' I said, 'John, you don't mean that, you can't mean it?' He says, 'That is the way I feel.' "

Judge Ronald prevented the attorneys from going very deeply into the Spokane affair, saying:

"I am not going to wash Spokane linen here; we have some of our own to wash!"

C. R. Schweitzer, owner of a scab plumbing shop, aged 47, yet grey-haired, brazenly admitted having emptied a shotgun into the unarmed boys on the Verona. It was the missiles from the brand-new shotgun—probably furnished by Dave Oswald—that riddled the pilot house and wounded many of the men who fell to the deck when the Verona tilt-

ed. Schweitzer fired from a safe position behind the Klatawa slip. Why the prosecution used him as a witness is a mystery.

W. A. Taro, Everett Fire Chief, testified regarding the few incendiary fires that had occurred in Everett during the year 1916, but failed to connect them with the I. W. W. in any way. D. Daniels, Everett police officer, testified to a phosphorous fire which did no damage and was in no way connected with the I. W. W.

Mrs. Jennie B. Ames, the only woman witness called by the prosecution, testified that Mrs. Frennette was on the inclined walk at the Great Northern Depot, at a point overlooking the dock, and was armed with a revolver at the time the Verona trouble was on. Police officer J. E. Moline also swore to the same thing, but was badly tangled when confronted with his own evidence given at the preliminary hearing of Mrs. Frennette on December 6th, 1916.

Never was there a cad but who wished himself proclaimed as a gentleman; never a bedraggled and maudlin harlot but who wanted the world to know that she was a perfect lady. The last witness to be called by the prosecution was John Hogan—"Honest" John Hogan if prosecutor Lloyd Black was to be credited.

"Honest" John Hogan was a young red-headed regular deputy sheriff, who was a participant in the outrage on the City Dock on November 5th. "Honest" John Hogan claimed to have seen the defendant, Thomas Tracy, firing a revolver from one of the forward cabin windows. "Honest" John Hogan had the same difficulty as the other "identifying" witnesses when he also was asked to state whether it was possible to see a man firing from a cabin window when the stern of the boat was out and the witness in his specified position on the dock. "Honest"

John Hogan was sure it was Tracy that he saw because the man had a week's growth of whiskers on his face.

And this ended the case for the prosecution.

As had been predicted there were hundreds of witnesses who were endorsed and not called, and almost without an exception those who testified were parties who had a very direct interest in seeing that a conviction was secured. But thru the clever work of the lawyers for the defense what was meant to have been a prosecution of the I. W. W. was turned into an extremely poor defense of the deputies and their program of "law and order." From the state's witnesses the defense had developed nearly the whole outline and many of the details of its side of the case.

When the state rested its case, Tracy leaned over to the defense lawyers and, with a smile on his face, said:

"I'd be willing to let the case go to the jury right now."

CHAPTER VII.

THE DEFENSE

The case for the defense opened on Monday morning of April 2nd when Vanderveer, directly facing the judge and witness chair from the position vacated by the prosecution counsel, moved for a directed verdict of not guilty on the ground that there had been an absolute failure of evidence upon the question of conspiracy, any conspiracy of which murder was either directly or indirectly an incident, and there was no evidence whatever to charge the defendant directly as a principal in causing the death of Jefferson Beard. The motion was denied and an exception taken to the ruling of the court.

Fred Moore made the opening statement for the defense. In his speech he briefly outlined the situation that had existed in Everett up to and including November 5th and explained to the jury the forces lined up against each other in Everett's industrial warfare. Not for an instant did the attention of the jury flag during the recital.

Herbert Mahler, secretary of the I. W. W. in Seattle during the series of outrages in Everett, was the first witness placed upon the stand. Mahler told of the lumber workers' convention and the sending of organizer James Rowan to make a survey of the industrial situation in the lumber centers, Everett being the first point because of its proximity to Seattle and not by reason of any strikes that may have existed there. The methods of conducting the free speech fight, the avoidance of secrecy, the ardent desire for publicity of the methods of the lumber trust as well as the tactics of the I. W. W., were clearly explained.

Cooley cross-examined Mahler regarding the

song book with reference to the advocacy and use of sabotage, asking the witness:

"How about throwing a pitchfork into a threshing machine? Would that be all right?"

"There are circumstances when it would be, I suppose," replied Mahler. "If there was a farmer deputy who had been at Beverly Park, I think they certainly would have a right to destroy his threshing machine."

"You think that would justify it?" inquired Cooley.

"Yes," said the witness, "I think that if the man had abused his power as an officer and the person he abused had no other way of getting even with him and that justice was denied him in the courts, I fully believe that he would be. That would not hurt anybody; it would only hurt his pocketbook."

"Now what is this Joe Hill Memorial Edition?"

"Joe Hillstrom, known as Joe Hill, had written a number of songs in the I. W. W. Song Book and he was murdered in Utah and the song book was gotten out in memory of him," responded Mahler.

"He was executed after having been convicted of murder in the first degree, and sentenced to death. And you say he was murdered?" said Cooley.

"Yes," said Mahler with emphasis. "Our contention has been that Hillstrom did not have a fair trial and we are quite capable of proving it. I may say that President Wilson interceded in his behalf and was promptly turned down by Governor Spry of Utah. Hillstrom was offered a commutation of sentence and he refused to take it. He wanted a retrial or an acquittal. When the President of the United States had interceded with the Governor of Utah, when various labor organizations asked that he be given a retrial, and a man's life is to be taken from him, and people all over the country ask for a retrial, that certainly should be granted to him."

James P. Thompson was placed upon the stand to explain the principles of the I. W. W. The courtroom was turned into a propaganda meeting during

the examination of the witness. One of the first features was the reading and explanation of state's exhibit "K," the famous I. W. W. preamble which has been referred to on various occasions as the most brutally scientific exposition of the class struggle ever penned:

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allow one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production

must be organized, not only for the every day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

"Men in society represent economic categories," said Thompson. "By that I mean that in the world of shoes there are shoemakers, and in the world of boats there are seamen, and in this society there are economic categories called the employing class and the working class. Now, between them as employing class and working class there is nothing in common. Their interests are diametrically opposed as such. It is not the same thing as saying that human beings have nothing in common. The working class and the employing class have antagonistic interests, and the more one gets the less remains for the other.

"Labor produces all wealth," continued Thompson, "and the more the workers have to give up to anyone else the less remains for themselves. The more they get in wages the less remains for the others in the form of profits. As long as labor produces for the other class all the good things of life there will be no peace; we want the products of labor ourselves and let the other class go to work also.

"The trades unions are unable to cope with the power of the employers because when one craft strikes the others remain at work and by so doing help the company to fill orders, and that is helping to break the strike. If a group of workers strike and win, other workers are encouraged to do likewise: if they strike and lose, other workers are discouraged and employers are encouraged to do some whipping on their own account.

"We believe in an industrial democracy; that the industry shall be owned by the people and operated on a co-operative plan instead of the wage plan; that there is no such thing as a fair day's pay; that we should have the full product of our labor in the co-operative system as distinguished from the wage system.

"Furthermore," went on the witness, as the jury leaned forward to catch his every word, "our ideas were suggested to us by conditions in modern industry, and it is the historical mission of the workers to organize, not only for the preliminary struggles, but to carry on production afterward."

"We object to this!" shouted Mr. Cooley, and the court sustained the objection.

Despite continual protests from the prosecution Thompson gave the ideas of the I. W. W. on many questions. Speaking of free speech the witness said:

"Free speech is vital. It is a point that has been threshed out and settled before we were born. If we do not have free speech, the children of the race will die in the dark."

The message of industrial unionism delivered thru the sworn testimony of a labor organizer was indeed an amazing spectacle. Judge Ronald never relaxed his attention during the entire examination, the jury was spell-bound, and it was only by an obvious effort that the spectators kept from applauding the various telling points.

"There is overwork on one hand," said Thompson, "and out-of-work on the other. The length of the working day should be determined by the amount of work and the number of workers. You have no more right to do eight or ten or twelve hours of labor when others are out of work, despondent, committing suicide, than you have to drink all the water, if that were possible, while others are dying of thirst.

"Solidarity is the I. W. W. way to get their demands. We do not advocate that the workers should organize in a military way and use guns and dynamite. The most effective weapon of labor is economic power: the modern wage workers are the living parts of industry and if they fold their arms, they immediately precipitate a crisis, they paralyze the world. No other class has that power. The other class can fold their arms, and they do most of the time, but our class has the economic power. The

I. W. W. preaches and teaches all the time that a far more effective weapon than brickbats or dynamite is solidarity.

"We have developed from individual production to social production, yet we still have private ownership of the means of production. One class owns the industries and doesn't operate them, another class operates the industries and does not own them. We are going to have a revolution. No one is more mistaken than those who believe that this system is the final state of society. As the industrial revolution takes place, as the labor process takes on the co-operative form, as the tool of production becomes social, the idea of social ownership is suggested, and so the idea that things that are used collectively should be owned collectively, presents itself with irresistible force to the people of the twentieth century. So there is a struggle for industrial democracy. We are the modern abolitionists fighting against wage slavery as the other abolitionists fought against chattel slavery. The solution for our modern problems is this, that the industries should be owned by the people, operated by the people for the people, and the little busy bees who make the honey of the world should eat that honey, and there should be no drones at all in the hives of industry.

"When we have industrial democracy you will know that the mills, the mines, the factories, the earth itself, will be the collective property of the people, and if a little baby should be born that baby would be as much an owner of the earth as any other of the children of men. Then the war, the commercial struggles, the clashes between groups of conflicting interests, will be a night-mare of the past. In the place of capitalism with its one class working and its other class enjoying, in the place of the wages system with its strife and strikes, lockouts and grinding poverty, we will have a co-operative system where the interests of one will be to promote the interests of all—that will be Industrial Democracy."

Thompson explained the meaning of the sarcastic song, "Christians at War," to the evident amusement of the jury and spectators. The witness was then asked about Herve's work on anti-patriotism in this question by attorney Moore:

"What is the attitude of your organization relative to internationalism and national patriotism?"

"We object to that as incompetent and immaterial," cried Veitch of the prosecution.

"What did you put this book in for then?" said Judge Ronald in a testy manner as he motioned the witness to proceed with his answer.

"In the broader sense," answered Thompson, "there is no such thing as a foreigner. We are all native born members of this planet, and for the members of it to be divided into groups or units and to be taught that each nation is better than the other leads to clashes and the world war. We ought to have in the place of national patriotism—the idea that one people is better than another,—a broader conception, that of international solidarity. The idea that we are better than others is contrary to the Declaration of Independence which declares that all men are born free and equal. The I. W. W. believes that in order to do away with wars we should remove the cause of wars; we should establish industrial democracy and the co-operative system instead of commercialism and capitalism and the struggles that come from them. We are trying to make America a better land, a land without child slaves, a land without poverty, and so also with the world, a world without a master and without a slave."

When the lengthy direct examination of Thompson had been finished, the prosecution questioned him but five minutes and united in a sigh of relief as he left the stand.

The next witness called was Ernest Nordstrom, companion of Oscar Carlson who was severely wounded on the Verona. Nordstrom testified rather out of his logical order in the trial by reason of the

fact that he was about to leave on a lengthy fishing trip to Alaska. His testimony was that he purchased a regular ticket at the same time as his friend Carlson, but these tickets were not taken up by the purser. The original ticket of this passenger was then offered in evidence. The witness stated that the first shot came from almost the same place on the dock as did the words "You can't land here." He fell to the deck and saw Carlson fall also. Carlson tried to rise once, but a bullet hit him and he dropped; there were nine bullet holes in him. Nordstrom was asked:

"Did you have a gun?"

"No sir."

"Did Carlson have a gun?"

"No sir."

"Did you see anybody with a gun on the boat?"

"No. I didn't."

Organizer James Rowan then gave his experiences in Everett, ending with a vivid recital of the terrible beating he had received at the hands of deputies near Silver Lake. Upon telling of the photograph that was taken of his lacerated back he was asked by Veitch:

"What was the reason you had that picture taken?"

"Well," said Rowan, in his inimitable manner, "I thought it would be a good thing to get that taken to show up the kind of civilization that they had in Everett."

Dr. E. J. Brown, a Seattle dentist, and Thomas Horner, Seattle attorney, corroborated Rowan's testimony as to the condition of his back. They had seen the wounds and bruises shortly after the beating had been administered and were of the opinion that a false light was reflected on the photograph in such a way that the severest marks did not appear as bad as they really were.

Otto Nelson, Everett shingle weaver, gave testimony regarding the shingle weavers' strikes of 1915 and 1916 but was stopped from going into detail by the rulings of the court. He told also of the peace-

ful character of all the I. W. W. meetings in Everett, and stated that on one occasion police officer Daniels had fired two shots down one of the city streets at an I. W. W. man who had been made to run the gauntlet.

H. P. Whartenby, owner of a five-ten-fifteen cent store in Everett, said that the I. W. W. meetings were orderly, and further testified that he had been ordered out of the Commercial Club on the evening of November 5th but not until he had seen that the club was a regular arsenal, with guns stacked all over the place.

To establish the fact that the sidewalks were kept clear, that there was no advocacy of violence, that no resistance was offered to arrest, and that the I. W. W. meetings were well conducted in every particular, the defense put on in fairly rapid succession a number of Everett citizens: Mrs. Ina M. Salter, Mrs. Elizabeth Maloney, Mrs. Letelsia Fye, Bruce J. Hatch, Mrs. Dollie Gustaffson, Miss Avis Mathison, Mrs. Peter Aiken, Mrs. Annie Pomeroy, Mrs. Rebecca Wade, F. G. Crosby, and Mrs. Hannah Crosby. The fact that these citizens, and a number of other women who were mentioned in the testimony, attended the I. W. W. meetings quite regularly, impressed the jury favorably. Some of these women witnesses had been roughly handled by the deputies. Mrs. Pomeroy stated that the deputies, armed with clubs and distinguished by white handkerchiefs around their necks, invaded one meeting and struck right and left. "And they punched me at that!" said the indignant witness.

"Punched you where?" inquired Vanderveer in order to locate the injury.

"They punched me on the sidewalk!" answered the witness, and the solemn bailiff had to rap for order in the court room.

Cooley caught a Tartar in his cross-examination of Mrs. Crosby. He inquired:

"Did you hear the I. W. W.'s say that when they got a majority of the workers into this big union

they would take possession of the industries and run them themselves?"

"Why certainly!"

"You did hear them say they would take possession?"

"Why certainly!" flashed back the witness. "That's the way the North did with the slaves, isn't it? They took possession without ever asking them. My people came from the South and they had slaves taken away from them and never got anything for it, and quite right, too!"

"Then you do believe it would be all right, yourself?" said Cooley.

"I believe that confiscation would be perfectly right in the case of taking things that are publicly used for the public good of the people——."

"That's all," hastily cut in Cooley.

"That they should be used then by the people and for the people!" finished the witness.

"That's all!" cried Cooley loudly and more anxiously.

Frank Henig, the next witness, told of having been blackjacked by Sheriff McRae and exhibited the large scar on his forehead that plainly showed where the brutal blow had landed. He stated that he had tried to secure the arrest of McRae for the entirely unwarranted attack but was denied a warrant.

Jake Michel, secretary of the Everett Building Trades Council, gave evidence regarding a number of the I. W. W. street meetings. He was questioned at length about what he had inferred from the speeches of Rowan, Thompson and others. Replying to one question he said:

"I think the American Federation of Labor uses the most direct action that any organization could use."

"In a strike?"

"Yes."

"And by that you mean a peaceful strike?" said Cooley suggestively.

"Well, I haven't seen them carry on very many peaceful ones yet," replied Michel.

Cooley asked Michel whether Rowan had said that "the workers should form one great industrial union and declare the final and universal strike; that is, that they should remain within the industrial institutions and lock the employers out for good as owners?"

"I never heard him mention anything about locking anyone out; I think he wanted to lock them in and make them do some of the work!" answered Michel.

"You haven't any particular interest in this case, have you?" asked Cooley with a sneer.

"Yes, I have!" replied Michel with emphasis.

When asked what this particular interest was, Michel caused consternation among the ranks of the prosecution by replying:

"The reason I have that interest is this; I have two sons and two daughters. I want to see the best form of organization so that the boys can go out and make a decent living; I don't want my girls to become prostitutes upon the streets and my boys vagabonds upon the highways!"

Harry Feinberg, one of the free speech prisoners named on the first information with Watson and Tracy, was then placed on the stand and questioned as to the beating he had received at the hands of deputies, as to the condition of Frank Henig after McRae's attack, and upon matters connected with various street meetings at which he had been the speaker. Mention of the name of George Reese brought forth an argument from the prosecution that it had not been shown that Reese was a detective. After an acrimonious discussion Vanderveer suddenly declared:

"Just to settle this thing and settle it for now and all the time, I will ask a subpoena forthwith for Philip K. Ahern and show who Reese is working for."

The subpoena was issued and a recess taken to

allow it to be served. As Vanderveer stepped into the hall, detective Malcolm McLaren said to him, "You can't subpoenae the head of the Pinkerton Detective Agency!"

"I have subpoenaed him," responded Vanderveer shortly as he hurried to the witness room.

While awaiting the arrival of this witness, Feinberg was questioned further, and was then taken from the stand to allow the examination of two Everett witnesses, Mrs. L. H. Johnson and P. S. Johnson, the latter witness being withdrawn when Ahern put in an appearance.

Vanderveer was very brief, but to the point, in the examination of the local head of the Pinkerton Agency.

"Mr. Ahern, on the fifth day of November you had in your employ a man named George Reese?"

"Yes sir."

"For whom was he working, thru you, at that time?"

"For Snohomish County."

"That's all!" said Vanderveer triumphantly.

Cooley did not seem inclined to cross-examine the witness at any length and Vanderveer in another straightforward question brought out the fact that Reese was a Pinkerton employe during the Longshoremen's strike—this being the time that Reese also was seated as a delegate to the Seattle Trades Council of the A. F. of L.

A portion of the testimony of Mrs. L. H. Johnson was nearly as important as that concerning Reese. She recited a conversation with Sheriff McRae as follows:

"McRae said he would stop the I. W. W. from coming to Everett if he had to call out the soldiers. And I told him the soldiers wouldn't come out on an occasion like this, they were nothing but Industrial Workers of the World and they had a right to speak and get people to join their union if they wanted to. And he said he had the backing of the millmen to keep them out of the city, and he was go-

Cutting off top of tree to fit block for flying machine.

ing to do it if he had to call the soldiers out and shoot them down when they landed there, when they came off the dock."

This clearly indicated the bloodthirsty designs of the millmen and the sheriff at a time long before November 5th.

G. W. Carr, Wilfred Des Pres, and J. M. Norland testified to the breaking up of peaceably conducted I. W. W. meetings, Des Pres also telling of rifles having been transported from the Pacific Hardware Company to the dock on November 5th. All three were Everett citizens. Black asked Norland if he knew what sabotage was, to which Norland replied:

"Everybody that follows the labor movement knows what sabotage is."

There was a sensation in court at this question for it was the first and only time that any of the prosecution counsel correctly pronounced the word sabotage!

W. W. Blain, secretary of the Commercial Club, altho an unwilling witness, gave much information of value to the defense. He was forced to produce the minutes of the "open shop committee" and give up the story of how control of the club was purchased by the big interests, how the boycott was invoked against certain publications, and finally to tell of the employment of Pinkerton detectives prior to November 5th, and to give a list of the deputies furnished by the Commercial Club.

During the examination of this witness some telegrams, in connection with the testimony, were handed up to the judge. While reading these Judge Ronald was interrupted by a foolish remark from Black to Vanderveer. Looking over his glasses the judge said:

"Every time I start to read anything, you gentlemen get into a quarrel among yourselves. I am inclined to think that the 'cats,' some of them, are here in the courtroom."

"I will plead guilty for Mr. Black, Your Honor!" said Vanderveer quickly, laughing at the reference to sabotage.

Testimony to further establish the peaceable character of the I. W. W. meetings and the rowdyism of the police and deputies was given by witnesses from Everett: Gustaf Pilz, Mrs. Leota Carr, J. E. McNair, Ed Morton, Michael Maloney, Verne C. Henry and Morial Thornburg. The statements of these disinterested parties regarding the clubbings given to the speakers and to citizens of their acquaintance proved very effective.

Attorney H .D. Cooley for the prosecution was placed upon the witness stand and Vanderveer shot the question at him:

"By whom were you employed in this case, Mr. Cooley?"

"Objected to as immaterial!" cried Veitch, instantly springing to his feet.

But the damage had been done! The refusal to allow an answer showed that there were interested parties the prosecution wished to hide from the public.

Levi Remick related the story of the deportation from Everett, and was followed on the witness stand by Edward Lavelly, James Dwyer, and Thomas Smye, who testified to different atrocities committed in Everett by McRae and the citizen deputies. Their evidence had mainly to do with the acts of piracy committed against the launch "Wanderer" and the subsequent abuse of the arrested men. A little later in the trial this testimony was fully corroborated by the statements of Captain Jack Mitten. During Mitten's examination by Black the old Captain continually referred to the fact that the life preservers and other equipment of his boat had been stolen while he was in jail. The discomfiture of the youthful prosecutor was quite evident.

J. H. Buel impeached the testimony of state's witness Judge Bell who had made the claim that a filer at the Clark-Nickerson mill had been assaulted by a member of the I. W. W. Vanderveer asked this witness:

"What was the name of the man assaulted?"

"Jimmy Cain."
"Who did it?"
"I did."
"Are you an I. W. W.?"
"No sir."
"Were you ever?"
"No sir."

Louis Skaroff followed with a detailed story of the murderous attack made upon him by Mayor Merrill in the Everett jail, his story being unshaken when he was recalled and put thru a grilling cross-examination.

William Roberts, who had been beaten and deported with Harry Feinberg, related his experience. The childish questions of Black in regard to the idea of abolishing the wages system nettled this witness and caused him to exclaim, "the trouble is that you don't understand the labor movement."

James Orr then told of having his money stolen by the officials so they might pay the fares of twenty-two deported men, and John Ovist followed with the tale of the slugging he had received upon the same occasion that Feinberg, Roberts and Henig were assaulted.

Attorneys George W. Loutitt and Robert Faussett, of Everett, stated that the reputation of McRae for sobriety was very bad. Both of these lawyers had resigned from the Commercial Club upon its adoption of an open shop policy.

Thomas O'Niel testified regarding street meetings and other matters in connection wtih the case. Cooley asked the witness how many people usually attended the meetings.

"It started in with rather small meetings," said the witness, "and then every time, as fast as they were molested by the police, the crowd kept growing until at last the meetings were between two and three thousand people."

The witness said he had read considerable about industrial unionism, and tho he was shocked at first he had come to believe in it.

"Until now you are satisfied that their doctrines taken as a whole are proper and should be promulgated and adopted by the working class?" inquired Cooley.

"In this way," answered O'Niel, "it was not the I. W. W. literature that convinced me so much as the actions of the side that was fighting them."

"That is, you believe they were right because of the actions of the people on the other side?" said Cooley.

"Yes," responded the witness, "because I think there are only two people interested in this movement, the people carrying on the propaganda and the people fighting the propaganda, and I saw the people who were fighting the propaganda use direct action, sabotage, and every power, political and industrial, they used it all to whip this organization, and then I asked myself why are they fighting this organization. And the more deeply I became interested, the more clearly I saw why they were doing it, and that made me a believer in the I. W. W."

Mrs. Louise McGuire followed this witness with testimony about injuries she had received thru the rough treatment accorded her by citizen deputies engaged in breaking up a street meeting.

W. H. Clay, Everett's Commissioner of Finance, was brought on the stand to testify that he was present and active at the conference that resulted in the formation of the citizen deputies.

John Berg then related his experiences at the time he was taken to the outskirts of Everett and deported after McRae had kicked him in the groin until a serious injury resulted. Owing to the fact that the jury was a mixed one Berg was not permitted to exhibit the rupture. This witness also told his experience on the "Wanderer" and his treatment in the jail upon his arrest.

Oscar Lindstrom then took the stand and corroborated the stories of the witnesses who had testified about the shooting up of the "Wanderer" and the beating and jailing of its pasengers. H. Sokol,

better known as "Happy," also told of his experience on the "Wanderer" and gave the facts of the deportation that had taken place on August 23rd.

Irving W. Ziegaus, secretary to Governor Lister, testified that the letter concerning Everett sent from the Seattle I. W. W. had been received; Steven M. Fowler identified certain telegrams sent from Everett to Seattle officials by David Clough on November 5th; after which Chester Micklin, who had been jailed in Everett following the tragedy, corroborated parts of the story of Louis Skaroff.

The evidence of state's witness, Clyde Gibbons, was shattered at this stage of the trial by the placing of Mrs. Lawrence MacArthur on the stand. This witness, the proprietor of the Merchants Hotel in Everett, produced the hotel register for November 4th and showed that Mrs. Frennette had registered at that time and was in the city when Gibbons claimed she was holding a conversation in an apartment house on Yesler Way in Seattle.

The defense found it necessary to call witnesses who logically should have been brought forward by the prosecution on their side of the case. Among these was the famous "Governor" Clough, citizen deputy and open shop mill owner. David Clough unwillingly testified to having been present at the deportation of twenty-two I. W. W. members on August 23rd, having gone down to the dock at 8:30 that morning, and also to his interest in Joseph Schofield, the deputy who had been injured by his brother outlaws on the dock just before the Beverly Park deportations.

Mahler and Micklin were recalled for some few additional questions, and were followed on the stand by Herman Storm, who gave testimony about the brutal treatment received by himself and his fellow passengers on the launch "Wanderer." John Hainey and Joseph Reaume also gave details of this outrage.

"Sergeant" J. J. Keenan, who had become a familiar figure because of his "police" duty in the

outer court corridor from the inception of the trial, then took the witness stand and recounted his experiences at Snohomish and Maltby, his every word carrying conviction that the sheriff and his deputies had acted with the utmost brutality in spite of the advanced age of their victim. John Patterson and Tom Thornton corroborated Keenan's testimony.

A surprise was sprung upon the prosecution at this juncture by the introduction on the witness stand of George Kannow, a man who had been a deputy sheriff in Everett and who had been present when many of the brutalities were going on. He told of the treatment of Berg after the "Wanderer" arrests.

"He was struck and beaten and thrown down and knocked heavily against the steel sides of the tank, his head striking on a large projecting lock. He was kicked by McRae and he hollered 'My God, you are killing me,' and McRae said he didn't give a damn whether he died or not, and kicked him again and then shoved him into the tank."

The gauntlet at the county jail was described in detail and the spirit of the free speech fighters was shown by this testimony:

"Yes, I heard some of them groan. They all took their medicine well, tho. They didn't holler out but some of them would groan; some of them would go down pretty near to their knees and then get up, then they would get sapped again as they got up. But they never made any real outcries."

The witness stated that "Governor" Clough was a regular attendant at the deportation parties and so also were W. R. Booth, Ed Hawes, T. W. Anguish, Bill Pabst, Ed Seivers, and Will Taft. He described McRae's drunken condition and told of drunken midnight revels held in the county jail. His testimony was unshaken on cross-examination.

Mrs. Fern Grant, owner of the Western Hotel and Grant's Cafe, testified that Mrs. Frennette was in her place of business in Everett on the morning of the tragedy, thus adding to the evidence that Clyde Gibbons had perjured himself in testifying for the prosecution.

A party of Christian Scientists, who had attended a lecture in Everett by Bliss Knapp, told of the frightful condition of the eight men who had taken the interurban train to Seattle following their experience at Beverly Park. Mrs. Lou Vee Siegfried, Christian Science practitioner, Thorwald Siegfried, prominent Seattle lawyer, Mrs. Anna Tenelli and Miss Dorothy Jordan were corroborated in their testimony by Ira Bellows, conductor on the interurban car that took the wounded men to Seattle.

Another break in the regular order of the trial was made at this point by the placing on the stand of Nicholas Coniaeff, member of the I. W. W., who was to leave on the following day with a party of Russians returning to their birthplace to take part in the revolution then in progress. Coniaeff stated that the first shot came from the dock. His realistic story of the conditions on the Verona moved many in the courtroom to tears. In his description Coniaeff said:

"I was wounded myself. But before I was wounded and as we were lying there three or four deep I saw a wounded man at my feet in a pool of blood. Then I saw a man with his face up, and he was badly wounded, probably he was dead. There were three or four wounded men alongside of me. The conditions were so terrible that it was hard to control one's self, and a young boy who was in one pile could not control himself any longer; he was about twenty years old and had on a brown, short, heavy coat, and he looked terrified and jumped up and went overboard into the water and I didn't see him any more."

Mrs. Edith Frennette testified to her movements on the day of the tragedy and denied the alleged threats to Sheriff McRae. Lengthy cross-examination failed to shake her story.

Members of the I. W. W. who had been injured at Beverly Park then testified. They were Edward Schwartz, Harry Hubbard, Archie Collins, C. H. Rice, John Downs, one of the defendants, Sam Rovinson and Henry Krieg. Any doubt as to the truth

of their story was dispelled by the testimony of Mrs. Ruby Ketchum, her husband Roy Ketchum, and her brother-in-law Lew Ketchum, all three of whom heard the screams of the victims and witnessed part of the slugging near their home at Beverly Park. Some members of the investigation committee who viewed the scene on the morning after the outrage gave their evidence as to the finding of bits of clothing, soles of shoes, bloodstained hats and loose hatbands, and blotches of blood on the paved roadway and cattle guard. These witnesses were three ministers of the gospel of different denominations, Elbert E. Flint, Joseph P. Marlatt, and Oscar H. McGill. The last named witness also told of having interviewed Herbert Mahler, secretary of the I. W. W. in Seattle, following a conference with Everett citizens, with the object of having a large public demonstration in Everett to expose the Beverly Park affair and to prevent its repetition. It was after this interview that the call went out for the I. W. W. to hold a public meeting in Everett on Sunday, November 5th. Mahler was recalled to the stand to verify McGill's statement in the matter of the interview.

This testimony brought the case up to the events of November 5th and the defense, having proven each illegal action of the sheriff, deputies and mill owners, and disproven the accusations against the I. W. W., proceeded to open to the gaze of the public and force to the attention of the jury the actual facts concerning the massacre on the Verona.

An important witness was Charles Miller, who viewed the tragedy from a point about four hundred feet from the Verona while on the deck of his fishing boat, the "Scout." He stated that the Verona tilted as soon as the first shots came. Miller placed the model of the boat at the same relative position it had occupied as the firing started on Bloody Sunday and the prosecution could not tangle up this witness on this important point. The "identification" witnesses of the prosecution were of necessity liars

if the stern of the Verona was at the angle set by Miller.

C. M. Steele, owner of apartment houses and stores in Everett, stated that he had been in a group who saw an automobile load of guns transported to the dock prior to the docking of the Verona, this auto being closely followed by a string of other machines. The witness tried to get upon the dock but was prevented by deputies who had a rope stretched clear across the entrance near the office of the American Tug Boat Company. He saw the boat tilt as the firing started and noticed that the stern swung out at the time. This testimony was demonstrated with the model. Harry Young, chauffeur, corroborated this testimony and told of rifle fire from the dock.

Mrs. Mabel Thomas, from a position on Johnson's float quite near the Verona, told of the boat listing until the lower deck was under water, almost immediately after the firing started. Mrs. Thomas testified that "one man who was facing toward the Improvement Dock, raised his hands and fell overboard from the hurricane deck as tho he were dead. His overcoat held him to the top of the water for a moment and then he went down. One jumped from the stern and then there were six or seven in the water. One got up thru the canvas and crawled back in. One man that fell in held up his hands for a moment and sank. There were bullets hitting all around him."

Mr. Carroll Thomas, husband of the preceding witness, gave the same testimony about the men in the water and stated that he saw armed men on the Improvement Dock.

The testimony of Ayrold D. Skinner, a barber in Everett at the time of the tragedy and who had been brought from California to testify, was bitterly attacked by Veitch but to no avail. When the Verona landed Skinner was so situated as to command a view of the whole proceedings. He told of the boat listing, the men falling in the water and being shot, and his testimony about a man on board the tug

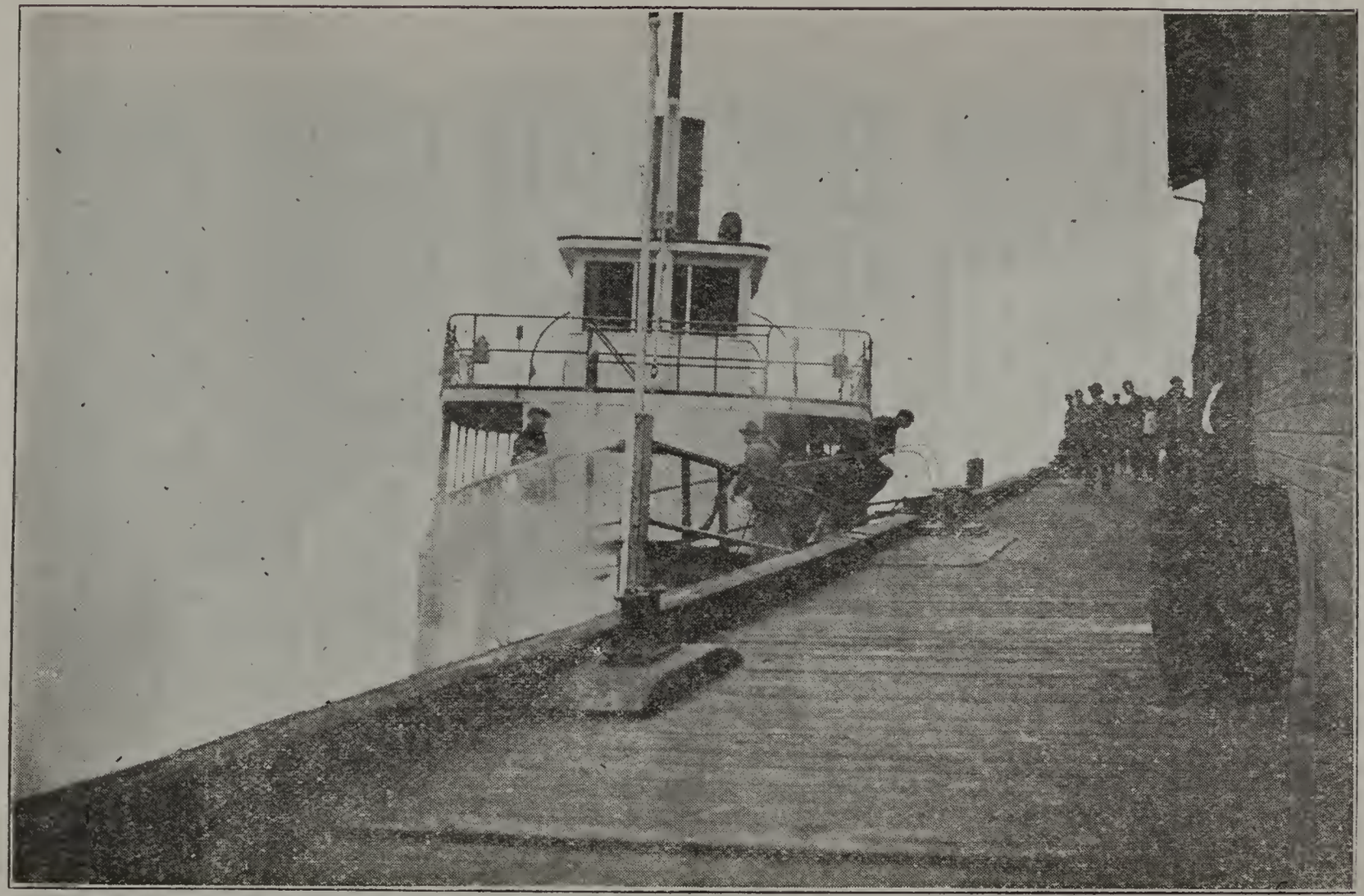
"Edison" firing a rifle directly across the open space on the dock in the direction of the Verona was unshakeable. This witness also testified that about ten deputies with rifles were running back and forth in a frightened manner and were firing from behind the Klatawa slip. The witness saw Dick Hembridge, superintendent of the Canyon Lumber Company, Carl Tyre, timekeeper, Percy Ames, the boom man, and a Dr. Hedges. The last two came up to where the witness was, each bearing a rifle. Skinner stated that he said to Ames, "Percy, what is the world coming to?" and Ames broke down as tho he felt something were wrong. Then Dr. Hedges came running up from where the boat was, he was white in the face, and he cried "Don't go down there, boys; they are shooting wild, you don't know where in hell the shots are coming from."

Carl Ryan, night watchman of the Everett Shingle Company, N. C. Roberts, an Everett potter, Robert Thompson and Edward Thompson testified about the angle of the boat, as to rifles on the dock, the shooting from the tug "Edison" and from the Improvement Dock, in support of witnesses who had previously testified.

Alfred Freeman, I. W. W. member who was on the Verona, testified about the movements of those who made the trip to Everett and told of the conditions on the boat. His testimony, and that of numerous other I. W. W. witnesses, disproved the charges of conspiracy.

I. W. McDonald, barber, John Josephson, lumber piler, and T. M. Johnson, hod carrier, all of Everett, stated that the shots from the boat did not come until after there had been considerable firing from the dock. These witnesses were among the thousands of citizens who overlooked the scene from the hillside by the Great Northern depot.

On Wednesday, April 18th, the jury, accompanied by Judge Ronald, the attorneys for both sides, the defendant, Thomas Tracy, and the court stenographer, went in automobiles to Everett to inspect the various places mentioned in the court pro-



VERONA AT EVERETT DOCK,
under same tide condition as at time of Massacre.

ceedings. The party stopped on the way to Everett to look over the scene of the Beverly Park outrages of October 30th. No one spoke to the jury but Judge Ronald, who pointed out the various features at the request of the attorneys in the background.

After visiting the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore Avenues, the party went to the city dock. Both warehouses were carefully examined, the bullet-holes, tho badly whittled, being still in evidence. Bulletholes in the floor, clock-case, and in the walls still showed quite plainly that the firing from within the warehouse and waiting room had been wild. Bullets imbedded in the Klatawa slip on the side toward the Bay also gave evidence of blind firing on the part of the deputies. In the floor of the dock, between the ship and the open space near the waiting room, were several grooves made by bullets fired from the shore end of the dock. These marks indicated that the bullets had taken a course directly in line with the deputies who were in the front ranks as the Verona landed.

The party boarded the Verona and subjected the boat to a searching examination, discovering that the stairways, sides, and furnishings were riddled with shot holes. The pilot house, in particular, was found to have marks of revolver and high power rifle bullets, in addition to being closely marked with small shot holes, some of the buck-shot still being visible.

The captain swung the boat out to the same angle as it had been on November 5th, this being done at a time when it was computed that the tide would be relatively the same as on the date of the tragedy. Someone assumed the precise position at the cabin window that Tracy was alleged to have been in while firing. The jury members then took up the positions which the "identification witnesses" had marked on a diagram during their testimony. The man in the window was absolutely invisible!

A photograph was then taken from the point where "Honest" John Hogan claimed to have been when he saw Tracy firing and another view made by

a second camera to show that the first photograph had been taken from the correct position. These were later introduced as evidence.

No testimony was taken in Everett but on the reopening of court in Seattle next morning Frank A. Brown, life insurance solicitor, testified that McRae dropped his hand just before the first shot was fired from somewhere to the right of the sheriff. He also identified a Mr. Thompson, engineer of the Clark-Nickerson mill, and a Mr. Scott, as being armed with guns having stocks. Mike Luney, shingle weaver, told of a fear-crazed deputy running from the dock with a bullethole in his ear and crying out that one of the deputies had shot him. Fred Bissinger, a boy of 17, told of the deputies breaking for cover as soon as they had fired a volley at the men on the boat. It was only after the heavy firing that he saw a man on the boat pull a revolver from his pocket and commence to shoot. He saw but two revolvers in action on the Verona.

One of the most dramatic and clinching blows for the defense was struck when there was introduced as a witness Fred Luke, who was a regular deputy sheriff and McRae's right-hand man. Luke's evidence of the various brutalities, given in a cold, matter-of-fact manner, was most convincing. He stated that the deputies wore white handkerchiefs around their necks so they would not be hammering each other. He contradicted McRae's testimony about Beverly Park by stating positively that the sheriff had gone out in a five passenger car, and not in a roadster as was claimed, and that they had both remained there during the entire affair. He told how he had swung at the I. W. W. men with such force that his club had broken from its leather wrist thong and disappeared into the woods. When questioned about the use of clubs in dispersing street crowds at the I. W. W. meetings he said:

"I used my sap as a club and struck them and drove them away with it."

"Why didn't you use your hands and push them out?" asked Cooley.

"I didn't think we had a right to use our hands," said the big ex-deputy.

"What do you mean by that?" said the surprised lawyer.

"Well," replied the witness, "what did they give us the saps for?"

Cooley also asked this witness why he had struck the men at Beverly Park.

"Well," replied the ex-deputy, "if you want to know, that was the idea of the Commercial Club. That was what they recommended."

Luke, who was a guard at the approach to the dock on November 5th, told of having explained the workings of a rifle to a deputy while the shooting was in progress. The state at first had contended that there were no rifles on the dock and later had made the half-hearted plea that none of the rifles which were proven to have been there were fired.

Following this important witness the defense introduced Fird Winkley, A. E. Amiott, Dr. Guy N. Ford, Charles Leo, Ed Armstrong, mate of the Verona and a witness for the state, and B. R. Watson, to corroborate the already convincing evidence that the stern of the Verona was swung quite a distance from the dock.

Robert Mills, business agent of the Everett Shingle Weavers, who had been called to the stand on several occasions to testify to minor matters, was then recalled. He testified that it was his hand which protruded from the Verona cabin window in the photographs, and that his head was resting against the window jamb on the left hand side as far out as it would be possible to get without crawling out of the window. As Mills was a familiar figure to the entire jury and was also possessed of a peculiarly unforgettable type of countenance, the state's identification of Tracy was shown to have been false.

The Chief of Police of Seattle, Charles Beckingham, corroborated previous testimony by stating that the identification and selection of I. W. W. men had been made from a dark cell by two Pinkerton

men, Smith and Reese, aided by one of the defendants, I. P. McDowell, alias Charles Adams.

Malcolm McLaren was then placed upon the stand and the admission secured that he was a detective and had formerly been connected with the Burns Agency. Objection was made to a question about the employment of McLaren in the case, to which Vanderveer replied that it was the purpose of the defense to prove that the case was not being prosecuted by the State of Washington at all. In the absence of the jury Vanderveer then offered to prove that McLaren had been brought from Los Angeles and retained in the employ of certain mill owners, among them being "Governor" Clough and Mr. Moody of the First National Bank, and that McLaren had charge of the work of procuring the evidence introduced by the state. He offered to prove that Veitch and Cooley were employed by the same people. The court sustained the objection of the state to the three offers.

Testimony on various phases of the case was then given by Mrs. Fannie Jordan, proprietor of an apartment house in Seattle, Nick Shugar, Henry Luce, Paul Blakenship, Charles W. Dean, and later on by Oliver Burnett.

Captain Chauncey Wiman was called to the stand, but it happened that he had gone into hiding so soon after the boat landed that he could testify to nothing of particular importance. From his appearance on the witness stand it seemed that he was still nearly scared to death.

Another surprise for the prosecution was then sprung by placing Joseph Schofield on the witness stand. Schofield told of having been beaten up at the city dock by Joseph Irving, during the time they were lining up the forty-one I. W. W. men for deportation. The witness displayed the scar on his head that had resulted from the wound made by the gun butt, and described the drunken condition of McRae and other deputies on the occasion of his injury. And then he told that "Governor" Clough had gone to his wife just a couple of days before he

took the witness stand and had given her $75.00. This deputy witness was on the dock November 5th, and he described the affair. He swore that McRae had his gun drawn before any shooting started, that there were rifles in use on the dock, that a man was firing a Winchester rifle from the tug Edison. He was handed a bolt action army rifle to use but made no use of it. Schofield voluntarily came from Oregon to testify for the defense.

Chief Beckingham resumed the stand and was asked further about McDowell, alias Adams. He said:

"We sent a man in with this man Adams, who was in constant fear that somebody might see him, and he would stand way back that he might tip this man with him and this man's fingers came out to identify the I. W. W. men who were supposed to have guns."

"What inducements were made to this man Adams?" asked Vanderveer.

"In the presence of Mr. Cooley and Mr. Webb and Captain Tennant and myself he was told that he could help the state and there would be no punishment given him. He was taken to Everett with the impression that he would be let out and taken care of."

Another ex-deputy, Fred Plymale, confirmed the statements of Fred Luke in regard to McRae's use of a five passenger car at Beverly Park and showed that it was impossible for the sheriff to have attended a dance at the hour he had claimed. The efforts of the prosecution to shake the testimony that had been given by Fred Luke was shown by this witness who testified that he had been approached by Mr. Clifford Newton, as agent for Mr. Cooley, and that at an arranged conversation McRae had tried to have him state that the runabout had been used to go to the slugging party.

Walter Mulholland, an 18 year old boy, and Henry Krieg, both of whom were members of the I. W. W. and passengers on the Verona, then testified in detail about the shattering gun fire and the

wounding of men on board the boat. Mulholland told of wounds received, one bullet still being in his person at that time. Krieg, not being familiar with military terms, stated that there were many shells on the deck of the Verona after the trouble, and the prosecution thought they had scored quite a point until re-direct examination brought out the fact that Henry meant the lead bullets that had been fired from the dock.

E. Carl Pearson, Snohomish County Treasurer, rather unwillingly corroborated the testimony of ex-deputies Luke and Plymale in regard to the actions of McRae at Beverly Park.

The witness chair seemed almost to swallow the next nine witnesses who were boys averaging about twelve years in age. These lads had picked up shells on and beneath the dock to keep as mementos of the "Battle." Handfuls of shells of various sizes and description, from revolver, rifle and shotgun, intermingled with rifle clips and unfired copper-jacketed rifle cartridges, were piled upon the clerk's desk as exhibits by these youthful witnesses. After the various shells had been classified by L. B. Knowlton, an expert in charge of ammunition sales for the Whiton Hardware Company of Seattle for six years, the boys were recalled to the stand to testify to the splintered condition of the warehouses, their evidence proving that a large number of shots had been fired from the interior of the warehouses directly thru the walls. The boys who testified were Jack Warren, Palmer Strand, Rollie Jackson, William Layton, Eugene Meives, Guy Warner, Tom Wolf, Harvey Peterson, and Roy Jensen. Veitch, by this time thoroly disgusted with the turn taken by the case, excused these witnesses without even a pretense of cross-examination.

Completely clinching this link in the evidence against the citizen deputies was the testimony of Miss Lillian Goldthorpe and her mother, Hannah Goldthorpe. Miss Goldthorpe, waitress in the Commercial Club dining room, picked up some rifle shells that had fallen from the rifles stacked in the

office, and also from the pocket of one of the hunting coats lying on the floor. She took these home to her mother who afterward turned them over to Attorney Moore. She also identified certain murderous looking blackjacks as being the same as those stored in the Club. It is hardly necessary to state that the open-shop advocates who continually prate about the "right of a person to work when and where they please" were not slow about taking away Lillian's right to work at the Commercial Club after she had given this truthful testimony!

James Hadley, I. W. W. member on the Verona, told how he had dived overboard to escape the murderous fire and had been the only man in the water to regain a place on the boat.

"I saw two go overboard and I didn't see them any more," said Hadley. "Then I saw another man four feet from me and he seemed to be swimming all right, and all of a sudden he went down and I never saw him any more. I was looking right at him and he just closed his eyes and sank."

Mario Marino, an 18 year old member of the I. W. W., then told of the serious wounds he had received on the boat. He was followed by Brockman B. Armstrong, another member of the union, who was close to the rail on the port side of the boat. He saw a puff of smoke slightly to the rear of McRae directly after the sound of the first shot. A rifle bullet cut a piece out of his forehead and a second went thru his cap and creased his scalp, felling him to his knees. Owen Genty was shot thru the kidney on the one side of him, and Gust Turnquist was hit in the knee on the other. As he lay in the heap of wounded men a buckshot buried itself in the side of his head near the temple. As the Verona was pulling out he tried to crawl to shelter and was just missed by a rifle bullet from the dock situated to the south.

Archie Collins, who had previously testified about Beverly Park, was then called to the stand to tell of the trip to Everett and the trouble that resulted. Prosecutor Black displayed his usual asininity by

asking in regard to preparations made by Verona passengers:

"What were they taking or not taking?"

"There might be two or three million things they were not taking," cut in Judge Ronald chidingly.

Black's examination of the various witnesses was aptly described by Publicity Agent Charles Ashleigh in the Industrial Worker, as follows:

"His examinations usually act as a soporific; heads are observed nodding dully thruout the courtroom and one is led to wonder whether, if he were allowed to continue, there would not be a sort of fairy-tale scene in which the surprised visitor to the court would see audience, jury, lawyers, judge, prisoner and functionaries buried in deep slumber accompanied only by a species of hypnotic twittering which could be traced eventually to a dignified youth who was lulled to sleep by his own narcotic burblings but continued, mechanically, to utter the same question over and over again."

During this dreamy questioning Black asked about the men who were cleaning up the boat on its return trip, with a view to having the witness state that there were empty shells all over the deck. His question was:

"Did you pick anything up from the floor?"

Instantly the courtroom was galvanized into life by Collin's startling answer:

"I picked up an eye, a man's eye."

The witness had lifted from the blood-stained deck a long splinter of wood on which was impaled a human eye!

The story of Fred Savery was typical of the unrecognized empire builders who make up the migratory class. Fred was born in Russia, his folks moving to Austria and then migrating to Canada when the lad was but two years old. At the age of nine he started at farm work and at twelve he was big enough to handle logs and work in the woods. Savery took the stand in his uniform of slavery, red mackinaw shirt, stagged-off pants, caulked shoes, and a battered slouch hat in his hand. The honest

simplicity of his halting French-Canadian speech carried more weight than the too smooth flowing tales told by the well drilled citizen deputies on whom the prosecution depended for conviction.

Cooley dwelt at great length on the constant travel of this witness, a feature incidental to the life of every migratory worker. Even the judge tired of these tactics and told the prosecution that there was no way to stop them from asking the interminable questions but it was merely a waste of time. But all of Cooley's dilatory tactics could not erase from the minds of the listeners the simple, earnest, sincere story Fred Savery told of the death of his fellow worker, Hugo Gerlot.

Charles Ashleigh was then placed upon the witness stand to testify to having been selected as one of the speakers to go to Everett on November 5th. He stated that he had gone over on the Interurban and had returned that afternoon at four o'clock. After the prosecution had interrogated him about certain articles published subsequent to the tragedy Ashleigh was excused.

To impeach the testimony of William Kenneth, wharfinger at the City Dock, the defense then introduced Peter Aikken of Everett. Following this witness Owen Genty, one of the I. W. W. men wounded on the Verona, gave an account of the affair and stated that the first shot came from a point just to the rear of the sheriff.

Raymond Lee, a youth of 19 years, told of having gone to Everett on the day of the Beverly Park affair in order to mail free speech pamphlets directly to a number of Everett citizens. He went to the dock at the time of the deportation, getting past the deputies on a plea of wanting to see his uncle, his youth and neat appearance not being at all in accord with the current idea of what an I. W. W. member looked like. Lee was cross-questioned at great length by Veitch. This witness told the story of the death of Abraham Rabinowitz on the Verona in these few, simple words:

View of Beverly Park, showing County Road.

"Rabinowitz was lying on top of me with his head on my leg. I felt my leg getting wet and I reached back to see what it was, and when I pulled my hand away it was covered with blood. He was shot in the back of the brain."

James McRoden, I. W. W. member who was on the Verona, gave corroborative testimony about the first shot having been from the dock.

James Francis Billings, one of the free speech prisoners, testified that he was armed with a Colts 41 revolver on the Verona, and shortly after the shooting started he went to the engineer of the boat and ordered him to get the Verona away from the dock. He threw the gun overboard on the return trip to Seattle. Black tried to make light of the serious injuries this witness had received at Beverly Park by asking him if all that he received was not a little brush on the shin. The witness answered:

"No sir. I had a black eye. I was beaten over both eyes as far as that is concerned. My arms were held out by one big man on either side and I was beaten on both sides. As Sheriff McRae went past me he said 'Give it to him good,' and when I saw what was coming I dropped in order to save my face, and the man on the left hand side kicked me from the middle of my back clear down to my heels, and he kept kicking me until the fellow on the right told him to kick me no more as I was all in. My back and my hip have bothered me ever since."

Black tried to interrupt the witness and also endeavored to have his answer stricken from the testimony but the judge answered his objection by saying:

"I told you to withdraw the question and you didn't do it."

Vanderveer asked Billings the question:

"Why did you carry a gun on the fifth of November?"

"I took it for my own personal benefit," replied Billings. "I didn't intend to let anybody beat me up like I was beaten on October 30th in the condition I was in. I was in bad condition at the time."

Harvey E. Wood, an employe of the Jamison Mill Company, took the stand and told of a visit made by Jefferson Beard to the bunkhouse of the mill company on the night of November 4th and stated that at the time there were six automatic shot guns and three pump guns in the place. These were for the use of James B. Reed, Neal Jamison, Joe Hosh, Roy Hosh, Walter S. Downs, and a man named McCortell. This witness had acted as a strike-breaker up until the time he was subpoenaed.

Two of the defendants, Benjamin F. Legg and Jack Leonard, fully verified the story told by Billings.

Leland Butcher, an I. W. W. member who was on the Verona, told of how he had been shot in the leg. When asked why he had joined the I. W. W. he answered:

"I joined the I. W. W. to better my own condition and to make the conditions my father was laboring under for the last 25 years, with barely enough to keep himself and family, a thing of the past."

Another of the defendants, Ed Roth, who had been seriously wounded on the Verona, gave an unshaken story of the outrage. Roth testified that he had been shot in the abdomen at the very beginning of the trouble and because of his wounded condition and the fact that there were wounded men piled on top of him he had been unable to move until some time after the Verona had left the dock. This testimony showed the absurdity of McRae's pretended identification of the witness. Roth was a member of the International Longshoremen's Association and had joined the I. W. W. on the day before the tragedy.

John Stroka, a lad of 18, victim of the deputies at Beverly Park and a passenger on the Verona, gave testimony regarding the men wounded on the boat.

The next witness was Ernest P. Marsh, president of the State Federation of Labor, who was called for the purpose of impeaching the testimony of Mayor Merrill and also to prove that Mrs. Frennette was a visitor at the Everett Labor Temple on the morning

of November 5th, this last being added confirmation of the fact that Clyde Gibbons had committed perjury on the stand.

To the ordinary mind—and certainly the minds of the prosecution lawyers were not above the ordinary—the social idealist is an inexplicable mystery. Small wonder then that they could not understand the causes that impelled the next witness, Abraham Bonnet Wimborne, one of the defendants, to answer the call for fighters to defend free speech.

Wimborne, the son of a Jewish Rabbi, told from the witness stand how he had first joined the Socialist Party, afterward coming in contact with the I. W. W., and upon hearing of the cruel beating given to James Rowan, had decided to leave Portland for Everett to fight for free speech. Arriving in Seattle on November 4th, he took passage on the steamer Verona the next day.

Prosecutor Black asked the witness what were the preparations made by the men on the boat.

"Don't misunderstand my words, Mr. Black," responded Wimborne, "when I say prepared, I mean they were armed with the spirit of determination. Determined to uphold the right of free speech with their feeble strength; that is, I never really believed it would be possible for the outrages and brutalities to come under the stars and stripes, and I didn't think it was necessary for anything else."

"Then when these men left they were determined?" inquired Black.

"Yes, determined that they would uphold the spirit of the Constitution; if not, go to jail. There were men in Everett who would refuse the right of workingmen to come and tell the workers that they had a way whereby the little children could get sufficient clothing, sufficient food, and the right of education, and other things which they can only gain—how? By organizing into industrial unions, sir, that is what I meant. We do not believe in bloodshed. Thuggery is not our method. What can a handful of workers do against the mighty forces

of Maxim guns and the artillery of the capitalist class?"

"Did you consider yourself a fighting member?" questioned Black.

"If you mean am I a moral fighter? yes; but physically—why, look at me! Do I look like a fighter?" said the slightly built witness.

"Did you or did you not expect to go to jail when you left Portland?" asked the prosecutor.

"My dear Mr. Black, I didn't know and I didn't care!" responded Wimborne with a shrug of his shoulders.

Wimborne joined the I. W. W. while in the Everett County Jail.

Michael J. Reilley, another of the defendants, testified as to the firing of the first shot from the dock and also gave the story of the death of Abraham Rabinowitz. Vanderveer asked him the question:

"Do you know why you are a defendant?"

"Yes, sir," replied Reilley, "because I didn't talk to them in the city jail in Seattle. I was never picked out."

Attorney H. D. Cooley was recalled to the stand and was made to admit that he was a member of the Commercial Club and a citizen deputy on the dock November 5th. He was asked by Vanderveer:

"Did you see any guns on the dock?"

"Yes sir."

"Did you see any guns fired on the dock?"

"Yes sir."

"Did you see any guns fired on the boat?"

"No sir."

"Did you see a gun on the boat?"

"I did not."

"You were in full view of the boat?"

"I was."

Yet the ethics of the legal profession are such that this attorney could justify his actions in laboring for months in an endeavor to secure, by any and all means, the conviction of the men on the boat!

Defendant Charles Black testified that McRae

dropped his hand to his gun and pulled it just as one of the deputies fired from a point just behind the sheriff. Black ran down the deck and into the cabin, passing in front of the windows from which the deputies had sworn that heavy firing was going on.

Leonard Broman, working partner with Abraham Rabinowitz, then took the stand and told his story. When asked what were the benefits he received from having joined the I. W. W., the witness replied:

"They raised the wages and shortened the hours. Before I joined the I. W. W. the wages I received in Ellis, Kansas, was $3.00 for twelve hours and last fall the I. W. W. got $3.50 for nine hours on the same work."

Ex-deputy Charles Lawry told of various brutalities at the jail and also impeached McRae's testimony in many other particulars.

Dr. Grant Calhoun, who had attended the more seriously injured men who were taken from the Verona on its return to Seattle, told of the number and nature of the wounds that had been inflicted. On eight of the men examined he had found twenty-one serious wounds, counting the entrance and exit of the same bullet as only one wound. Veitch conducted no cross-examination of the witness.

Joe Manning, J. H. Beyers, and Harvey Hubler, all three of them defendants, gave their testimony. Manning told of having been seated in the cabin with Tracy when the firing commenced, after which he sought cover behind the smokestack and was joined by Tracy a moment later. Beyers identified Deputy Bridge as having stood just behind McRae with his revolver drawn as tho firing when the first shot was heard. This witness also corroborated the story of Billings in regard to demanding that the engineer take the boat away from the dock. Hubler verified the statements about conditions on the Verona and also told of being taken from his jail cell by force on an order signed by detective McLaren in an attempt to have him discharge the defense attorneys and accept an alleged lawyer from Los Angeles.

THOMAS H. TRACY

Harry Parker and C. C. England told of injuries sustained on the Verona, and John Riely stated there was absolutely no shooting from the cabin windows, that being impossible because the men on the boat had crowded the entire rail at that side.

Jerry L. Finch, former deputy prosecuting attorney of King County, gave impeaching testimony against Wm. Kenneth and Charles Tucker. Cooley asked this witness about his interviews with the different state's witnesses:

"If you talked with all of them, you would probably have something on all of them?"

The judge would not let Finch answer the question, but there is no doubt that Cooley had the correct idea about the character of the witnesses on his side of the case.

In detailing certain arrests Sheriff McRae had claimed that men taken from the shingleweavers' picket line were members of the I. W. W. B. Said was one of the men so mentioned. Said took the witness stand and testified that he was a member of the longshoremen's union and was not and had not been a member of the I. W. W.

J. G. Brown, president of the International Shingleweavers' Union, testified that the various men arrested on the picket line in Everett were either members of the shingle weavers' union or else were longshoremen from Seattle, none of the men named by McRae being members of the I. W. W. The testimony of Brown was also of such a nature as to be impeaching of the statements of Mayor Merrill on the witness stand.

Charles Gray, Robert Adams, and Joe Ghilezano, I. W. W. men on the Verona, then testified, Adams telling of having been shot thru the elbow, and Ghilezano giving the details of the way in which his kneecap had been shot off and other injuries received.

The murderous intentions of the deputies were further shown by the testimony of Nels Bruseth, who ran down to the shore to launch a boat and

rescue the men in the water. He was stopped in this errand of mercy by the deputies.

Civil Engineer F. Whitwith, Jr., of the firm of Rutherford and Whitwith, surveyed the dock and the steamer Verona and made a report in court of his findings. His evidence clearly showed that there was rifle, shotgun and revolver fire of a wild character from the interior of the warehouses and from many points on the dock. He stated that there were one hundred and seventy-three rifle or revolver bullet marks, exclusive of the B-B and buckshot markings which were too numerous to count, on the Verona, these having come from the dock, the shore, and the Improvement Dock to the south. There were sixteen marks on the boat that appeared as tho they might have been from revolver fire proceeding from the boat itself. There were also small triangular shaped gouges in the planking of the dock, the apex of the triangles indicating that bullets had struck there and proceeded onward from the Klatawa slip to the open space on the dock where deputies had been stationed. The physical facts thus introduced were incontrovertible.

Defendant J. D. Houlihan gave positive testimony to the effect that he had not spoken privately with "Red" Doran in the I. W. W. hall on the morning of November 5th, that he had received no gun from Doran or anyone else, that he did not have the conversation which Auspos imputed to him, that he had no talk with Auspos on the return trip. All efforts to confuse this witness failed of their purpose.

In verification of the testimony about deputies firing on the Verona from the Improvement Company Dock the defense brought Percy Walker upon the stand. Walker had been cruising around the bay in a little gasoline launch and saw men armed with long guns, probably rifles or shotguns, leaning over a breastwork of steel pipes and firing in the direction of the Verona.

Lawrence Manning, Harston Peters, and Ed. J. Shapeero, defendants, told their simple straightforward stories of the "battle." Peters stated that

as he lay under cover and heard the shots coming from the dock he "wished to Christ that he did have a gun." Shapeero told of the wounds he had received and of the way the uninjured men cared for the wounded persons on the boat.

Mrs. Joyce Peters testified that she had gone to Everett on the morning of November 5th in company with Mrs. Lorna Mahler. The reason she did not go on the Verona was because the trip by water had made Mrs. Mahler ill on previous occasions. She saw Mrs. Frennette in Everett only when they were on the same interurban car leaving for Seattle after the tragedy.

Albert Doninger, W. B. Montgomery and Japheth Banfield, I. W. W. men who were on the Verona, all placed the first shot as having come from the dock immediately after the sheriff had cried out "You can't land here."

N. Inscho, Chief of Police of Wenatchee, testified that during the time the I. W. W. carried on their successful fight for free speech in his city there were no incendiary fires, no property destroyed, no assaults or acts of violence committed, and no resistance to arrest.

H. W. Mullinger, lodging house proprietor, John M. Hogan, road construction contractor, Edward Case, railroad grading contractor, William Kincaid, alfalfa farmer, and John Egan, teamster, all of North Yakima and vicinity, were called as character witnesses for Tracy, the defendant having worked with or for them for a number of years.

The defense followed these witnesses with Oscar Carlson, the passenger on the Verona who had been fairly riddled with bullets. Carlson testified that he was not and never had been a member of the I. W. W., that he had gone to Everett with his working partner, Nordstrom, as a sort of an excursion trip, that he had purchased a one way ticket which was taken up by the captain after the boat had left Seattle, that he intended returning by way of the Interurban, and that the men on the boat were orderly and well behaved. He told of having gone to the

very front of the boat as it pulled into Everett from which point he heard the first shot, which was fired from the dock. He fell immediately and while prostrate was struck with bullet after bullet. He then told of having entered suit against the Vashon Navigation Company for $50,000.00 on account of injuries received. Robert C. Saunders, of the law firm of Saunders and Nelson, then testified that he was handling the case for Carlson and had made out the affidavit of complaint himself and was responsible for the portion that alleged that a lawless mob were on the boat, Carlson having made no such statement to him at any time.

Charles Ashleigh was recalled to the stand to testify to having telephoned to the Seattle newspapers on November 4th, requesting them to send reporters to Everett the next day. He was followed on the stand by John T. Doran, familiarly known as "Red" on account of the color of his hair. Doran stated that he was the author of the handbill distributed in Everett prior to the attempted meeting of November 5th. He positively denied having given a gun to Houlihan or anyone else on November 5th. Upon cross-examination he said that he was in charge of the work of checking the number of men who went on the Verona to Everett, and had paid the transportation of the men in a lump sum.

As the next to the last witness on its side of the long-drawn out case the defense placed on the stand the defendant, Thomas H. Tracy. The witness told of having been one of a working class family, too large to be properly cared for and having to leave home and make his own way in the world before he was eleven years old. From that time on he had followed farming, teaming and construction work in all parts of the west, his bronzed appearance above the prison pallor giving evidence of his outdoor life.

Tracy told of having been secretary of the I. W. W. in Everett for a short time, that being the only official position he had ever held in the organization. He explained his position on the boat at the time

it docked, stating that the first shot apparently came from the dock and struck close to where he was sitting. Immediately the boat listed and threw him away from the window, after which he sought a place of safety behind the smokestack. He denied having been in any way a party to a conspiracy to commit an act of violence or to kill anyone.

"You are charged here, Mr. Tracy," said Vanderveer, "with having aided and abetted an unknown man in killing Jefferson Beard. Are you guilty or not guilty?"

"I am not guilty," replied Tracy without a trace of emotion.

The cross-questioning of the defendant in this momentous case was conducted by citizen-deputy Cooley. His questions to the man whom he and his fellow conspirators on the dock had not succeeded in murdering were of the most trivial nature, clearly proving that arch-sleuth McLaren had been unable to discover or to manufacture anything that would make Tracy's record other than that of a plain, unassuming, migratory worker.

"Where did you vote last?" asked Cooley.

"I never voted." responded Tracy.

"Never voted in your life?" queried Cooley.

"No!" replied the defendant who for the time represented the entire migratory class. "I was never in one place long enough!"

Then, acting on the class theory that it is an honor to be a "globe-trotter" but a disgrace to be a "blanket-stiff," the prosecutor brought out Tracy's travels in minute detail. This examination of the railroad construction worker brought home to the listeners the truth of the little verse:

"He built the road;
With others of his class he built the road;
Now o'er its weary length he packs his load,
Chasing a Job, spurred on by Hunger's goad,
He walks and walks and walks and walks,
And wonders why in Hell he built the road!"

Then there hobbled into the court room on crutches a stripling with an empty trouser leg, his face

drawn with suffering, and who was able to get into the witness chair only by obviously painful efforts with the assistance of Vanderveer and Judge Ronald. This was Harry Golden, whose entire left leg had been amputated after having been shattered by a high-power rifle bullet fired by a "law and order" deputy.

Golden stated that he had been born in Poland twenty-two years before, and had come to the United States at the age of sixteen. He was asked:

"Why did you come to this country?"

"I came to the United States," said the witness, "because it is supposed to be a free country."

"We object to that as immaterial!" cried prosecutor Veitch.

The witness described the firing of the first shot and told of his attempts to find a place of safety. He said he was wounded in the hand as he attempted to climb into a life boat. He remained on the starboard side of the starboard life boat until the Verona had backed out into the bay. Then just as he was starting to raise up a rifle bullet struck his leg, taking a course thru the limb and emerging at the knee.

"That is on your left—?"

"On my left, yes, which I ain't got; I lost it!" said the witness.

"Did I understand you to say you stood up to see something before you were shot?" asked Veitch.

"Why, sure!" replied Golden contemptuously. "I had my two legs then."

Veitch wished to learn the exact location of the witness at the time he was shot and to that end referred to the model with the remark:

"Look here. Here is the boat as it was at the dock."

"I don't like to look at it!" said Golden heatedly. "I lost my leg on that boat!"

The witness was in evident pain during the examination, having just had a hospital treatment applied to his raw stump, and was rather irritable as a consequence. He answered several questions

EVERETT from the water. To the left G.N. depot from where by-standers viewed battle.

rather sharply and proceeded to explain his answers. At one of these interruptions Judge Ronald exclaimed to the witness angrily:

"When he asks you a question answer yes or no! If you want to live in this country try and live like an American!"

"I take an exception to Your Honor's remarks!" said Moore emphatically.

The judge grudgingly allowed an exception to his uncalled for statement.

In concluding his examination Veitch asked the witness:

"What is your name in Polish?"

"I am not Polish; I am a Jew," replied Golden.

"Well, what is your family name in Poland?" asked the prosecutor.

"Goldenhaul, or something like that. Now I call myself Golden. When we come to this country—."

"Never mind," interposed Veitch hurriedly.

"When we come to this country for good luck we always change the name, you know," finished Golden, and added bitterly, "I sure did have good luck!"

This ended the case in chief for the defense, the marshalling of such a mass of testimony from a host of disinterested witnesses, men, women and children, putting it on an entirely different footing from the prejudiced testimony brought forward by the prosecution.

In rebuttal of testimony produced by the defense the prosecution introduced a series of witnesses. As in their case in chief every one of the parties who testified were in some way concerned in the case as deputies, jailers, police officers, dance hall habitues, detectives, and the like. The witnesses were W. P. Bell, Dr. F. R. Hedges, E. E. Murphy, Charles Hall, Rudolph Weidaur, W. J. Britt, Percy Ames, Harry Blackburn, Reuben Westover, Harry Groger, W. M. Maloney, Albert Burke, W. R. Conner, A. E. Andrews, David D. Young, Howard Hathaway, George Leonard Mickel, Paul Hill, E. C. Mony, B. H. Bryan, all of whom were deputies, D. C. Pearson, W. H.

Bridge, and "Honest" John Hogan, all three jailers and deputies, Robert C. Hickey, city jailer, David Daniels and Adolph Miller, police officers, Charles Manning and J. T. Rogers, personal friends of McRae, Oscar Moline, dance hall musician, Albert McKay, of the Ocean Food Products Company located on the Everett Improvement Dock, T. J. McKinnon, employe of McKay, R. B. Williams, contractor, John Flynn, agent Everett Improvement Dock, W. W. Blain and F. S. Ruble, secretary and bookkeeper respectively of the Commercial Club and also deputies, A. E. Ballew, Great Northern depot agent, H. G. Keith, Great Northern detective, Charles Auspos, who was shown to be in receipt of favors as state's witness, and George Reese, Pinkerton informer and "stool pigeon."

One deputy, H. S. Groger, stated on cross-examination that he continuously fired at a man on the boat who appeared to be trying to untie the spring line. Outside of this evidence of a desire for wholesale slaughter nothing developed of sufficient importance to warrant the production of sur-rebuttal witnesses, except in the testimony of Auspos and Reese.

Auspos testified that defendant Billings in the presence of John Rawlings had stated in the Everett County jail that he had a gun that made a noise like a cannon. This was intended to controvert the testimony of Billings.

Reese related a conversation that Tracy was alleged to have carried on in his presence on the Verona as it was bound for Everett. He stated that a launch was seen approaching and someone remarked that it was probably coming to head them off, to which Tracy replied "Let them come; they will find we are ready for them, and we will give them something they are not looking for." This was intended as impeachment of Tracy.

Cross-examination of this informer brought out the fact that he was a Pinkerton agent at the time he was holding the office of delegate to the Central Labor Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Reese stated that he was employed on the waterfront during the longshoremen's strike with instructions to "look for everybody who was pulling the rough stuff, such as threatening to burn or attempting to burn warehouses, and shooting up non-union workers, and beating them up and so forth." He had been in the employ of the Pinkerton Agency for six weeks this last time before he was ordered to go down and join the I. W. W. He stated in answer to a question by Vanderveer:

"I was instructed to go down there and find out who these fellows were that was handling this phosphorus and pulling off this sabotage and the only way I could find out was to get a card and get in and get acquainted with them."

Attorney Moore in the absence of the jury offered to prove that Reese had practically manufactured this job for himself by promoting the very things he was supposed to discover. Moore stated some of the things he would prove if permitted by the court:

"That on or about August 1st Reese went to one J. M. Wilson, an official of the longshoremen's union, and endeavored to get $10.00 with which to buy dynamite to blow up a certain city dock; that on September 20th the witness gave Percy May, a member of the longshoremen's union, a bottle of phosphorus with instructions to start a fire at Pier 5; that in the month of July the witness opposed a settlement of the longshoremen's strike and when members of the union argued that they could remain out no longer as they had no money, Reese clapped his pockets and said, 'you fellows wouldn't be starving if you had the nerve that I have got. Why don't you go out and get it, take it off the scabs the way I do;' that in September Feinberg had to make Reese leave the speaker's stand in Everett because he was talking on matters harmful to industrial union propaganda; that on November 4th the witness went to the place where Feinberg was employed and left a suit of clothes to be pressed, saying to Feinberg, after he had ascertained that Feinberg was thinking of going to Everett on the following day,

"mark the bill 'paid' so I will have a receipt if you don't come back;" that on August 16th, the day before the big dock fire in Seattle, Reese went to the down-town office of the same dye works in which Walker C. Smith was manager and in charge of the purchase of chemicals and tried to get Smith to purchase for him some carbon disulphide to be used in connection with phosphorus; that in the month of November in the Labor Temple, in the presence of Sam Sadler, Reese had said to Albert Brilliant that if the longshoremen had any guts they would go out with guns and clean up the scabs on the waterfront; and that Reese tried to get other men to co-operate with him in a scheme to capture a Government boat lying in the Sound during the progress of the longshoremen's strike."

The court refused to allow the defense to go into these matters so the only showing of the true character of Reese was confined to examination as to the perjury he had committed in his initial sworn statement to the defense.

The sur-rebuttal of the defense occupied but a few minutes. It was admitted that Mr. Garver, the court reporter, would swear that Reese had made an initial statement to the defense counsel and that the same had been taken down stenographically and sworn to. Charles Tennant, captain of the detective force of the Seattle police department, testified to having telephoned to the sheriff's office in Everett on November 5th to give the information that a boatload of I. W. W. men had left for Everett. He did not describe the body of men in any way and had not said that they were armed. This was for the purpose of showing that somewhere between the time that Jefferson Beard received the message and the time it was transmitted to the deputies some one had insterted the statement that the men on the boat were heavily armed. John Rawlings, defendant, testified that no such conversation as that related by Auspos had occured in the presence of defendant Billings. Thomas H. Tracy denied making the

threats ascribed to him by Reese, and this closed the hearing of evidence in the case.

Outside the courtroom on the day the last of the evidence was introduced there was in progress one of the largest demonstrations of Labor ever held in the Pacific Northwest. The date was May first, and International Labor Day was celebrated by the united radicals of the entire city and surrounding district. Meeting at the I. W. W. hall at 10:30 in the morning, thousands of men and women fell into a marching line of fours, a committee pinning a red rose or carnation on each marcher. Fifteen solid blocks of these marchers, headed by Wagner's Band, then wended their way thru the streets to Mount Pleasant Cemetery and grouped themselves around the graves of Baran, Gerlot and Looney—Labor's martyred dead.

There, upon the hillside, in accordance with his final wishes, the ashes of Joe Hill were scattered to the breeze, and with them were cast upon the air and on the graves beneath, the ashes of Jessie Lloyd and Patrick Brennan, two loyal fighters in the class struggle who had died during the year just passed.

A fitting song service, with a few simple words by speakers in English, Russian, Swedish, Hungarian and Italian, in commemoration of those who had passed away, completed the tribute to the dead.

Nor were the living forgotten! The great crowd drifted from the graveside, but hundreds of them reassembled almost automatically and marched to the King County jail. Standing there, just outside of the very heart of the great city, the crowd, led by the I. W. W. choir, sang song after song from the revolutionary hymnal—the little red song book, each song being answered by one from the free speech prisoners confined in the jail. The service lasted until late in the day and, to complete the one labor day that is as broad as the world itself, a meeting was held in one of the largest halls of the city. At this meeting the final collection for the Everett Prisoners' Defense was taken and at the re-

quest of the imprisoned men one half of the proceeds was sent to aid in the liberation of Tom Mooney and his fellow victims of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association in San Francisco.

There remained but the reading of the instructions of the court and the addresses by the counsel for either side to complete this epoch making case and place it in the hands of the jury for their final verdict.

CHAPTER VIII.

PLEADINGS AND THE VERDICT

The instructions of the court, carefully prepared by Judge J. T. Ronald, required sixty-five minutes in the reading. These instructions were divided into twenty-three sections, each section representing a different phase of the case. Herewith is presented the first section in its entirety and a summary of the remaining portion:

"Ladies and Gentlemen of the Jury:

"My responsibility is to decide all questions of law in this case; yours to decide one question of fact. With these instructions my responsibility practically ends, your commences. You have taken a solemn oath that 'you will well and truly try and true delivery make between the State of Washington and the prisoner at the bar, whom you have in charge, according to the evidence.'

"There is no escape from the responsibility which has come to you, save in the faithful effort to render a true verdict. Any verdict other than one based upon pure conscience will be an injustice. An honest juror yields to no friendship, nor bears any enmity. He is moved by no sympathy, nor influenced by any prejudice. He seeks the approval of no one, nor fears the condemnation of anyone—save that one unerring, silent monitor, his own conscience. Disregard this whispering voice in yourself and you may fool the public, you may fool the defendant, you may, hereafter, with some effort, even close your own soul to her whispering reproaches and enjoy the ill-earned plaudits of the selfish or biased friend or interest whom you sought to please, but be assured you will not change the truth, you will not deceive justice which, at some time, and in some way, will collect

from you the penalty which is always sooner or later exacted from those who betray the truth.

"So let me urge that in deciding the issue of facts which is now your responsibility you be guided by these instructions which you have sworn to follow, and by their conscientious application to the evidence in this case.

"Do not permit yourselves to be swayed by sympathy, influenced by prejudice, or moved in the least by a consideration of what might or might not meet the approval or the condemnation of any person or class or persons, or of interest whatever. To do so will be an act alike dishonest, violative of your oath, substituting for a fair and impartial trial an unfair and a partial one. This is an epoch in your lives to which you will ever look back. Be sure that when you do you may face the smiling approval of your conscience rather than its stinging reproach.

"The guilt or innocence of this defendant is a single question of fact to be determined by the evidence alone. If this evidence shows defendant to be guilty, then no sympathy, no desire for approval, no fear of condemnation, can make him innocent; if the evidence fails to show him guilty, then no prejudice, no desire for approval, no fear of condemnation, can make him guilty. The issue is a momentous one, not only to the defendant, who, if innocent, deserves the deepest sympathy, for the accusation made against him is a serious one; but likewise to the public and to society at large, and the tranquility and security of our different communities.

"A false verdict against the defendant conflicts with the purpose and the laws of the State as effectively as a false verdict in his favor. The State has no higher duty or interest than to preserve all its citizens from suffering under unfounded accusations. If, on the other hand, the guilt of the defendant has been shown, a false verdict of acquittal would not only be a breach of your oaths, but it would inflict a grievous wrong upon the State. If a true verdict calls for conviction, the misfortune to the defendant is not in

the verdict, nor in the penalty, but in the fact it was his conduct which makes the verdict true. You alone of all the world, and who now possess all the facts, are therefore responsible for the verdict in this case. The law is not concerned about conviction merely—but it is concerned, deeply concerned, that juries shall conscientiously and fearlessly declare the truth. Whether it be conviction, or whether it be acquittal, a true verdict is justice—a false is injustice."

Judge Ronald followed this lecture on civic righteousness and personal duty with more specific instructions to the jury, of which the following are excerpts.

"In this case you must answer the question—Is this defendant guilty or innocent? * * * Keep constantly in mind this issue and do not go astray to discuss any other of the many issues that may be suggested by or may lay hidden among the great mass of evidence in this case. Whether the Industrial Workers of the World shall or shall not speak at a certain place in the City of Everett is not an issue here. * * * Whether the open or the closed shop shall prevail is not a subject for your consideration.

"Every defendant in a criminal case is presumed to be innocent. * * * You must be satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt of the facts necessary to show guilt before you can convict. * * * You should give the phrase 'proof beyond a reasonable doubt' its full meaning and weight as explained and defined to you in these instructions. On the other hand, you should not magnify nor exaggerate its force and fail to return a verdict of guilty simply because the evidence does not satisfy you of guilt to an absolute certainty. No crime can be proved to an absolute certainty.

"It does not follow because every one of the facts which are disputed between the parties may not be established beyond a reasonable doubt, that there cannot be a conviction. At the same time you will bear carefully in mind that all facts which are ne-

cessary to establish the conclusion of guilt must be proved beyond a reasonable doubt.

"There are two facts necessary to convict this defendant:

(1) That some person on the boat unlawfully killed Jefferson Beard.

(2) That this defendant aided, incited or encouraged such shooting.

"If you are satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt of these two facts, then you must convict, no matter what may be your belief concerning any other question in dispute in this case; if you have a reasonable doubt as to either of these two facts, then you must acquit."

The instructions then went into detail as to the rights of the workers to organize, to bargain in regard to compensation, hours of labor and conditions of work generally, to go on strike, to persuade or entice their fellow workers by peaceful means from taking the positions which they have left, to assemble at public places where such meetings are not prohibited by law and ordinance, and "no person, either private citizen or public official, has any right to deny, abridge or in any manner interfere with the full and free enjoyment of those privileges and any person who attempts to do so is himself guilty of an unlawful act."

After reciting such acts attributed to the workers in this case as were in violation of law, the instructions went on to state that "a sheriff has no authority to arrest any person without a warrant except upon probable cause for believing such person has violated a law of the state; nor has he authority after making such arrest to hold his prisoner in custody for a longer time than is reasonably necessary to cause proper complaint to be filed, and an opportunity given for bail. * * * A sheriff has no right or authority to interfere with or prevent any person from violating a city ordinance, nor has he the right or authority to arrest for violations of city ordinances" unless "the act threatened, or the act done,

in violation of such ordinance be at the same time violation of a state law."

The instructions then outlined the scope of criminal conspiracy, stating that it was unnecessary for one conspirator to know all of the other conspirators but that common design is the essence of the charge of conspiracy. The acts of one conspirator become the acts of any and all conspirators. In the eyes of the law the sheriff and the deputies also consituted in this case but one personality, the sheriff being bound by the acts of his deputies and the deputies being authorized by the powers of the sheriff. Also the ordinance dated September 21st, 1916, was held to be a valid one.

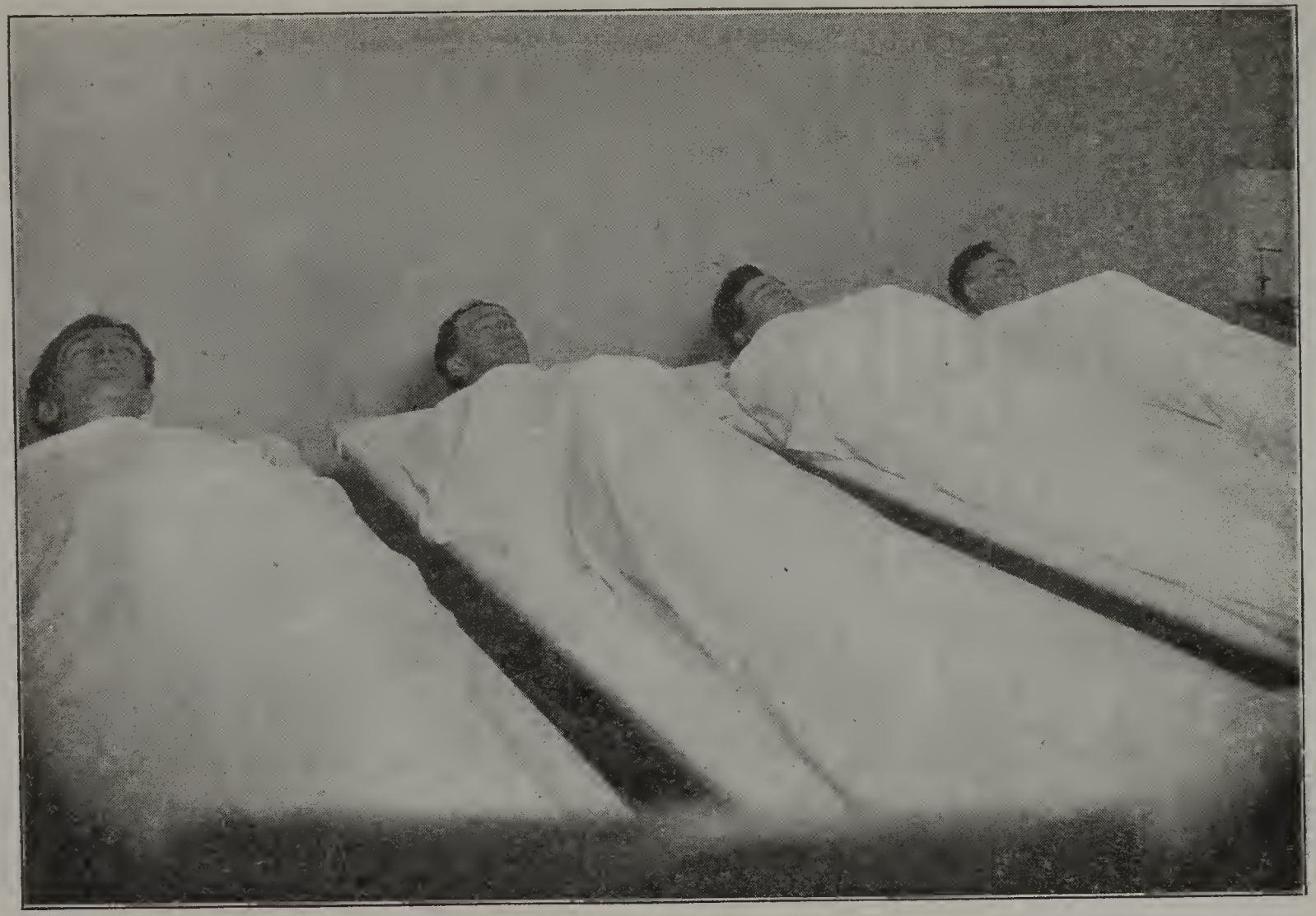
"Now whether any of the Industrial Workers of the World have been, prior to November 5, 1916, guilty of encouraging disrespect for law, or of unlawful assemblage, or of riot, is not the question on trial here. They could all be guilty of all the acts or offenses heretofore mentioned, and still this defendant be innocent of this particular crime charged on November 5th, or they could all be innocent of all the acts mentioned, and defendant still be guilty of the main charge here.

"Again, whether the sheriff or any of his assistants have been guilty of any of the acts charged against them is not on trial here. They could all be guilty of all the acts charged and still be the victims of unjustifiable shooting from that boat, or they could all be innocent of any offense, and still be the aggressors and cause of that shooting on the dock wherein Jefferson Beard lost his life.

"One of the questions in this case is the question—Which side was the aggressor on that occasion?

"In determining who was the aggressor it is your duty to consider all the facts and circumstances surrounding the situation, the relations of the parties to each other, their intentions toward each other, and all the things they did. You will also consider the past conduct of all the parties, any acts of violence or other assaults that may have been com-

Victims at Morgue.



John Looney Hugo Gerlot, Felix Baran Abe Rabinowitz

mitted, and any threats that may have been made, and the character as known and understood by each other.

"Therefore, simplify your deliberations and determine first the question: Did somebody on the boat unlawfully kill Jefferson Beard? If somebody on the boat did not kill Beard, then of course Tracy could not be guilty of aiding John Doe to do something which John Doe did not do. But if the State has satisfied you beyond a reasonable doubt that Beard was killed by a shot fired by somebody on the boat, then such killing is either unlawful, in which case John Doe would be guilty of one of three degrees of unlawful or felonious homicide, viz., murder in the first degree, murder in the second degree, or manslaughter; or it is justifiable in which case John Doe would not be guilty. Hence you will render one of four verdicts in this case—

1. Guilty of murder in the first degree, or
2. Guilty of murder in the second degree, or
3. Guilty of manslaughter, or
4. Not guilty.

"It is very desirable that you reach a verdict in this case. The law requires that your conclusion shall be unanimous. It is not required that any one of you should surrender his individual freedom of judgement, but it is well that each of you should have in mind that your true verdict cannot ordinarily be reached except by mutual consideration and discussion of all the different views that may suggest themselves to any of your number. The jury room is no place for pride of opinion. A verdict which is the result of real harmony, or that growing out of open-minded discussion between jurors, and a willingness to be convinced, with a proper regard for the opinions of others, and with a reasonable distrust of individual views not shared by their fellows, is a fair yielding of one reason to a stronger one; such, having in mind the great desirability of unanimity, is not open to criticism. The law contemplates that jurors shall, by their discussions, harmonize their views if possible, but not that they shall compromise

and yield for the mere purpose of agreement. One should not surrender his conscientious convictions.

"And now, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, I commit the case to your hands. Listen to the arguments. Regardless of what may be counsel's recollection of testimony, you must take and follow your own recollection. You are not required to adopt any view which counsel may suggest in argument, but you should give close attention to all they say. Take up your task fearlessly, with but one single aim—to discharge the obligations of your oaths. You have no class to satisfy—simply the dictates of your own conscience."

Taken as a whole the instructions were distinctly unfavorable to the defendant, not because of any particular bias of the judge whose political ambitions might have made him desirous of establishing a record for fairness, but by reason of the fact that the law itself on the question of criminal conspiracy is archaic and absurd, being based upon precedents established when the use of electricity and steam power were unknown, when the stage coach was the fastest means of locomotion and the tallow dip the principal form of illumination. This law, like all other statute law, was created thru the desire of the ruling class to protect property, therefore it contained no element of justice when applied to the modern proletariat, the twentieth century worker stripped of everything but his power to labor.

Following the reading of the court's instructions prosecutor Black made his argument, Vanderveer and Moore for the defense addressing the jury in turn, and Cooley making the concluding plea for the state. This arrangement gave Veitch no chance to turn loose his oratorical fireworks, much to the chagrin of the gentleman who had been so kindly loaned to the prosecution by the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

Black's lengthy address was a whine for pity because of his youth and a prayer for relief from the dire straits and legal bankrupcy into which Snoho-

mish County had fallen. It is summarized in the following:

"We are at the close of a great trial. A great deal of evidence has been introduced; practically two million five hundred words. From the standpoint of the attorneys who have tried this case the evidence has been very complicated because it had in it a great mass of evidence that was only remotely connected with the real issue at bar. You as jurors have a very simple question to decide in this case.

"Thomas H. Tracy is charged with the crime of murder in the first degree, not that he himself killed Jefferson Beard, but that he, Thomas H. Tracy, aided, incited and encouraged some unknown one to kill Jefferson Beard of Everett, on last November 5th.

"I repeat first that some person on the boat unlawfully killed Jefferson Beard; secondly that this defendant, aided, incited and encouraged such shooting.

"I come before you as the prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County. Owing to the exigencies of politics I was elected to office a few days after November 5th, the time of this catastrophe. Two months and a few days after, I took office and found a man charged with a crime that I did not have the power of prosecution over up to that time. Mr. Webb, then prosecuting attorney, who had started the action and initiated and seen fit to collect some of the evidence, was not able to complete the prosecution on account of the size of the trial.

"I am a young man without the experience that any man ought to have in the prosecuting of a case like this, a case the size of which has never been experienced in the State of Washington, and in many ways an absolutely pioneer case in criminal trials the world over.

"So the State has been hampered in that at the outset a young man, a new prosecuting attorney, has come into office and to him there has come a case that no man could read up concerning, and a large piece of battle—it is the State's contention, a battle

between hundreds of men on the boat and a large number of deputies on the dock, a battle absolutely and surely initiated by firing from the boat, but still a battle;—a case without parallel in the criminal history of this State or of the United States.

"It happens that fortunately the State has had assistance in this case. The State of Washington, thru its county commissioners, requested the assistance in this case of Mr. Cooley, whom you have all grown to know, a man who formerly for four years was prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County, and who since that time has been associated as assistant counsel in practically all the criminal prosecutions of Snohomish County that have required assistance.

"And in addition to this the State has been fortunate in having, at the request of the county commissioners, the assistance of Mr. Veitch, a young man it is true, but one who thru years of service in the district attorney's office in Los Angeles County had experience in criminal trials, and especially because of his connection with what are known as the conspiracy murder trials in Los Angeles County, and also in assisting the federal prosecution at Indianapolis. It has been necessary in this kind of a case for the State to have assistance.

"Now I told you my friends that I came here as prosecuting attorney of Snohomish County. I am also a deputy prosecuting attorney of King County under Mr. Lundin. After I was appointed I was very unpleasantly surprised by one statement. A little phrase, 'without pay,' so that I don't know whether really I am a deputy prosecuting attorney or not, because I found that in public office a man always likes to see the warrant come at the end of the month!

"You are a jury in this case from King County because the defendant and the other defendants filed an affidavit to the effect that they didn't expect that a jury selected in Snohomish County would give the defendant a fair trial. The State is happy in your selection and knows that you will follow the dictates of your conscience and is likewise confident that you

cannot help but believe that Jefferson Beard was killed by someone shooting from the Verona, and that Thomas H. Tracy, alias George Martin, incited, aided and encouraged in that shooting.

"Now, the witnesses on the dock are men of Everett, men of family, men who are laborers, but with families; men who are clerks, with interests in Snohomish County; men who hold some important positions, as lawyers; people with families, people who by residence have established reputation for truth and veracity; men who have established themselves, have made themselves successful, sometimes in merely that they have established a small home, or who have lived in Everett and have made friends and acquaintances. That is the class of men that were on the dock.

"There are only two classes of people who know anything about the shooting. The people on the dock are one set, and the people on the boat are the other.

The people on the boat, with but one or two exceptions, are men who have established no reputation for truth and veracity, have been successful in the world in no way, even from the standpoint of stable friends, living here and there, unfortunately; perchance, with some of them it is due to unfortunate circumstances and environments, and they have been unlucky, but still they haven't established stable friends in any community.

"Then there are the three boatmen on the boat—and those three men, unprejudiced, unbiased, not deputies and not Commercal Club members, but merely laborers, they know where the first shot came from, and they tell, and their testimony absolutely and entirely contradicts the testimony of the defense in this case from start to finish.

"And when you look at that red face and red hair and that honest expression of big Jack Hogan John Hogan here, and his honest blue eyes, it doesn't seem to me that you can have any more doubt than I have that Jack Hogan saw Tracy.

"Now, these men that come on the stand all con-

fess they had a common design. Their common design they say, was that about two o'clock in Everett they were going to speak at the corner of Wetmore and Hewitt Avenues, that is their common design.

"The court tells you that the purpose that they admit was unlawful, so Tracy, by the testimony adduced in his favor, was one of the men having a common design for an unlawful purpose. Tracy, regardless of his location, regardless of whether he fired or not, is guilty.

"The sheriff and his deputies could have been guilty of everything claimed against them previous to this and the defendant still be guilty of helping and encouraging someone else to unjustifiably kill Jefferson Beard.

"Under the Court's instructions there were acts done at Beverly Park that were unlawful. There is no question about that. Instead of this being a weakness on the State's part, it seems to me that it is an added strength. Because the I. W. W. used Beverly Park for what purpose? They jumped on it with desire, deeming it a fortunate circumstance because they wanted to inflame men to invade Everett. They jumped on this, the men at the head of the conspiracy, they jumped on Beverly Park because they could use it to inflame their members. How do we know? Their own statements! Their telegrams! 'Advertise conditions and send volunteers.' Volunteers for what? Volunteers for what? When a man represents things and so helps to make men mad he wants these men up there as volunteers for retaliation. And the Court has instructed you that if these men went up there with the purpose of retaliating, they are guilty. Tracy having been one of a common design makes it central, vital, in good conscience as citizens, that you return your verdict asked by the state.

"Any time a murder is committed it is important that prosecution be had and conviction secured. That is always vital from the standpoint of protection to society. The police, the sheriff's office, and the officials of all cities and states of the United

States sometimes forget themselves, I take it, sometimes do things they shouldn't do, sometimes do things they should be censured for, but the fact that they had is no reason that murder is to be excused or justified, because if you did, we would have no society. That is true in an ordinary murder case. That is overwhelmingly true in this case.

"The I. W. W. is an organization that realizes the great truth in combating government. They have stumbled upon an overwhelmingly successful instrument in fighting society. What is that? To commit a violation of the law in numbers, to violate the law by so many people that only a few can be prosecuted and even if they are convicted, the great majority go scott free. They built better than they knew when they stumbled upon the great secret that the violation of a law in great numbers would protect practically all of the violators. And this trial itself is proof of that.

"Snohomish County can ill afford the expense of this one trial; can ill afford the expense of two or three trials after this; would be overwhelmed with debt to convict all the men who are in this conspiracy, if there were a conspiracy it can't do it; most of them are safe from prosecution and they know it; and the only protection that Snohomish County has, and King County has, and the State of Washington has, and the United States has, is that when something happens like this a conviction be secured against a man who is guilty, not because you are convicting all, because you can't, you are helpless—but because that at least is the voice of warning to the men that if you lead an attempt you may be the one of the great number that will be caught. It is important from the standpoint of citizens of the State of Washington to establish the principle that crimes cannot be committed by numbers with impunity, that while it is fairly safe, it won't be absolutely safe. We have no protection. That is the vital part of this case. We have no protection.

"If this case were just that of murder committed by one man acting alone, the importance of your

JOHN LOONEY

verdict would be of small significance, compared with the importance of your verdict in a criminal case where the members are part of an organization. True, the society has no doubt a great many aims that are desirable to improve the welfare of the workingman. But it has one aim, one vital aim, in its platform to bring upon it the condemnation of thinking, sober men and women residing permanently in the State of Washington, and that is sabotage.

"We are not claiming that the killing of Jefferson Beard was in the exercise of sabotage. We are saying that sabotage along with the conscious withdrawal of efficiency, sabotage along with the destruction of property, may also mean crime.

"The I. W. W. members did not come to Everett for the purpose of employment; they were men who were wanderers upon the face of the earth, who desired to establish themselves nowhere, and none of them, as far as this witness stand is concerned, expected to work in Everett or to put sabotage in effect in Everett by working slow. The only way they could use sabotage in Everett was by the destruction of property. The mayor became alarmed, and the sheriff, after their repeated threats in their papers. But whether you believe sabotage to be good, bad, or indifferent, really is not vital in this case except as a circumstance.

"Now, the Wanderer. The Wanderer did not happen the way they said it happened. The sheriff did shoot after they refused to stop. The sheriff did hit some of them with the butt of his gun. The sheriff brought them into Everett because they constituted an unlawful assemblage. The sheriff did the only thing he could do. He filed charges against them and they were arraigned in court. Twenty-three men cannot be tried quickly when each one demands a separate trial by jury. Twenty-three trials would stop the judicial machinery for three months. They could not be tried and so the sheriff turned them loose. Maybe he did hit them harder than he should have. Policemen do that! Sheriff do that! Lots of time they hit men when it is not necessary. Hit them

too hard, sometimes. They don't always understand exactly what they are supposed to do. But the I. W. W. exaggerated the matter and used it to incite retaliation on the fifth. So the Beverly Park incident, and all other incidents, if true to the last syllable of the defense testimony, merely in this case extenuated the motive on November 5th.

"Now then, why did the State select Tracy? The State's evidence was to the effect that Tracy was not only a member of the conspiracy, but was firing. Several State's witnesses recognized Tracy. There was another reason. What was that? Some of these men, some of these boys, flitting here and there from job to job, with never more than a dollar or two in their pockets, were inflamed intentionally by people who misrepresented conditions. They did not have any right to be inflamed; they did not have any right to go to Everett and they are guilty of murder if they went up there to retaliate for any wrong, actual or conceived. But the State has preferred to put on first a man who was in the forefront of the conspiracy; the man that appeared to be an important cog of that conspiracy, and that man is Tracy.

"Tracy knew that a great many people of Everett were alarmed and disturbed. Tracy knew that the I. W. W. did not want anything in Everett, had no interests there, no friends there except as they were disturbing conditions. Tracy knew the purposes and Tracy went back to Seattle so he could lead this excursion to Everett. Tracy is a man of determination. He knew the situation and he was prominent enough to be selected by the organization as a stationary delegate. And if any man knew what they intended to do in Everett, it undoubtedly was Tracy. So, regardless of whether he fired or not, Tracy was one of the men who were on the inside. Tracy is a part of the conspiracy that happened. But no man, my friends, on that boat, that went up there with a common design to break the ordinance has been sinned against because he is in jail.

"Now, my friends, you want in good faith to follow the instructions of the court. It seems to me that the only question you have to decide is the one the court told you to decide—Was Beard killed unlawfully by a shot from the boat, and did Tracy aid, encourage or incite that killing?

"The murder of Jefferson Beard was a premeditated murder. Following the instructions of the court, separating the wheat from the chaff, and deciding that one question, we of the State are confident that you as jurors and good citizens, as honest, sincere and conscientious citizens, will protect Snohomish County—we believe that your verdict will say 'We are convinced, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Tracy is guilty, and, being so convinced, we are going to protect Snohomish County as we would our own.' I thank you!"

Vanderveer handled the case from two different viewpoints—that of a first degree murder trial and also as a section of the class struggle. His address was a masterly array of invincible logic and satire. Omitting his readings from the transcript of evidence, his speech was substantially as follows:

"This cause is, as the counsel for the state has told you, one of momentous importance not only to the defendant but to a class—a large class of people of whom today he stands merely as an unfortunate single member, fighting their battle.

"We do not ask in this case for mercy, we do not ask for sympathy, but it is essential, absolutely essential that we should have cold, stern justice; justice for the defendant, justice for those who have oppressed him, those who have denied him his rights. We hope this case is the beginning of a line of prosecution which will see that justice is done in the Everett situation.

"It is not the defense who outlined the issues in this case, it was the State who determined that. They have chosen their fighting ground, and we had to meet them on that battle. In the beginning of this case the State, thru Mr. Black, told you that it would prove a conspiracy of very formidable proportions,

a conspiracy in the first place to commit acts of violence and to incite acts of violence, a conspiracy to commit arson, a conspiracy to overrun all law and order in Everett and bring on a condition of chaos. The claim was a very formidable one. The evidence has been very silly. The State ought to apologize, in common decency, for ever having suggested these things.

"What is the evidence about the fires? The fire marshall's report, made by a man who would naturally try to enlarge the performance of his duties and impress upon the public the manner in which he discharged them, reports only four fires of incendiary origin for the entire year. Every one of these were discovered before they did five cents worth of damage. Who had notice of them? Was it the I. W. W. who set them or was it Reese or some paid employe of the Pinkerton Agency? Can you conceive that an organization embracing as many members as this does, bent upon the destruction of Everett, could not set one fire at least that would do some damage. It is nothing but a hoax!

"As to force and violence, who did they put on to prove it? Young Howard Hathaway, a mere boy, whose father represents some mill companies in Everett. Then Sheriff McRae, and McRae couldn't tell you one thing that he heard at the street meetings. Then they put on Ed Hawes, the big brute that out at Beverly called the little boy a coward, a baby, because he wouldn't stand there and be slugged with guns and clubs. And what did Hawes say? That he looked up sabotage in the International Dictionary! And you can search that book until you are black in the face and you won't find a word in there about sabotage. Why, if sabotage is such a terrible thing, did Hawes, having heard all about it at the street meeting, have to go home to look it up at all?

"At these meetings there was not one thing said that could invite criticism, there was not one thing said that could justify or invite censure or abuse; there was not one disorderly thing done but was done by the officers of the law themselves, and they

went in recklessly, without excuse, without right, they clubbed Henig, they clubbed Carr, a former member of the council, and they roughed women around and knocked them down. Why? Because these people were mill owners, their hirelings and their representatives, who had been instructed in the propaganda of the open shop by employes, aides and emissaries of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association.

"A lot of people went to the jail one night, a thousand, maybe. They hooted, they cat-called, and they hissed. Is it any wonder they did? Ladies and gentlemen, I want to tell you there is no surer verdict on earth than the verdict of a crowd; and the verdict of that crowd condemned what the deputies had done.

"Finally they say there was a conspiracy on the 5th of November to go to Everett and to hold their meeting at all hazard, to brook no opposition, to ride rough-shod over it, to oppose everyone and anything that stood in the way of accomplishing their purpose. I ask you to think just for a moment how foreign that is to everything you know about the I. W. W. and their operations and behavior in Everett. Not one witness for the state could tell you an incident where one of them resisted arrest, could tell you an occasion where one of them had advocated violence, could tell you one occasion where any one of them had committed any acts of violence.

"These people wrote to Governor Lister calling his attention to the violations of the law on the part of the officers of Everett; they wrote to Mayor Merrill, enclosing a copy of that letter and calling on him to restore the order that had been violated by the officers of the law; they scattered handbills all over Everett, among its best homes and in its business streets, calling upon the good citizens to come to their meeting on November 5th at Wetmore and Hewitt, to come and help maintain your own and our constitutional privileges; they mailed to the citizens of Everett on October 30th, seven or eight hundred copies of a little pamphlet calling upon

them to intervene and stop the brutality of officers of the law; they questioned Governor Lister at a public meeting and again called his attention to the conditions in Everett; they called in the reporters, called the newspapers and notified the editors that they were going to Everett and asked them to have representatives present. Are these the acts of conspirators?

"You know how that meeting was called and why it was called. You know it from ministers of the gospel, you know it from the lips of those whom you cannot help but believe. And it was called for Sunday, the day when people ordinarily resent disorders of the kind that had occurred there. It was called for the daytime, when ordinarily abuse and violence are not attempted. And this big crowd went up there on this fine Sunday afternoon because in number there is strength and in numbers there is protection against brutality.

"At first the deputies had taken out one or two and abused and beaten them; then they had taken five or six; they had taken eighteen; finally they had taken forty-one. But I ask you, would you believe it possible that they could take two hundred or three hundred people in broad daylight and do to them what had been done to the others? Yet the evidence in this case shows convincingly and conclusively they intended to do substantially that thing. They intended to run those men into a warehouse; they didn't intend to let one of them get away. And had they gotten them into that warehouse you don't know, I don't know, nobody knows what would have happened!

"That is the evidence of conspiracy in this case. They have claimed no other conspiracy; they have offered no other evidence of conspiracy, either to set fires or to incite violence, or to override all opposition on November 5th. Their evidence doesn't stand even if unanswered—and no evidence could be more successfully answered.

"What evidence is there that Tom Tracy had anything to do with such a conspiracy, if there were

one? Their most willing tools, Auspos and Reese, don't say a word about Tracy.

"What does the identification by McRae amount to? He identifies Tracy as the man who leaned out of the window and shot at him. Now at the time this shot was fired McRae had his back turned to the man who shot it. He says himself he did, and he was shot thru the heel, which seems to prove it. That, by the way, suggests to me that it was not an I. W. W. who shot McRae. The man who shot him must have thought McRae a hero, like the gentleman of mythological fame who was killed by an arrow thru the heel which no I. W. W. does, I assure you. Or else he thought that McRae wore his brains there.

"But I am not going to discuss McRae at great length either now or at any other stage of this case, because the greatest kindness I can do him is to forget him. The man is a perjurer! He lied! He was not mistaken. He deliberately, cold-bloodedly lied about almost everything in this case wherein his conduct as an officer was questioned. He lied about 'Sergeant' Keenan! He lied about shooting at the "Wanderer," and you saw the bullet holes. He lied about Berg and about Mitten, and finally, and last of all lied, and we have proven it conclusively, about being out to Beverly Park.

"Bridge's identification of Tracy does not agree with that of Smith, and Bridge does not even agree with his own testimony given at the coroner's inquest. Smith picked out a photograph and said it was Tracy and that picture resembles Tracy about as much as I do some of you jurors. Bridge and Smith say that Tracy fired three shots, and Hogan says he fired only one. And you know, ladies and gentlemen, that Hogan did not see this man at all. You know that he did not even see the window at which he pretends this man was sitting when the shot was fired. You know it because you went there to the dock and you saw the boat lined up to a mathematical certainty by the shot marks, and you saw a photograph taken with the camera placed by

John Hogan exactly where he said he was standing himself. And there wasn't a one of you who could identify Bob Mills, with his long nose and angular features, with everything that makes identification easy, when he was in the position attributed to Tracy. And when you came around from there to where you could look directly at the place, the reflected glare of the sunshine left nothing but a blank background.

"There were one hundred and forty deputies looking toward the place where the first shot was supposed to have been fired. They have produced on the witness stand only about one in ten. We challenged them to bring them all on, we dared them to do it, and Mr. Cooley said 'I accept that dare!'—look it up Mr. Cooley on page 1802 of the transcript—but he did not dare accept that dare. Mr. Cooley knows what those nine-tenths would testify to. Twelve out of their sixteen witnesses who testified about the first shots said that their brother deputies were mistaken as to even the place on the boat where the first three shots came from.

"I venture, ladies and gentlemen, that with a bit of the kind of work the State has employed in this case, a little bit of the same zeal that was employed on Auspos, a little bit of the same zeal that was employed with Reese, a little bit of the help of McLaren of Los Angeles, I can take these one hundred and forty-five men and pick out four men who will honestly and truthfully testify that they saw anything, and I say that with no reflection on their honesty either, because the power of suggestion is enormous. It is not surprising that four people have come here to say they saw Tracy. It is not surprising that three out of the four should have been proven, conclusively, convincingly and absolutely, not to know what they were talking about.

"The court has told you that in this case it is not a question of who shot first, not a question of which side shot first, it is a question of who was the aggressor, who made the first aggressive movement,

Dark lines on body caused by internal hemorrhage; Portland doctor said life might have been saved by operation.

who did the first hostile thing. The man who did a thing to excite fear was the aggressor, and that man was McRae when he pulled his gun. McRae clearly did that before there was any shooting.

"In determining who the agressor was, you are entitled—not only entitled but must take into account the past behavior of all parties. And what does that show you? Was it the I. W. W.'s who had never offered violence, who had never done an act of violence, who had decried and deplored violence, as members of their audiences told you, and advised caution against it? Or was it McRae and his deputies?

"It is only formally correct to refer to these as deputies. They had commissions, but in nothing else in the world did they bear the remotest resemblance to officers of the law, not in their conduct, not in their training, not in their purposes, not in anything. They were the hirelings of either the mill owners of Everett or the Commercial Club. Did you ever in your life before hear of officials taking their instructions from representatives of an industrial movement? Did you ever before hear of deputy sheriffs being instructed in the propaganda of the open shop, being instructed in the methods employed at Minot unlawfully to prevent street speaking? That is where the first mistake in this case was made. First in the selection of that kind of men; second in the deliberate attempts which were made to color their actions, to prevert them, to make them the tools of the employers..

"That is the reason Henig and Carr were beaten, that is the reason Feinberg and Roberts were beaten, that is the reason men and women were knocked down in the crowds, that is the reason that this boy, Schwartz, was taken out by McRae and chased zigzag down the road in mortal terror of being run down by the sheriff's automobile, that is the reason 'Sergeant' Keenan was hit over the head with a gun, that is the reason James Rowan was taken out and beaten black and blue. How do you suppose Rowan got those marks on his back? Did he put

them there for fun, or were they put there by somebody else's rotten, dirty brutality? If you didn't know a thing about him except what you know about Beverly and these other incidents, and it was deep darkness where this happened, I venture you would all say off-hand, 'It must have happened at Everett, anyway. There is no place else that I know of where they do such things.'

"Black says the "Wanderer" has been greatly misrepresented to you, that the things we claim happened did not happen there at all. Well, there is a lot of evidence that they did happen. There are a lot of people who could have denied it. There are a whole crew of deputies who could have come up here and denied it. Why didn't they? Because they were ashamed of it and they knew they could not stand the grilling that was awaiting them in the court room. It is true, certainly! And I say here that nothing but providential intervention prevented McRae on that day from being a cold-blooded murderer! That is the manner of man you are considering. You are considering whether he was the aggressor, he or the people he shot at.

"Counsel says that Louis Skaroff lied. Now I am very frank to confess that when we produced that story on the witness stand I feared you would not believe it, not because I doubted the truthfulness of his statement but because the story itself is so brutal and inhuman that I questioned whether there could be found anywhere in the county twelve persons who would think such things could possibly happen just thirty miles away. But when one of their own witnesses went on the stand here, in rebuttal, and told you that Louis Skaroff came out of that room with his arms above his head, crying, with the blood runing from his finger tips, I knew that you knew that Louis Skaroff had told the truth.

"The state has been very reluctant in this case to admit that there were rifles on the dock, because if the deputies went there with rifles there was a reason for it. You could not find a rifle on that dock until we proved—what? That rifle shells were around

the dock in great numbers; we proved it by innocent, clean little boys who picked up the shells; until we proved by witnesses that the rifles were there and were being shot; until we proved by a rifle bullet with human blood and a man's hair on it that the use made of the rifles was a deadly one.

"Who was the aggressor? Even now the State doesn't like to admit, because the State knows it is fatal to their case to admit, and notwithstanding hopeless to deny, that there were helpless men in the water being shot at. They do not like to admit that a man was so impressed with the inhumanity of the thing that he ran from the depot to the boat house hoping to effect a rescue of the men and was stopped by the armed deputies. The State does not like to admit the evidence of their own deputy witness, Groger,—whose actions I want the counsel for the state to explain and justify is he can—who repeatedly fired at a man who was trying to untie the boat so the unarmed men could escape.

"Counsel said that if there was any intention to start trouble men would not have lined up as they were on the dock in an exposed position. And I ask you, if there was not an intention to start trouble why were they kept in the warehouse until the boat had almost tied up? If that was not an ambuscade, what on earth was it? If they did not intend to start trouble why was it McRae waited until the line was out and made fast. Why was it, then, he did not say to the captain, 'Take your boat out?' He said he was afraid they would go somewhere else. Well, when he told those boys they could not land he expected them to go away. Or did he expect them to go away? Which was it?

"The manner in which McRae handled this thing indicates nothing so much as that he intended to get them there and administer to them another of the things that he calls a lesson, another of the things that other people call infamous, damnable brutality.

"Counsel says there have been mistakes made. He doesn't want to apologize for them, but clearly he doesn't want to be held responsible for them.

There were mistakes made. Beverly was one! The "Wanderer" was one! From the beginning to the end of all their operations in Everett everything has been a mistake—a mistake because the ordinary processes of law and the rights of other people were ignored. There was no ordinance prohibiting speaking. The boys were yielding implicit, careful obedience to such law as there was. McRae unblushingly tells you that the reason he made arrests was because there were labor troubles in Everett and the shingle mill owners didn't want things embarrassed by the truth, by the disclosures contained in this little report of the Industrial Relations Commission.

"They were not afraid of the I. W. W.'s going up there to incite violence, to advise disorder, to invoke a reign of terror. Reigns of terror are the employers' specialty! They were afraid of cold fact. Never a man went up there to speak on the street and used that little Industrial Relations report but was thrown in jail for it—Thompson, Rowan, Feinberg, Roberts, all.

"It's nice to enjoy the powers, the position and authority of a dictator who can repeal, amend and modify, ignore, disregard laws when it suits his fancy, but it's kind of tough on other people. That's what McRae did!

"On the 5th of March, nearly nine weeks ago, His Honor called this case from his bench 'State versus Thomas H. Tracy,' and my friend Mr. Cooley rose from his chair and said 'Your Honor, the State is ready.' I say to you, Mr. Cooley, you slandered the fair name of your state! What has the State of Washington to do with this thing? The name of the State of Washington in such a case as this should stand for law and order and decency. The State is supposed to protect the innocent against abuse and injustice and you who are now running this case do not now maintain these things, or if you do, you protect them only when convenience requires it.

"It is not the State of Washington versus Thomas H. Tracy at all, and if the decent people of Everett who know the facts could decide what course this

action should take it would never be here. Even the title of the case is a mistake. It is the case of the Commercial Club of Everett, the mill owners of Everett, against Labor. This is an attempt, just as all the actions for months have been an attempt, to keep Labor out of its rights in Everett. The same people who took possession of the machinery of law in Everett, who took possession of the sheriff and furnished him with guns and clubs and murderous things like that and instructed him how to act, the same people who employed detectives to set fires in order that they might manufacture evidence and public sentiment against these boys, those same people are today prosecuting this case.

"I don't know where Governor Clough was on November 5th. I suspect he was not anywhere where there was any danger, but I know the smoke had not left the decks of the Verona before he was hot-footing it to the telegraph office,—Governor Clough, not the prosecuting attorney, not the sheriff, nobody but Clough and Joe Irving, the man who was so drunk that he beat up Schofield,—to send a telegram to Judge Burke of the Chamber of Commerce of Seattle, to the Mayor of this City and to the Chief of Police of this City to arrest the whole bunch of them.

"Then right away they got their other emissaries at work, Reese and Smith, down here with two fingers out of the door of a darkened cell, deciding for the State of Washington who should be prosecuted in this case, and H. D. Cooley, who surely then was not a prosecuting attorney, giving them legal counsel and directing their energy, taking out the men, preparing statements, and getting ready for the work he was going to do in this case, because his employers wanted it.

"There is a conspiracy in this case, a conspiracy supported by evidence, a conspiracy of men in the Commercial Club to take over the machinery of government, and by it club these fellows out of their rights, club them out of Everett, club them out of all contact with the workers in order that they

might not bring to them the gospel of their organization.

"But I say to you, ladies and gentlemen of the jury, that this struggle, the struggle of Capital against Labor, the struggle of the Commercial Club against the I. W. W., which is just one phase of the bigger one, this struggle is going on in spite of Cooley, this struggle is going on in spite of McLaren, this struggle is going on in spite of Arthur L. Veitch of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, this struggle is going on in spite of McRae, this struggle is going on in spite of the Commercial Club, because it is founded on a principle so big, so wholesome, and so decent, so righteous, that it must live. And it will go on until in this country we have industrially that which we have struggled so long and hard for and finally won politically; until we have democracy.

"There is nothing in revolution, gentlemen, that is wrong. We came to the condition in which we now find ourselves by revolution; first the grand American revolution and then the revolution against chattel slavery. It was nothing more nor less than revolution, because slavery was then entrenched under the highest law of the land, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case. We took it out of the courts and slavery was wiped out. Slavery again will be wiped out!

"The thing about this case which makes it of most serious importance, the thing about this case which makes it of public interest, the thing about this case which has so enlisted the sympathy of every one connected with it, which makes us feel the importance of a just verdict, is that it is not merely the liberty of a man that is at stake, but in a larger measure than you know there is at stake in your verdict in this case the rights of the working people, their right to organize, their right to protect themselves, their right to receive and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

"There is involved the question of whether or not the working people shall receive justice or forever

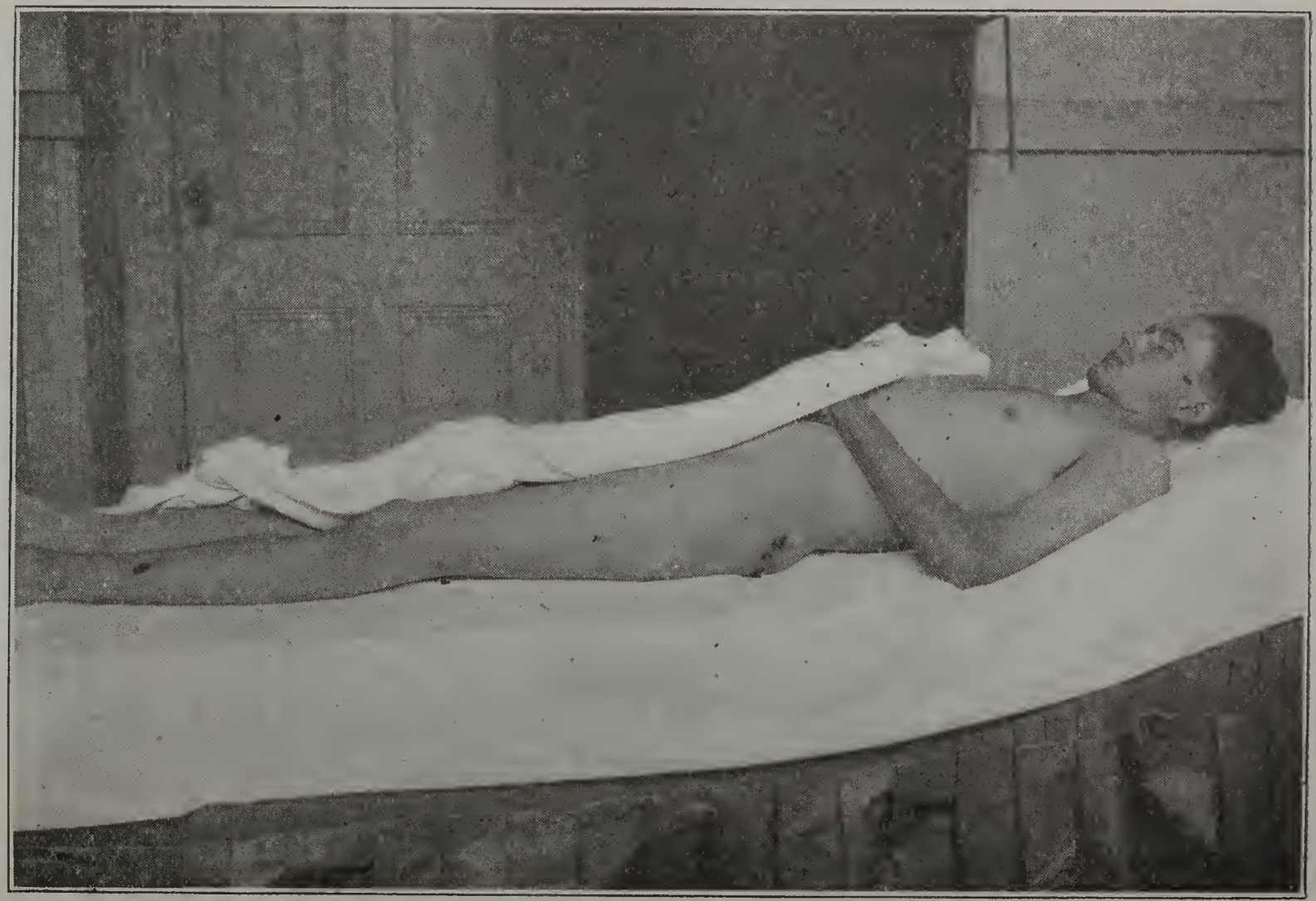
must be victimized by organized capitalists. There is involved the question of whether or not such things as have gone on in Everett for the last six months may continue forever with the endorsement of the jury or whether the working people on the other hand may go and discuss their wrongs and grievances and strive for their rights.

"As I have confidence in the righteousness of this cause and the integrity of this purpose, so I have confidence that your verdict will be not guilty."

Attorney Fred Moore closed the case for the defense with one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in a court room, a speech that seered its way to the minds and hearts of the jurors. Far more than a defense of Thomas H. Tracy it was an explanation of the industrial problems underlying society, the class warfare rooted in industry and manifesting itself on November 5th. It was a sustained and definite statement of the aims and objects of the I. W. W. and Moore showed, not only a great knowledge of the problems of the working class, but a wonderful command of satire and irony. Following is an abridgement of Moore's speech to the jury:

"May it please the court, and ladies and gentlemen of the jury; For a period of something like five hundred years the Anglo-Saxon has seen fit to place the final adjustment of the question of justice in the hands of twelve men. In the evolution of the law, that number has been increased until now in this state we have fourteen. Likewise, in the evolution of the law and in the face of the vast amount of public protest, and in the face of the most reluctant world, we have enlarged the term jurors to include women jurors. This is the first time that I personally have ever tried a lawsuit in which ladies sat in the jury.

"The state has told you why this case is one of grave responsibility for them. Allow me to tell you why this is one of grave responsibility for you. One hundred and ninety-six witnesses have appeared for the defendant in this case. Yesterday, counsel brought home the fact that many of these witnesses



HUGO GERLOT

were not residents of this community, were without homes, without any permanent places of abode. All true. The responsibility that you have in this case is commensurate with the fact that the case reveals to you, as it were, a cross-section of our lives. You who are property-qualified have a responsibility to pass upon the liberties and the lives of a body of men who are propertyless. If there is any change in men's thoughts and views as they acquire a home, as they settle down, as they marry, as they bring into the world children, then I ask you in all fairness to attempt to put yourselves in the places of this defendant and of this defendant's witnesses who have taken the stand, and to realize that your responsibility here is commensurate with the fact that the testimony reveals, as it were, a most deplorable condition of modern life. In other words, your responsibility here is that of measuring out absolute and complete justice between warring elements in our modern life, not for one moment allowing your judgment to be swerved by the fact that one class of witnesses here are witnesses of social position, are witnesses of property qualifications, are witnesses with homes, while, on the other hand, the witnesses called by the defense were witnesses from the four parts of the earth, witnesses whose only claim to your consideration is that they have built the railroads, that they have laid the ties, that they have dug the tunnels, that they have harvested the crops, that they have worked from one end of the country to the other, in season and out, floating from job to job.

"In most jurisdictions, the defendant has the opportunity of either a grand jury investigation or of a preliminary; in other words, he is in some degree advised of what evidence he is going to be called upon to meet. In this case, we came in here on the 5th day of March with no information whatsoever relative to the State's case other than that given us from the four corners of the instrument on file here, known as the information, together with the fact that on that information there were the names of some three hundred or more witnesses. That was all

we had. We were further handicapped in view of the fact that we did not have behind us all the resources of the State of Washington and the county of Snohomish, neither did we have behind us all of the resources of various business interests, neither did we have behind us all the resources of allied business on this west coast, as represented by Mr. Veitch."

Mr. Veitch: To which I take an exception, if the court please.

The Court: Exception allowed.

Mr. Veitch: On a matter of personal privilege, I have a right to characterize that statement as a deliberate misstatement of the fact.

Mr. Moore: Mr. Veitch has not seen fit to explain why he was here.

Mr. Veitch: I am employed by friends of Mr. Jefferson Beard. If that is not enough—

Mr. Moore: That is outside of the record.

The Court: Both of you are outside of the record. Proceed Mr. Moore.

"Suffice it to say that we are here as the frank and honest representatives of the defendant and of the defendant's organization. We do not have behind us the power of the State, or the power of any interest other than the defendant himself and of his organization.

Mr. Black complained that the State had been hampered in this cause. Is it fair to say that the state has been hampered when on the fatal November the 5th. Judge Bell and Mr. Cooley were both on the dock? Judge Bell would have us believe that he was unarmed, and so far as we know Mr. Cooley was unarmed. Then why were they on the dock? Judge Bell was there as the representative, as he himself has testified, of a number of lumber mills, and Mr. Cooley was there likewise; both citizen deputies; both there; both unarmed if their testimony is to be believed. Again Mr. Cooley was, in the matter of a few hours, down here at the Seattle jail. Certainly he was not there to represent the defendant Tracy. Who was he there to represent? He was either there in a private capacity, representing private clients,

or he was there in a public capacity representing a public client, namely, Snohomish County. Wherein do you find the evidence of the State being hampered, sir? From the beginning to the end the State has moved majestically, exercising all the power that it had. Mr. Black has had able assistance in this cause, the able assistance of Mr. Cooley, the able assistance of Mr. Veitch, the able assistance of the man behind Mr. Cooley and Mr. Veitch, Mr. McLaren. Yet, all the resources of the State have failed to produce one scintilla of evidence against the defendant Tracy here so far as tending to indicate that he did counsel, aid, incite, abet, or encourage anyone to fire any shot, except the testimony of George Reese produced at the eleventh hour on rebuttal. I intend to treat of our friend Mr. Reese later.

"It is significant that out of all that mass of testimony that has been introduced in this case up to this time not one single bit of testimony has been introduced or any argument had upon that testimony dealing with the object and principles and purpose of the Industrial Workers of the World. Mr. Black did not refer to it. Mr. Cooley has the final say. I anticipate his argument for the State. They have that old reliance, that old faith, if you will, in the trial of a case of this character, namely conspiracy; hallowed by age.

"Way back in the sixteenth century the tub women on the banks of the river Thames were indicted for conspiracy in attempting to raise wages. The chandlers in London were likewise later indicted. The stonebreakers in New York, the carpenters in Boston. From time immemorial the charge of conspiracy has been leveled against the ranks of labor. Indeed, it was only in the reign of Queen Victoria that labor unions became other than simple conspiracies. Up to that time labor unions were within a classification themselves of criminal conspiracy.

"Knowing that under the charge contained in the information we might be called upon to meet evidence of conspiracy, we then commenced a careful survey of all the facts in connection with the Everett

Dead body of Abraham Rabinowitz.

tragedy. And what did we find? We found not a hint of conspiracy!

"James Rowan had come into Everett without knowledge at the time that there was any trouble there. He had not been advised that there was any possibility of trouble. From all the prior history of Everett he had no reason to anticipate trouble. Thompson had spoken there and many others had spoken there. Rowan was charged with a violation of the peddling ordinance. He had been given an arbitrary floater out of town and had exercised his right to come back, was seized again and taken to the city jail; the sheriff goes there and arbitrarily demands Rowan from the Chief of Police. These things happened prior to any acts that by any remote possibility could be charged to us. There was no literature in the town at that time other than the Industrial Relations report. What at that time did we have to conspire about? We had no object.

"And as with Rowan so it was with Thompson, Remick and others. If there was a conspiracy to violate a city ordinance why did not the city officials make arrests and charge the men with such violations? The record is silent. Why wait until Tom Tracy is on trial for murder, and then at the eleventh hour spring this delightfully specious argument?

"I can almost hear ringing in my ears the impassioned plea of Mr. Cooley in closing this case. He is going to read this,'The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us.' He is going to say that is the I. W. W. philosophy. My God, did it ever concern the sheriff of Snohomish County? Does it seem very much to concern others who are attempting this prosecution?

"We were told in connection with the argument of counsel that Hickey was not on trial. They might have said that sheriff McRae was not on trial; they might have said that Bill Pabst was not on trial; they might have said that Joe Irving was not on trial; they might have said that the Commercial Club was not on trial; they might have said that all the men that have been guilty of all the brutality in that

County during the months of August, September and October were not on trial. We know it! Why are they not on trail?

"Deprivation of due process of law and confiscation of property! And yet Mr. Cooley is going to urge that the I. W. W. does not believe in government; he is going to urge that the I. W. W. does not respect the law. That kind of law never gets the respect of anyone. I hang my head in shame before such a history of usurpation and seizure of public authority as has been shown in this case.

"Are you going to give the stamp of your approval to this sort of thing? When you bring in a verdict in this case for the State you give your approval to Donald McRae. I beg of you to not put the seal of your approval upon lawlessness, official lawlessness, the kind of lawlessness that is worse, tenfold worse, than any private lawlessness.

"You are asked to stamp with your endorsement, to give your approval, to a man; a public official, the chief executive officer of a municipality, Mayor Merrill, who admits on the witness stand that he allowed a little group of members of the Commercial Club to take the power of the police department out of his office and turn it over to the sheriff of the county.

"Had the State put on Governor Clough and others on their side of the case we might have wrung from their reluctant lips the evidence of what occurred at the meeting on August 30th at the Commercial Club. But the State was careful not to put him on. Indeed, the most significant and outstanding thing in all this case is not who they put on, but who they did not put on. Neil Jamison did not testify in this case for the State; Governor Clough did not testify in this case for the State; Joe Irving did not testify in this case; Colonel Hartley did not testify in this case; Captain Ramwell did not testify. Why didn't Kelly, Chief of Police, take the stand? You might go down the line and you will find that the assets of all the witnesses for the State combined would total but a few thousand dollars, while you could take the remaining witnesses for the State who

did not testify and you could build up an enormous fortune, running into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. We didn't call them because we cannot cross-examine our own witnesses.

"Is the administration of the law to be made a farce? Shall the State be allowed to blow hot and cold; one minute hot on the enforcement of the law, the next minute cold when the shoe pinches, and then hot again when they can use the law for the advancement of the interests of their prosecution? They say McRae and Hickey are not on trial; there is no promise that they shall ever be on trial!

"Let me say to you that no one violates the law, I care not who it is, just for the fun of violating the law. Jails are not pleasant places to abide in. People who violate the law and go to jail do so either because they are deliberately criminal or because they want to focus attention on some public issue. However, Mr. Black is too kind and considerate when he gives all this credit to the I. W. W.

"The facts are, if you go back into the history of the Revolutionary Days, that our forefathers urged and banded together and combined and federated, and if you will, conspired to violate the Stamp Act of the British Government, and were willing to go to jail if necessary. They went even further! They threw the British tea into Boston Harbor. Violation of the law? Yes, if you want to call it such, but the indignant protest of a people as against the enforcement of an unjust law.

"I might urge upon you that the State at that time wanted to absolutely suppress any speech whatsoever, because they had constituted the chief of police, the sheriff, the arresting officer, as the executive, the legislative and the judicial department of our government. The sheriff executed the law in person, the sheriff declared the question of guilt himself, the sheriff ordered deportations, and the sheriff took physical charge of the deportations. Isn't it impossible to avoid a fight when someone usurps unlawfully and illegally the legislative and judicial functions of government? Isn't it time to fight? If it isn't

then we may as well cease any attempt to administrate the law!

"In the phraseology of these boys 'Fight' means a moral adherence to principle, a firm determination to face the authorities in the administration of the law, and if necessary to be arrested. But the State would have you put into it now a more sinister meaning, entirely new and foreign to its former use.

"The State brought in the death of Sullivan of Spokane in their opening and abandoned it in their close. One of the exploded hopes of the State! They counted on North Yakima and Wenatchee to show violence and arson, and they failed most miserably. They have failed in their identification of the defendant. Now, their folorn and bankrupt plea here is the charge of conspiracy.

"The court has told you that this is a murder case. Why then has the State cumbered the record with the I. W. W. preamble and constitution? Why with two pamphlets on sabotage? Why with an I. W. W. song book and such matters? Why?

"Because out of some of the phraseology here, phraseology far removed from you and me, they may build up a condition of prejudice which may result in your returning a conviction on a smaller degree of evidence than you would otherwise require. Mr. Cooley is going to stand here and read little, short, listed extracts from the context of the whole. The pamphlets he has introduced on the question of patriotism and the worker is the foundation from which Mr. Cooley will appeal to your prejudices and passions.

"We are not afraid of the evidence. We are afraid of this deep-grained interest that goes down into men's conscience and that reached back a thousand years.

"Remember that behind this case are many women and children whose cause these boys represent; whose cause these boys are attempting to fight for. They fight because they must! They fight because to do anything else is suicide. You could not have stopped the American Revolution with all the pow-

ers of the British government. Since this jury was empaneled you have had the collapse of one of the greatest powers of modern times. I refer to Russia. It has passed from an absolute monarchy to a stage of a republic.

"The trial of this cause is the presentation of a great social issue, the greatest issue of modern times, namely, what are we going to do today with the migratory and occasional workers? These migratories, they are the boys who have told their story on the stand.

"If there is one principle that is ground into Angle-Saxon thought it is that of liberty of the press and freedom of speech. Those two things stand as the bulwark of our liberty. They are the things for which the Anglo-Saxon has fought from time immemorial. Away back in the eighteenth century Charles Erskine, a member of the British bar, defended Thomas Paine for having written the 'Rights of Man'. Case after case was fought out during that period when English thought was budding into fruition; when English thought was being tremendously influenced by the French Revolution and when those thoughts were bearing fruit in England. Time and time again the British crown attempted to throttle freedom of speech and liberty of the press. Time and time again Charles Erskine's voice was raised in the House of Lords in protest. Time and time again the British courts and finally the British jurors, gave voice to the doctrine that freedom of speech and liberty of the press may not be invaded except insofar as that subject, that document, is accompanied with acts; that you may not convict men for what they think; you may convict men only for what they do. Freedom of discussion thru the press and thru the public forum are the mainstay and the backbone of social development and social evolution. Only in that way, thru freedom of thought and freedom of discussion, may you fan the wheat from the chaff.

"Why, if this I. W. W. literature is all the State claims it is, why doesn't the State act in the way the law says they should act, prefer charges, arrest

someone, bring the literature before a duly qualified body, a court with jurisdiction, and try the matter out? The State has not done that; the State will not do that; and we are in the position of a man fighting in the dark, without knowledge of what character of argument the State proposes to make.

"I do know that the name of Joe Hill is going to be paraded in front of this jury. The I. W. W. song book dedicated to Joe Hill, with the inscription 'Murdered by the authorities of the State of Utah, November 19th, 1915.' I cannot go into the conditions that surround that tragedy, but I can call your attention to one or two things that bear upon the question of the type of the man. Before he died, written in his cell on the eve of the execution, was Joe Hill's last will:

My will is easy to decide,
For there is nothing to divide.
My kin don't need to fuss and moan—
Moss does not cling to a rolling stone.

My body? Ah, if I could choose,
I would to ashes it reduce,
And let the merry breezes blow
My dust to where some flowers grow.

Perhaps some fading flower then
Would come to life and bloom again.
This is my last and final will.
Good luck to all of you, JOE HILL.

"This is the type of man you are asked, because he was honored, because some odd hundred thousand workers who suffer and who wander and who live in the jungles of labor as he did, and because he wrote songs that they understood, songs that because their songs, to judge as the author of the songs and bring in a verdict against Tom Tracy. Mr. Cooley will parade the songs one by one. Remember that behind any words he voices, any thought he expresses, behind it all was a human soul, a human soul passed, a human soul that lived as you and I. a human soul

that had rights that had been trampled upon, and who attempted to voice those things.

"With all the oratory he can display Mr. Cooley will read the song, 'Christians at War.' A song that Mr. Thompson designated as a satire. You recollect that when the European war broke out both parties in that conflict called to their aid and said they were acting under divine guidance; that the Kaiser was fighting under the name of God, and that the British and French governments were allied with the Almighty. It is not for me to attempt a settlement of that dispute. History will say that of all the tragedies of the Twentieth Century, the most tragic thing of our modern life is that we of different nationalities, but bound together by all other ties, should be engaged in a death grapple. But that is not the issue here. But I cannot at this time anticipate wherein and how this literature presented by the State helps you to decide the question of who was the aggressor on November 5th.

"Who was the aggressor on July 31st when James Rowan was arrested and brought into the city court? McRae comes in and tells him to get out of town. An intervening series of events and Levi Remick is run out of town. Who was the aggressor? Sheriff McRae! On August 22nd Rowan and Remick were both in the union hall. McRae comes in and orders them out of town. Who was the aggressor? That night Thompson and others came up to Everett —who was the aggressor then? Next morning, with Kelly treating them half way white, along comes McRae and takes away one of the boy's money. Who was the aggresser? We come now to the deputies meeting at the Commercial Club on August 30th. Who was the aggressor? Had any of their members been beaten up? Had anything happened to their members whatsoever? Not at all! Yet murderous blackjacks were put into the hands of the membership of the club. Was James Rowan the aggressor when he was railroaded out of town and beaten? Who was the aggressor at the time of the 'Wanderer' outrage? Old Capt. Mitten, old John Berg, Edith

Frenette? Who was the aggressor with Henig? With Feinberg? With Roberts? You have the testimony of Cannow, you have the testimony of Schofield, you have testimony showing the instructions given to the deputies. No one denies it Here is a series of acts leading up to October 30th, in which on each and every occasion McRae and his deputies, either regular or citizen deputies, were the aggressors. I said, who were the aggressors? Is there any question in your mind who was the aggressor up to Beverly Park? Any question in God's world who had done the dirty work up to that time? The State would have you believe that the I. W. W., with its membership coming from the four corners of the country, changed complexion practically over night, changed their whole ideas and their methods. I do not believe it and you do not believe it.

"The excuse the State gives for the actions of the deputies is that in the case of large numbers they could not give due process of law. Gentlemen, I refuse to believe that the Government is bankrupt in its capacity to protect itself thru legal and lawful measures of law enforcement. I have yet to sit in a court room and hear a plea on social and governmental bankrupcy such as is the plea of counsel for the State.

"The machinery of the government was there but it was not the kind of machinery that McRae wanted to use. It was not the kind Clough wanted to use. It was not the kind of machinery the executive committee, whoever they were, sitting behind the closed doors of the Commercial Club, wanted to use.

"And these members and leaders of the Commercial Club passed resolutions stigmatizing their own citizens, member of their own community, property owners in their own town, as well as the I. W. W., when they declared for an open shop. How do they stigmatize them? 'Professional agitators!' Yes. Lloyd Garrison was a professional agitator. Wendell Phillips was a professional agitator. The men who fought the battle that lay the ground work that made Abraham Lincoln possible, the men who are at work

to better American politics, those men have all been professional agitators.

"Now on the boat they were ninety-nine percent I. W. W.'s, just a few passengers had bought their passage before. On the dock they were all citizen deputies, persons interested therein, and persons satisfactory to the men who had been stationed there to see that nobody but the right ones got on the dock. That means that as far as the first shot was concerned the two classes of witnesses are in some degree interested parties. The State put on a total of twenty-two witnesses, one of them not a deputy, all of whom testified that the shot came, or they thought it came from the dock, and of that number thirty-seven were I. W. W.'s, and twenty-four were not members at all but were Everett people from all walks of life.

"Now counsel is going to discount the value of the testimony of these citizens. Well, Mr. Cooley, we used the only kind of witnesses that you, in all of your care exercised in advance on November 5th, left for us. In the exercise of the hightest degree of judicial advance knowledge they saw to it that nobody got any closer to the end of the dock than the landing. We could not help that. You barred us from the dock; you barred us from access to the facts. We did all we could to get the facts, and if we couldn't get any closer it was not our fault. And the man who barred us from access to the facts is the man who is least qualified to come into court now and urge that our witnesses are disqualified in the face of the evidence that they disqualified them. But those witnesses could testify, and they did testify, to the very definite and specific facts—the first tipping of the boat, the rushing of the men, the volley firing, all of those matters.

"At the eleventh hour there came into this case a man by the name of Reese, a member, if you will, of the I. W. W. Back in the Chicago stockyards they have a large pen where they keep the cattle which are to be driven to slaughter. In that place they have had for years a steer that has performed the function

of going into the big pen where all the cattle are, and, after mingling with them, then walking out thru a gate. He is trained to do it, he is skilled at it, this steer—and after walking around with the poor peaceful cattle that don't know they are about to be killed, this steer then goes up an incline, the gate is opened and the other cattle follow, and when he gets to the top of the incline there is a door and he turns to the right thru this door to safety and his followers turn to the left to death. That's George Reese! Proud of him? George Reese, the man who reported day by day with his confederates! To whom? During one period to the Pinkerton agency in regard to the longshormen's union; during another period on behalf of the Pinkerton Agency to the Commercial Club in Everett. George Reese! A man who doesn't even come under the approximately dignified title of a detective; a man whom Ahern, of his own agency says, "Well, he wasn't a detective, we used him as an informer.' Informer! A human being that has lost its human color.

"In connection with the testimony of Reese let me call your attention to the Industrial Relations Commission Report, a report that our friends of the Commercial Club had read and knew all about:

" 'Spies in the Union: If the secret agents of employers, working as members of labor unions, do not always instigate acts of violence, they frequently encourage them. If they did not they would not be performing the duties for which they are paid. If they find that labor unions never discuss acts of violence they have nothing to report to those employing them. If they do not report matters which the detective agencies employing them can use to frighten the corporation to cause their employment, they cannot continue long as spies. Either they must make reports that are false, in which case discovery would be inevitable, or they must create a basis on which to make a truthful report. The union spy is not in business to protect the community. He has little respect for the law, civil or moral. Men of character do not engage in such work, and it follows that the

men who do are, as a rule, devoid of principle and ready to go to almost any extreme to please those who employ them.'

"That is the descriptive adjective, definition and analysis of the character of union informants made by the National Industrial Commission, appointed by President Wilson, and composed of nine men, all men of national standing, three representatives of labor, three representatives of capital and three representatives of the general public. That is their definition, description and classification of that character of testimony.

"Mr. Vanderveer closed yesterday by saying that this struggle, whatever your verdict is, will win. If yours is a verdict of 'not guilty,' Tom Tracy must take up again the job of finding a job, the endless tragedy of marching from job to job, without home, wife or kindred. His offense consists of being a migratory worker. I beg of you to render a verdict that has due regard and consideration for the tragedy of our twentieth century civilization that does not as yet measure out economic justice.

"Your verdict means much. The wires tonight will carry the word all over this land, into Australia, New Zealand and thruout the world. Your verdict means much to the workers, their mothers, their children, who are interested in this great struggle. We are not in this courtroom as the representatives of one person, two persons or three persons; our clients run into five or six hundred thousand. We are here as the mouthpiece of the workers of America, organized and unorganized, and they are all behind our voices.

"Tom Tracy stands here in your control. Your are the ones to determine whether or not he shall walk out free, whether or not he shall be branded for all times with the most serious felony known to the law, namely, that of a murderer. Can you find it in the evidence to bring in a verdict of guilty in this case?

"In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, we want no compromise here. When you retire to your jury room I beg of you not to compromise with any ver-

Singing to the Prisoners.

dict other than not guilty. We don't want manslaughter in this case, we don't want second degree murder in this case; it is either first degree murder or an acquittal, one or the other. Allow none of those arguments that we, as lawyers, know are made in the juryroom to influence your honest verdict in this case. We ask at your hands, and we believe with all the sincerity of our souls, that the evidence warrants it, we ask a verdict of not guilty for the defendant, Thomas H. Tracy!"

If the speech of prosecutor Black was a whine, that of prosecutor Cooley was a yelp and a snarl. Apologies, stale jokes, and sneers at the propertyless workers followed one another in close succession. The gist of his harangue was as follows:

"In this case I am going to try simply in the closing argument to select a few of the monuments that it seems to me stand out in this case and that point a way to a proper verdict.

"Now, in the first place, a whole lot has been said here as to the nature of the controversy that existed for a number of months before November the 5th, 1916, between two classes of individuals there at Everett. Upon the one side were the people who were living in the city of Everett, who had made their homes there, who had come there for the purpose of carrying out their future destiny in that city. It was their home. Their interests were there. Their families were there. And upon the other side were a class of people who did not claim Everett as their home, who did not come there for the purpose of amalgamating with the citizenship of the city of Everett. They were not coming there because they had work there, nor because they were seeking work there; they were not citizens of Everett, nor were they seeking to become citizens of Everett, and there arose a controversy between the citizens of Everett on the one hand and these people from the four corners of the earth upon the other. The first thing we want to inquire into to find out if we can from the testimony in this case exactly what was the nature of that trouble that existed between them.

Why was it that upon the one hand there was a band of people congregated down here in the city of Seattle from all over the land and making one excursion after another, attempting to break into the city of Everett? Why was it that there were citizens of Everett up there seeking to do only one thing, asking only one thing, that these people keep away from Everett?

"Was it a fight to win the right of free speech on the one hand? Was it a fight on the other hand of a group of individuals who were simply seeking to force the open shop? Or was it a fight of a more serious nature on either hand?

"I grant you that the origin of the trouble arose because a man was seeking to speak upon the streets of Everett and he was stopped. But long before November 5th that original incident was lost sight of and forgotten. The controversy had grown to a magnitude that overshadowed the original incident. It was necessary in order that you might understand the situation with which the people of Everett were confronted that you should be apprised of the nature of the organization to which those people belong, that you should be apprised of the nature of the place in the world that they had attained, and that you should be apprised of the nature of their propaganda that they were seeking to inject into the city of Everett and that locality.

"I want to say right here and now that I have the highest regard for organized labor. Labor has the right to organize. There is not any question about it; there is not any dispute about it. Labor has organized and it has made a manful fight, and all down the pages of history you will find that labor, thru its organization and thru its lawful methods pursued under its organization, has gradually bettered its condition.

"It is not a question, and never has been in this case, as to the right of the labor men to organize; the right of the laboring man to use all of the lawful methods for the purpose of bettering his condition. The question in this case is as to whether any

organization, whether it be a labor organization or any other, has the right to use unlawful methods; whether it has the right, because it may have the power, to use unlawful methods.

"Now there were coming into the city of Everett people representing this organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World. What was the propaganda that they were seeking to introduce there? They put upon the stand their chief exponent in this part of the country, to tell you what their purpose was in coming to the city of Everett, and what the doctrines were that they were teaching to the people that congregated there in the city of Everett. Mr. Thompson was upon the stand for about two days, and he delivered to this jury a lecture, which he says was a resume of three lectures that he gave up there in the city of Everett. He was asked whether or not he talked on sabotage and he told you what he had to say about it. He said sabotage was 'a conscious withdrawal of efficiency, a folding of the arms.' But Thompson says it is never the destruction of property, and yet the organization that sends him out to talk on sabotage puts out right along with him the literature that has been adopted by the I. W. W. as a part of their propaganda, defining what sabotage really is and it gives the lie to Mr. Thompson. It may mean working slow; it may mean poor work; it may mean folding of arms; it may mean conscious withdrawal of efficiency. So far sabotage is legal and anyone has a right to use it. But it may mean the spoiling of a finished product, it may mean the destruction of parts of machinery, it is the destruction of property. 'Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect.' It does not say that certain kinds of property has no rights, but that there is no property that has any rights that are bound to be respected. But Thompson says that is not sabotage.

"Sabotage is what? Where is that old song book? Let us see whether it means simply the folding of the arms.. (Cooley dived into a mass of pam-

phlets, but being unable to locate the song book he came up with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's pamphlet on Sabotage, reading from it as follows:) 'Sabotage itself is not clearly defined. Sabotage is as broad and changing as industry, as flexible as the imagination and passions of humanity.' Why, if it consisted simply of a folding of the arms, if it consisted simply of the withdrawal of efficiency, there would not be much flexibility to it, would there, and the passions of humanity would have nothing to do with it? That language means that sabotage means anything that the imagination can devise and the passions of men adopt, if they had the power to use it and get away with it. Oh, it is not wrong! No matter what form it takes it is not wrong, because they say so in their official publication. 'The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organization to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us.' Put the two together. Legality and illegality, those terms have no meaning to a man of the Industrial Workers of the World. Why? Because there is no law that they are bound to respect except the law that is made by them in their own union hall. It is in the song book, 'Make your laws in the union hall, the rest can go to hell.' That is the class of people that we had to deal with, who were coming there to Everett.

"In Spokane there were twelve hundred convictions upon a valid ordinance, and yet, after they had convicted a hundred of them they didn't stop coming, and two hundred, and two hundred and fifty, and five hundred, and they continued coming there until the city jail of the city of Spokane was filled, until the county jail of Spokane county was filled, until an old deserted school house was filled, and then until an army post jail was filled. A species of sabotage! They weren't willing to accept the verdict of one jury, or ten juries, or of a hundred juries, that they were violating the law. They had made their laws in their union halls and they were going to speak at a certain place, upon a certain street of Spokane; and they were going to compel the citiz-

Charles Ashleigh speaking at the funeral, of Looney, Baran and Gerlot.

ens of Spokane to let them speak when they pleased, where they pleased, and say what they pleased; and they kept it up until after Spokane had the expense of a thousand trials and had upon its hands a thousand defendants it began to think it had better yield and let them speak when they pleased, where they pleased and say what they pleased. And Spokane was licked!

"Is it any wonder that the citizens of Everett said 'If you have no regard for law we will meet you on your own ground; we are not going to be bankrupted; we are not going to be hammered into defeat as they were in Spokane; we are not going to have you sabotage us in that manner by your numbers; we are not going to have your people coming from the Dakotas, from Montana, from Oregon, and from all over the various parts of the state of Washington, and camping down on us until we surrender to you. We are going to keep you out of here.' Now, that may not have been strictly legal, but it was human nature.

"There is not hint anywhere in the argument of either counsel for the defense in this case as to what was ever done in the city of Everett by the I. W. W. that would constitute new methods and new tactics. Do you remember the testimony over a period of time there before Labor Day that they allowed them to speak without interference and a meeting was held there and every time they went up with a chip on their shoulder and were not satisfied when no one interfered with them. When they were there speaking on the corner of Hewitt and Wetmore somebody was going around the city of Everett distributing a nasty stinking chemical in the theater building, into the store buildings, into the business houses, into the automobiles. And the paper in the next issue gloats over it and intimates that the reason the officers did not arrest Feinberg was because they were evidently too busy chasing a cat of malodorous tendencies. When Thompson was upon the stand and was being questioned about sabotage and about cats; he could tell you what a cat was, he got a bit halting in his speech when he was asked what

it meant when they said that the claws of the cat had been sharpened, when he was asked what a 'sabcat' meant, but when he was asked as to what a cat of 'malodorous tendencies' was he said he didn't know unless it was a skunk. But by that was meant that the skunk accomplishes sabotage. You never heard of a skunk that did sabotage by simply a withdrawal of efficiency, never!

"Now as to incendiary and phosphorous fires. Fire Chief Terrell tells you that up to the date of September 28th, the date of the first known phosphorous fire in Everett, that up to that time, in all of his experience upon the fire force of the city of Everett, it never had come to his knowledge or observation in any way that a phosphorous fire had ever occurred in the city. It occurred there, known to be a phosphorous fire, and within a period of two months at least two other fires occurred, mysterious, the origin unknown because the fire had progressed to such an extent that no one could tell how it did start."

Mr. Vanderveer: Didn't your detective go to work September 21st?

Mr. Cooley: Yes sir, he did.

"And they would have you believe that the detective was up there setting those fires. That, I know, is an insinuation not supported by any evidence in this case, and the detective wasn't working up there, he was operating down here in the city of Seattle. He was sending his reports to Blain before the Wanderer started out, before the men started out on October 30th, and that goes a good way to explain how it happened how these people were met on these different excursions and were not permitted to come within the city of Everett. They were trying to get into the city of Everett, to use their own judgment, to act on their own initiative, according to instructions that had gone out. And the officers stopped the thing before it started.

"What were they coming to Everett for, these forty-one men who were met? Were they coming to hold a street meeting? Forty-one men, enthused

with the enthusiasm of the belief in their grand and glorious doctrine that they are teaching, forty-one men starting out as crusaders to carry the gospel of their organization to the benighted of Everett, forty-one going up there to be martyrs, to be beaten for the cause, and nothing else!

"I have told of the tactics and methods advocated, used and encouraged, by this peculiar, particular organization, so you can judge the character, purpose and intentions of the individuals that were seeking from time to time to force themselves into the city of Everett, in order that you may judge the two hundrd and sixty that left on the Verona on November the 5th.

"But there is another matter you should likewise take into consideration in determining the character of the individuals of that crowd. Regardless of all environment, regardless of the effect of all legislation, regardless of all social conditions, men are born—not all with the same propensities, not all with the same natural ambitions, not all with the same qualifications, and out of the entire mass of humanity there is a certain percentage that were born without any ambition, born without any incentive; they go thru life without any incentive, constantly tired. Now I am not here to say that all the I. W. W.'s are that kind of people. I am not here to say that because a man is a member of the I. W. W. he is a tramp or a hobo. But there is a class that has been recognized in this country ever since the country existed, a class that don't want to work, that would not work if you gave them an opportunity. These are a percentage, I don't know how large, and I say that every one of these people are members of the I. W. W. organization or should be. Why? Well, in the first place, you don't have to show any qualification for any line of work. You don't have to make proof of anything whatever to become a member of that organization. And is there any inducement for a man who has been drifting here and there, walking the ties, counting the mile posts as he walks from one place to another, to join

that organization? It gives him a pass upon every freight train that travels the length and breadth of the land. One of the best inducements in the world.

"There is another class of people in this country that are born with criminal instincts implanted in their very natures; they are scattered all over this land and we have them with us and we will always have them with us. There are men who are driven to crime thru misfortune; there are men who commit crime under the influence of environment; but there is a percentage of men who are habitual, natural and instinctive criminals. Now I don't say that because a man is a member of the I. W. W. he is necessarily and instinctively a criminal, but I do say that every habitual, instinctive criminal, who knows that he intends to violate the law upon every opportunity to satisfy his own criminal desire, has every inducement to become a member of that organization.

"There are a few uncontested and undisputed facts in connection with the occurrence at the dock. Jefferson Beard was killed on that dock. No doubt about that! The defendant was on the boat. No question about that! There is no question that the conversation between McRae and the people on the boat occurred substantially in the language that you have heard repeated here by witnesses for the State and for the defense, all agreeing that the conversation preceded the shooting. There is no dispute that McRae turned partially away from the boat and that one of the first three shots fired hit McRae while he was turning. The burden of the whole argument of the defense was that when somebody on the boat saw McRae put his hand on his gun he was justified in shooting. It is not material whether Tracy shot Jefferson Beard or somebody else. It is not material whether Tracy fired a gun or not, provided the evidence in this case satisfies you beyond a reasonable doubt that Tracy was a party to the conspiracy to go up to the city of Everett to violate an ordinance of the city of Everett.

"But have you any doubt that Tracy was seen

on the boat? Hogan saw the window and he saw a man with his face at the window shooting in his direction. Hogan wasn't thinking of the exact angle at which the boat was standing to the dock, but he knows he was standing at such an angle to the boat that he could see a man in a certain place on the boat. And he testified he did see him.

"It wasn't Thomas Tracy that was looking out of that window, it was Martin. It wasn't Thomas Tracy dressed for the occasion, it wasn't Thomas Tracy shaven for a picnic, it wasn't Thomas Tracy wearing a Sunday countenance, it wasn't Thomas Tracy gazing placidly out of a mild blue eye! It was Thomas Tracy, alias Martin, with his face drawn down into a scowl of hatred, with his eyebrows lowering over his eyes, gazing at John Hogan, not only gazing at him thru a window, but gazing at him over a gun! And if there is anything that would impress itself into the memory and recollection of a man it is the remembrance of a face filled with venomous hatred, the eyes shooting daggers at you while he is gazing at you over the muzzle of a gun —and you are not going to forget that!

"Counsel for the defense says this is an important trial, that important questions are involved, that the verdict in this case will have a great deal to do with the ultimate future of the working man and organized labor. I don't think that matters of that kind should enter the minds of the jurors in arriving at a verdict, but if it does, I want to supplement what counsel for the defense has said. I want to say that in my mind a verdict in this case will have much to do with the future success and the future advancement of honest labor in every line and in all organizations. It will have much to do with clarifying the situation insofar as this one organization is concerned. Every organization don't preach the doctrines that are preached by this organization, and if this jury by its verdict does not support that kind of method and that kind of procedure it will aid in purifying an organization that otherwise might do a world of good, but as it stands today, uttering the

propaganda that it does, pursuing the tactics that it does it, is a menace not only to society, but is a menace to the welfare of the other labor organizations that believe in pursuing lawful methods, in a lawful manner. This is an important case in that regard.

"I believe that it is a fortune thing that a jury of King County and a jury from the city of Seattle should have been called to try this case. The seed was not planted in Snohomish County! The plot was not hatched in Snohomish County! It was hatched down here in Seattle. The expedition started out from Seattle, not this one alone but many of them. Seattle was the base, the enemy's base, and it was from here that they started. Just down here almost in sight of this court house is the place where we claim the plot was formed, and it has come back here, and we come into court and lay it at your feet. They returned here, they have brought the case here for trial, and we are satisfied. Now we lay it before you and say,—'As citizens of Seattle do justice to the city of Everett and Snohomish County.'"

With these words ringing in their ears the twelve jurors retired for their deliberations, the court having entered an order discharging from further service the two alternate jurors, Efaw and Williams.

Retiring shortly before noon, the jury consulted for nearly twenty-two hours, taking ballot after ballot only to find that there were some who steadfastly refused to agree to any compromise verdict. Then, shortly after nine o'clock on May 5th, two full calendar months after the start of the trial and just six months to the day from the time of the tragedy of the Verona, Foreman James R. Williams announced the result of their deliberations, and the word sped out to the many hundred thousands who had spent an anxious and sleepless night;

"We, the jury, find the defendant, Thomas H. Tracy, NOT GUILTY!"

CHAPTER IX.

SOLIDARITY SCORES A SUCCESS

"I. W. W. Not Guilty!"

In this headline the daily papers of Seattle, Washington, gave the findings of the jury. With an unbroken series of successful prosecutions of Labor to the credit of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association this, the first great victory for the working class on the Pacific Coast, was a bitter pill for the allied employers and open shop interests to swallow.

With Tracy freed and the I. W. W. exonerated, there was nothing for the Snohomish County officials to do but to release the rest of the free speech prisoners. Yet the same contemptible spirit that had marked their actions from the very start of the trouble led them to hold the prisoners for several days and to try to make a few of the men think that there would be a trial of a second prisoner.

Part of the men were released in Seattle and part in Everett. All went at once to the I. W. W. hall upon gaining their freedom, and from there nearly the whole body of released men went to Mount Pleasant cemetery to visit the graves of their dead fellow workers.

Returning to the hall, those who had previously been delegates, or who had fitted themselves for the work while in jail, immediately took out credentials and started on an organizing campaign of the Northwest, with the uniting of the workers in the lumber industry as their main object.

The dearth of workers due to the war, the tremendous advertisement the I. W. W. had received because of the tragedy and the trial, and the spirit of mingled determination and resentment that had grown up in the jail, made the work easy for these volunteer organizers. Members joined by the dozen, then by the score, and finally by the hundreds.

Gus Johnson Felix Baran John Looney

Hugo Gerlot Abraham Rabinowitz

Seattle had but two officials under pay on November 5th—Herbert Mahler, secretary of the I. W. W., and J. A. MacDonald, editor of the Industrial Worker. By July 4th, 1917, one year from the time of the loggers' convention at which there were only half a hundred paid up members, the I. W. W. in Seattle had thirty people under pay, working at top speed to take care of the constantly increasing membership, and preparations were under way to launch the greatest lumber strike ever pulled in the history of the industry with the eight hour day as the main demand. That strike in which thousands of men stood out for week after week in the face of persecution of every character, in the face of raids upon their halls and the illegal detention of hundreds of members by city, county, state and federal agents, and in the face of deportations by mobs of lumber trust hirelings, deserves a volume to itself.

This activity in the lumber industry reflected itself in all other lines, particularly so in construction projects all over the Northwest. Demands for litertaure, for speakers, for organizers, flooded the offices of the organization and many opportunities to organize had to be passed by simply because there were not enough men capable of taking up the work.

Part of this growth was of those who had interested themselves in the trial. Many of those who had gone on the witness stand for the defense afterwards took out membership cards in the I. W. W. The women of Everett,—considerably more inclined toward revolutionary ideas than the men there, by the way,—were among the first to ask for a "red card."

Too great praise cannot be given to those who voluntarily gave their services to the defense and thus helped to bring about a verdict of acquittal. Thru the work of Mr. A. L. Carpenter a great deal of valuable information was secured and it was thru his efforts that Deputy Joseph Schofield was brought from Oregon to testify for the defense. For his activity on behalf of organized labor Mr. Carpenter received the rebel's reward—he was discharged from

his position as district manager of a large corporation. Scores of Everett citizens gave splendid assistance to the defense, asking only that their names be withheld on account of the Commercial Club blacklist.

All persons directly in the employ of the defense proved their worth. Deserving special mention in their work of investigation were Rev. T. T. Edmunds, W. A. Loomis and John M. Foss. The Reverend Edmunds, being no follower of a "cold statistical Christ" and having more of humanitarianism than theology or current religion in his makeup, was able to gain information where many another investigator might have failed. The expert services of Loomis were of no less value, while the particular merit of the work of John Foss was that he went to Everett immediately after the catastrophe, at a time when chaos still reigned and when the blood-lust of the deputies had not yet completely given way to craven fear, and worked there night and day until a verdict of acquittal for his fellow workers was practically assured. Both as an investigator and as correspondent to the I. W. W. press, C. E. Payne, familiarly known as "Stumpy," proved himself invaluable. Charles Ashleigh handled the publicity for the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee in an able and efficient manner, while to Herbert Mahler credit is due for the careful and painstaking handling of the large fund raised to fight the case thru the courts.

"Justice" is an expensive luxury in the lumber kingdom. Independent of the large amount of money spent directly by individuals and by branches of the I. W. W. the cost of the verdict of acquittal was $37,835.84. Nearly thirty-eight thousand dollars! Thirty-eight thousand dollars to free innocent workers from the clutches of the law! The victims in jail and the murderers at liberty! But then, the last thing expected of "Justice" is that it be just.

Whence came the fund that, as a token of solidarity, set the free speech prisoners at liberty? In the financial statement of the Everett Prisoners Defense Committee it is set forth in full. Summarized, this

report shows that Labor united in the defense of the prisoners, that, while this case was more largely financed directly thru the I. W. W. than any other trial of the organization, there were many and generous contributions from local unions of the American Federation of Labor, from the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Fund, from various other working class societies and from sources so numerous as to make special mention impossible. But these receipts varied from a dollar bill sent by "A poor Working Stiff" from North Bend, Oregon, to a donation of $3.75 from the Benevolent Society for the Propagating of Cremation at Yonkers, New York.

Hundreds of dollars were raised in Seattle by the I. W. W. thru smokers, dances, theatrical benefits, entertainments and collections by speakers who told the story of Bloody Sunday before societies of every kind and character. The Dreamland Rink meetings, attended in every instance by thousands of people, were the means of bringing hundreds of dollars to the defense. A considerable fund was raised directly within the organization by the sale of embossed leatherette membership card cases issued in memoriam to the martyred dead. In Seattle notable service was rendered by the International Workers' Defense League.

The nature of the case demanded heavy expenditures unlike those required in any of the previous trials in which I. W. W. members were involved. Many of the witnesses were men who had beaten their way from long distances thru storms and snow to be in readiness to testify in behalf of their imprisoned fellow workers, and most of these had to be maintained at a relief station until called upon the stand. The care of the wounded was an added item, and there were many necessary expenditures for the big body of prisoners held as defendants. To each of the men who was released at the end of the six months imprisonment there was given a sum of $10. Owing to the sweeping nature of the conspiracy charges and because of the large number of witnesses endorsed by the State, all of whom re-

May First at Graveside of Gerlot, Baran and Looney.

quired investigation, there was a large sum required for use in taking these necessary legal precautions. Heavy charges were also made for the work of the stenographers who recorded the evidence, this being an item borne by the State in most parts of the country. The totals of these expenditures were as follows:

Counsel fees in full	$8,470.00
Legal investigation	8,955.36
Court stenographers	3,354.30
Miscellaneous legal expense	1,304.20
Office expense	1,942.53
Publicity work	4,830.44
Miscellaneous accounts	8,457.37
Total expenditures	$37,314.20

A balance of $521.64 was sent to the General Headquarters of the I. W. W. and this, with $581.36 which remained in the General Office from the sale of voluntary assessment stamps, was set aside as a fund to be used for the maintenance of HarryGolden, Joseph Ghilezano and Albert Scribner, three of the boys who were seriously injured on the Verona.

The financial report was audited by E. G. Shorrock and Co., certified accountants, and by a committee composed of Harry Feinberg and J. H. Beyer, representing the prisoners, C. H. Rice, representing the Seattle unions of the I. W. W., and General Executive Board member, Richard Brazier, representing the General Headquarters of the I. W. W. The statement made to contributors to the fund concluded with these expressive words:

"On behalf of the defendants, and the Industrial Workers of the World, we take this opportunity to express our grateful appreciation to all contributors, and to all the brave men and women who assisted us so nobly in this great struggle to save seventy-three workingmen from a living death at the hands of the Lumber Trust and the allied commercial bodies of the Pacific Coast.

"It was the solidarity of the working class, and that alone, which brought about this great victory for labor, so let us turn fresh from victory, with determined hearts and unquellable spirit to unflinchingly continue the struggle for the liberation of all prisoners of the class war, remembering always that greatest expression of solidarity, 'An injury to one, is an injury to all.'

"THE EVERETT PRISONERS DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

THOMAS MURPHY,
CHARLES ASHLEIGH,
WM. J. HOUSER,
RICHARD SMITH,
HERBERT MAHLER, Sec'y-Treas."

Seattle, Wash.,
June 12th, 1917.

CHAPTER X.

THE BANKRUPTCY OF "LAW AND ORDER"

The facts in this case speak pretty well for themselves. To draw conclusions at length would be an impertinence. He who runs may read the signs of decay of Capitalism, the crumbling of a social system based upon the slavery and degradation of the vast majority of mankind. And from the lips of the prosecution counsel—the Voice of the State—we have the open and frank acknowledgement of the bankrupcy of law and order, the failure of government as it is now administered.

It is no part of this work to attack The Law. The Law is august, majestic in its impartial findings and the equality of its judgements, always however with due allowance for those subtle distinctions so incomprehensible to the masses which exist between high finance, kleptomania and theft. The Law strips no one of his possessions; under its beneficent reign the rich retain their wealth and the poor keep their poverty. Founded on dogma and moulded by tradition, The Law stands as a mighty monument to Justice. It is ever in this way that we show our respect and reverence for the dead. Being an outgrowth of precedent it gains added sanctity with each fresh proof of antiquity, differing in this regard from automobiles, eggs, women, hats, the six best sellers, and the commoner things of life. Surrounded by mysticism, surcharged with the language of the dead, and sustained by force, who is there would have the temerity to question the sanctity of The Law?

It remained for Attorneys Black and Cooley—and not for the outcast industrial unionists, socialists or anarchists—to charge that The Law is a bankrupt institution, and it was for the citizen-deputies — and not for the despised workers — to

prove the truth of the indictment. Truly Society moves in a mysterious way its blunders to reform!

With the true logic of the counting-house Cooley admitted that the mill owners had formed a mob to protect themselves from the rabble, they had pursued illegal methods to prevent the breaking of The Law, they had jailed men in order to preserve Liberty, they had even blacklisted union men in order to give to every man the right to work where, when and for whom he pleased. There is no escaping such logic if one owns property. Of course those who possess no property are the natural enemies of property, and law being based upon property, they are defiers of The Law, and Society being upheld only by observance of The Law, they are the foes of Society. It is not best to kill them in too large numbers for they are useful in doing the work of the world, but they must be kept in fear and trembling of The Law and made to respect it as sacred and invilable, even if we do not. So argued Black and Cooley.

But the whine of Black, the snarl of Cooley, the moody silence of Veitch, alike served as a confession that "law and order" was a failure. The plea of the State was that all law is the creature of property and when the power of the law proves inadequate in its function of protecting the accumulations of wealth the possessors of property are justified in supplementing The Law with such additional physical or brute force as they can muster, or in casting aside The Law altogether, as it suits their convenience. To the workers The Law must remain sacred while to the leisure class Property is the thing to worship, for however much robbery is to be condemned, the proceeds of robbery are always to be respected.

Their further contention was that the streets are for traffic, for maintaining commerce, in other words to aid in the gathering of property and to enhance the property values already cleared. Out of the graciousness of their hearts the business men and employers allow the pedestrians to use the streets incidental to the purchase of goods or to journey to

and from their tasks in the factories, mines, mills and workshops. That the streets might be used for social, religious, political or educational purposes does not enter their calculations, their ledgers carry no place for such entries on the profit side. Free speech is tolerated at times provided nothing of importance is said.

Two trials were going on in the court room at the same time; that of Thomas H. Tracy and the I. W. W. before a property-qualified jury, and that of the existing system of law enforcement before the great jury of the working class. And just as surely as was the verdict that of acquittal for Tracy and his union, was there a most decided judgment of Guilty upon "law and order." For Tracy was not freed by the law but by the common sense of the jury who refused to consider him guilty and viewed him as a class rather than as an individual. Under the existing conspiracy laws he might well have been considered technically guilty. But "law and order" technically and otherwise was proven guilty, and the charge that Capitalism is guilty of first degree murder, and a host of other crimes, was clearly proven.

Why? Why all the brutality depicted herein? Why?

The answer is that we are living in an insane social system in which money ranks higher than manhood.

To be more specific the outrages at Everett had their roots in the belief that the men who labor, and especially the migratory and the unskilled element, form an inferior caste or class to those who exploit them. The dominant class viewed any attempt to claim even the same civil rights as an assault upon their supremacy and integrity,—this to them being synonymous with social order and civilization. This is always more evident where a single industry dominates, as evidenced by the occurrences at Ludlow, in the coal district, Mesaba in the iron ore section, and Bisbee where copper is the main product. Eve-

rett controlled by the lumber interests clinches the argument.

A community dominated by an industry, impelled by a desire for high profits; or under the spell of fear or passion, whether justified or not, cannot be restrained by law from a summary satisfaction of its desires or a quieting of its apprehensions. Before such a condition the fabric of local government crumbles and lynch law is substituted for the more orderly processes designed to attain the same end. The Everett outrages were no example of the rough and ready justice of primitive communities. The outlaws were in full possession of local government, legislative, judicial, and executive, yet they fell back upon brute force and personal violence and attempted to protect the lumber trust profits by tactics of terrorism.

Insofar as the law can be wielded for their immediate purpose a capitalistic mob, such as these at Everett, will clothe their violence in the form of ostensible legal process, yet often the letter and the spirit of their own class-influenced laws will be ruthlessly thrust aside. They want law and order, efficacious, impartial, august, in the eyes of the general citizenry, but they want exemption of their class from the rule of the law on certain occasions. Strongly would they deny that all law is class law, made, interpreted and administered in behalf of a privileged property-owning class, yet the facts bear out this contention.

The conception of impersonal and impartial legalism has been generally accepted along with traditional moral opinion and the naive belief in the excellence of competitive, individualistic, and unrestrained business. But this historical case has proven,

as nothing else could prove, that these bonds are relaxing and the faith and formulas underlying the whole legal establishment are the subject of attack by an increasingly large and uncompromising army of dissenters.

From the developments of the Everett situation one can sense the rising tide of industrial solidarity. It was the unity of the workers that won the great case. It will be the unity of Labor that will win the world for the workers, just as the embryonic democracy of the toilers in its blind groupings has already cracked the shell of the industrial autocracy of the present day.

At present we are at the parting of the ways. There is not sufficient faith in the Law to hold the dying wage system together and there is not a sufficiently clear conception of the solidaric ideal of a new society to bind the rebellious elements to a definite program. So chaos reigns in society and events like those at Everett may be expected to arise until the struggle of the exploited takes on a more constructive form and develops the necessary power to overthrow capitalism and all its attendant institutions.

Industrial unionism is the only hope of the disinherited and dispossessed proletariat. It is the voice of the future. It spells at once Evolution and Revolution. Its assured success means an end to classes and class rule and the rearing of a race of free individuals.

The strength of the workers is in industry. Every worker, man, woman or child, has economic power. The control of industry means the control of the world.

He who strives to bring the workers closer to-

gether so that their allied forces in an industrial organization may overthrow the wage system and rear in its place an Industrial Republic in which slavery will be unknown and where joy will form the mainspring of human activity, pays the highest homage to those who, in order that the spirit of Liberty might not perish from the land, gave their lives at Everett, Washington, on Sunday, November 5th, 1917:

FELIX BARAN,
HUGO GERLOT,
GUSTAV JOHNSON,
JOHN LOONEY,
ABRAHAM RABINOWITZ.

SONGS

Of The Workers

The Latest

I. W. W. SONG BOOK

General Defense Edition

CONTAINS sixty-four pages of satirical, humorous and inspiring songs of labor. Parodies on the well known popular airs. Wherever the English language is spoken, there will be found countless numbers of workers singing these real rebel songs

PRICES

Single Copies Ten Cents
$5.00 a Hundred

Address

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

I. W. W. LITERATURE

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago

Pamphlets at 10c Each, or 3.50 Per Hundred

I. W. W. History, Structure & Methods (St. John), revised
Industrial Unionism, the Road to Freedom (Ettor)
The Evolution of Industrial Democracy (Woodruff)
One Big Union, The Greatest Thing on Earth
Advancing Proletariat (Woodruff)
Patriotism and the Worker (Hervé)
Onward Sweep of the Machine Process (Hanson)
Red Down (Harrison George)
Is Freedom Dead?

Pamphlets at 10c Each, or $5.00 Per Hundred

The I. W. W. Song Book.
The General Strike (Haywood); also containing "The Last War."
Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois (Lewis)
The General Secretary's Report of the Tenth Convention
Hotel, Restaurant and Domestic Workers (L. S. Chumley)
Revolutionary Writings (Kelly Cole)

Boooks at Various Prices

The New Unionism (Tridon), 35c per copy	100—	$25.00
Opening Statement of G. F. Vanderveer, 25c	100—	20.00
Cloath Bound, 50c per copy	100—	35.00
Testimony of William D. Haywood Before the Industrial Relations Commission, 15c	100—	10.00
Trial of New Society (Ebert), 50c per copy	100—	35.00
Proceedings 10th Convention, 50c epr copy	100—	35.00
The Everett Massacre, Cloath Bound, $1.00	100—	75.00
Indictment, 25c per copy	100—	20.00

I. W. W. Leaflets

I. W. W. Industrial Unionism (St. John), 5c per copy	100—	$1.00
High Cost of Living (Dougherty), 5c per copy	100—	1.00
Metal and Machinery Workers (leaflet)	100—	.25
To Colored Working Men and Women	100—	.30

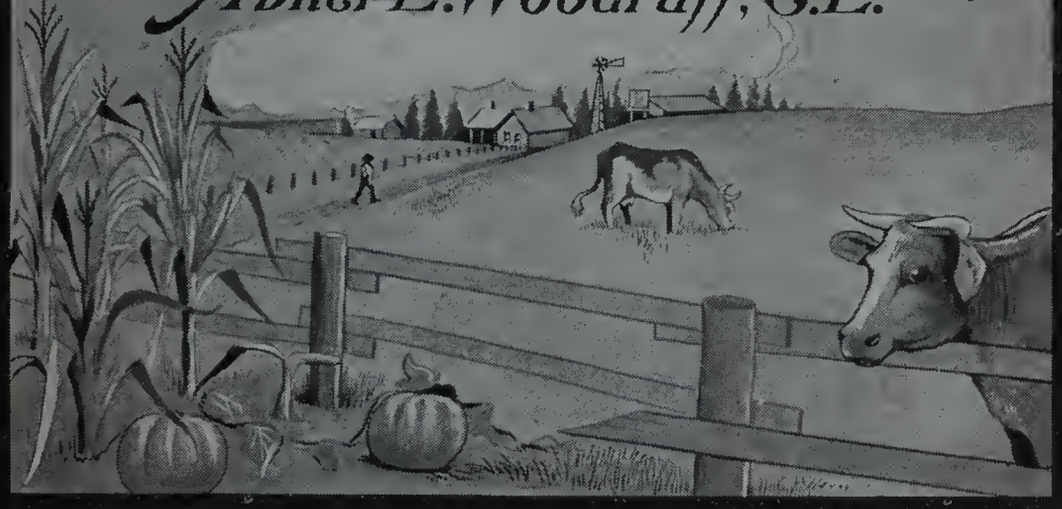
Songs and Music by Joe Hill

25c copy; 5 for $1.00; 10 or more, 15c each.
Workers of the World, Awaken!
The Rebel Girl.
Don't Take My Papa Away from Me.

EVOLUTION OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

By

Abner E. Woodruff, C.E.



INTRODUCTION

BY

Wm. D. Haywood

PUBLISHED BY

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400.

I.W.W.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

THE NEWBERRY
LIBRARY

EVOLUTION of AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

By
ABNER WOODRUFF, C. E.

THE RADICAL BOOK SHOP
867 No. Clark St.
CHICAGO, - - ILLINOIS

Illustrated by Dust
Published by Agricultural Workers Industrial Union
No. 400 I. W. W.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

INDEX

		Page
Chapter I.	From Primitive Man to Agriculture	11
Chapter II.	Indian Agriculture in America	16
Chapter III.	Agricultural Periods	22
Chapter IV.	Colonial Period (1620-1783)	25
Chapter V.	The Period of Western Expansion (1783-1830)	33
Chapter VI.	The Transportation Period (1830-1865)	40
Chapter VII.	Period of Expansion into the Far West (1865-1887)	46
Chapter VIII.	Period of Reorganization (1887-1919)	54
Chapter IX.	Influence of Machinery on Agricultural Production and Rural Population	59
Chapter X.	Development of Agricultural Proletariat	68
Development of the Agricultural Workers' Union No. 400		74

INTRODUCTION

This is not intended so much as an introduction to the book, but rather to acquaint the reader with the organization which makes this interesting little volume possible, and promises the likelihood of more and greater works—it being the intention to publish similar hand-books on all the basic industries.

The book does not purport to be a history of the agricultural industry, but merely a condensed story of the evolution of the tools, the machinery, and the remarkable modern methods of agriculture, horticulture, cattle raising, etc., presenting the wonderful development of the production of all things essential to the life and happiness of people, the control of which by all the people would make the world a good place in which to live.

Incidentally herein is shown the way in which corporations have grown and gigantic trusts have been formed, privately owning vast tracts of land, immense implement factories, stock yards, cold storage and canning plants; also the mines and railroads, thus controlling the necessities of life of which food stuff forms the greater part. But nearly all things are within the greedy grasp of these combined capitalists. These vicious institutions are sapping the very life blood of the human race.

You must realize that this infamous system of robbery amounts in the end to crime worse than murder. The trusts have so developed that they now have their fangs fastened deep into the very heart of society. Their merciless schemes and operations are conceived and carried out for profit and personal

aggrandizement alone. It is done with the cognizance, connivance, and endorsement of governments the world over, with the result that there are millions of underfed, overworked, uneducated toilers with nothing to look forward to but work, work, —unceasing labor from the cradle to the grave.

The I. W. W. has nothing but words of the bitterest condemnation for individuals, institutions or governments responsible for the terrible conditions which prevail. On the other hand, the I. W. W. is earnest in its commendation of the great minds that conceived and invented the improved machinery and organized the great industries which we understand through social effort would contribute to the welfare and upbuilding of the people of the world.

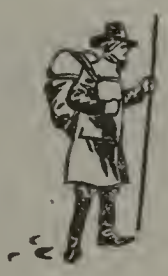
The Industrial Workers of the World was organized to improve the conditions of the working class and its efforts have been directed unceasingly to this end. Education is regarded as the greatest weapon that the exploited workers can hope to attain. This book is published for the purpose of education—written, printed and paid for by men who have been condemned and in many instances imprisoned as hoboes and vagrants; more than this, they own the print shop where the work is done.

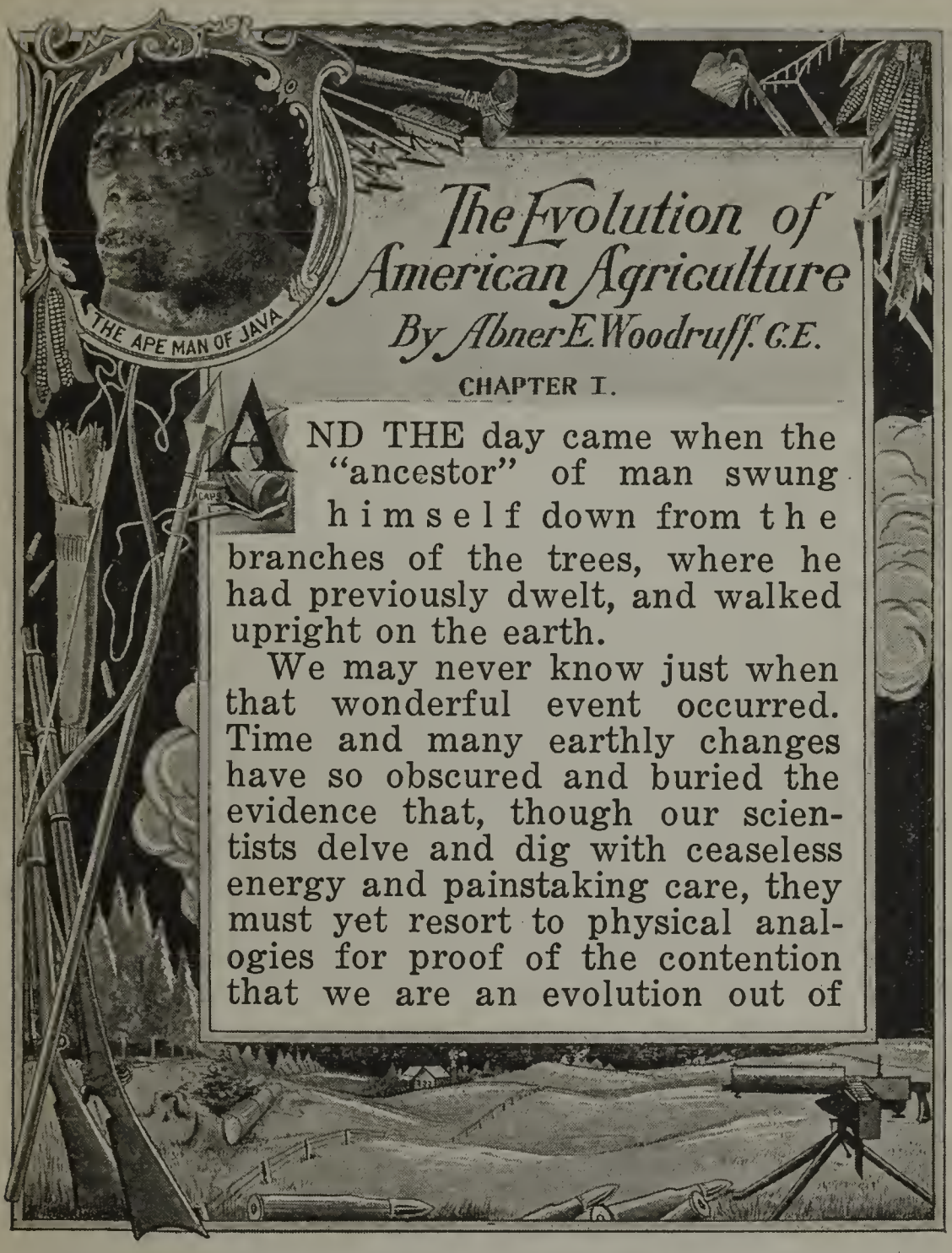
It has been said that every institution is but the lengthening shadow of a single man. This is not true when speaking of the Industrial Workers of the World, as it has required the united efforts of many individuals to cultivate the idea which has become imperishable; but here, as a matter of record, we should mention the name of Elwood Moore, who contributed a considerable legacy that he had inherited, and which he gave to the I. W. W. for organization and educational purposes. This was just prior to the formation of the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union which was launched at a convention held in Kansas City in the spring of 1915.

Immediately following the organizing of the A. W. O. of the I. W. W., the name of which after-

wards was changed to the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 400, I. W. W., the conditions of the migratory workers began to improve, wages were increased, hours reduced, living conditions made comparatively better; but the work of education in the agricultural industry, like all others, has just begun and remains to be carried on by the workers until the earth is redeemed from private ownership and the spirit of co-operation prevails. Use and occupancy will then be the only title to land and its products. Industrial Freedom will then have been attained.

Wm. D. Haywood.





The Evolution of American Agriculture

By Abner E. Woodruff, C.E.

CHAPTER I.

AND THE day came when the "ancestor" of man swung himself down from the branches of the trees, where he had previously dwelt, and walked upright on the earth.

We may never know just when that wonderful event occurred. Time and many earthly changes have so obscured and buried the evidence that, though our scientists delve and dig with ceaseless energy and painstaking care, they must yet resort to physical analogies for proof of the contention that we are an evolution out of another and primitive species. The "link" to complete the chain may be missing—the **absolute** connection of the human race with the "tree dwellers" may never be established—but, among the educated and enlightened, it will never be doubted in the least.

In the realm of Biology, the validity of the Law of Evolution cannot well be questioned, and we are quite justified in any attempt we may make to re-

construct that romantic period when the hairy denizens of the tree tops went through those changes that finally developed a creature bold enough to descend upon the ground, club in hand, and battle with the carnivorous beasts for the coveted right to live. We may well picture the first tree dweller that developed the human thumb—the thumb set so far forward on the hand and of such length that it could be opposed to the other fingers—and imagine the advantages he possessed over his fellows amid the leafy canopies. We may see him plucking the fruits and nuts with greater dexterity; swinging from limb to limb with greater certainty of grasp; clutching at the throat of his adversary with a deadlier grip; striking with the fist instead of slapping with an open paw; and, for the first time wielding a club in the enforcement of his developing will. How formidable this human handed tree dweller must have been to the other inhabitants of the forest! And how wonderful that provision of nature which transmitted the thumb on down the line of his descendants!

The law of claw and fang decided disputes among the tree dwellers and, most of all, it decided the question of mating. The human-handed one, by reason of his greater ability to fight—through a better courage, generated by a consciousness of physical superiority—compelled the reproducton of his type through the more perfect females of his kind.

Some have said that hunger first drove the developing "man" to forsake the trees and seek his food upon the ground, but I incline to the belief that the greater range of experiences possible to the human-handed one so developed his mental fac-

ulties, so increased his courage, that his first excursions afield were the result of experiment, the product of pure daring, and in the nature of adventure. I like to imagine that first foray into the formerly forbidden realm—the hesitating progress outward from the shadows, club in hand—the savage dash of the wild dog—the sure swing of the weapon—the crash of wood on flesh—the yelp—the angry snarl—the crash again—blow on blow—the savage shrieks—the howls of pain—the panic stricken flight of the dog—and the new "man," bleeding, bellowing in his fury, brandishing his club, but **victorious**—master of the scene.

From encounter to encounter man went, contending for every inch of his progress. Gradually he became more erect upon his hips; his feet and legs changed to conform to his new environment; the set of the head upon the spinal column changed; the brain-pan enlarged; the brain developed; the infinity of new experiences produced a higher intelligence and man become truly **man.** At first he dwelt in caves, from which he drove the wolf and bear. He lived on fruits and nuts and roots and berries; on birds and small wild creatures which he caught with greatest cunning. Then he discovered fire and later, the art of cookery.

Wonderful! Wonderful was the discovery of fire! It is the turning point in prehistoric life. It set man completely apart from the balance of animated nature. It divorced him from the beasts and pointed the way to the conquest of the Earth. It extended his hunting grounds to the rivers, lakes and seas—for now, through cookery, he could safely eat the fish. It broadened his range of travel and robbed

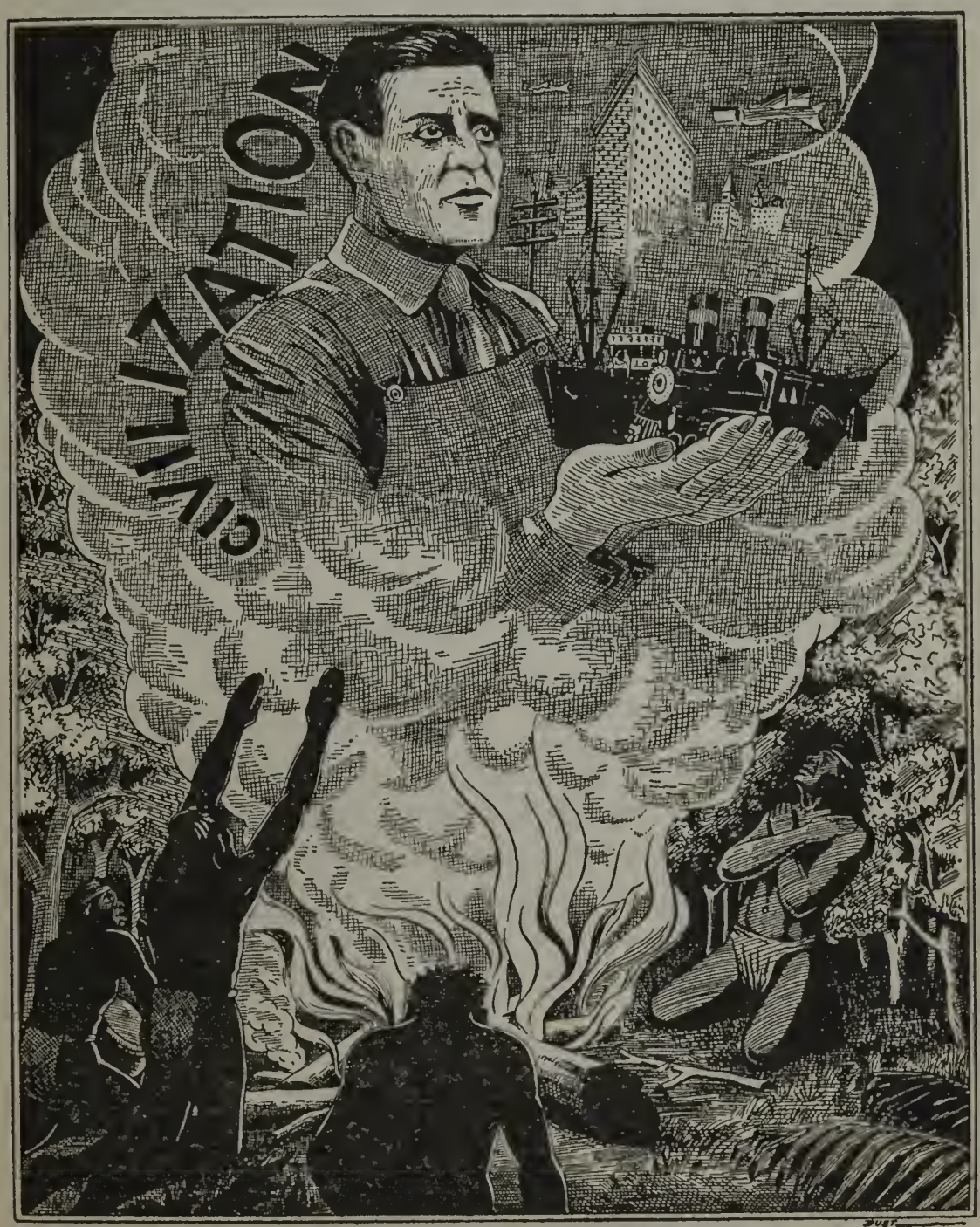
the winter of its frigid terrors. No wonder he worshiped the fire! Around it they gathered to prepare their food, to bask in its warmth, to moon and dream of their adventures, to counsel with their fellows, and weave fantastic notions that finally resolved themselves into the rudiments of religion.

How precious was the fire! It must not be lost! At first the aged, the young, the crippled, guarded the sacred flames; but later this duty devolved upon the woman. In the last period of her pregnancy and while the child was too young to be carried about, the woman kept the holy vigil. A natural conservator, she readily took charge of what was brought to the fire, and presently assumed command of those who came to the fire. Woman was master, and through her was born the institution of the family. Through her also was born herding, for the wounded kid, healed by her hand, became the domesticated goat and fed about the slopes near the cave under her watchful care.

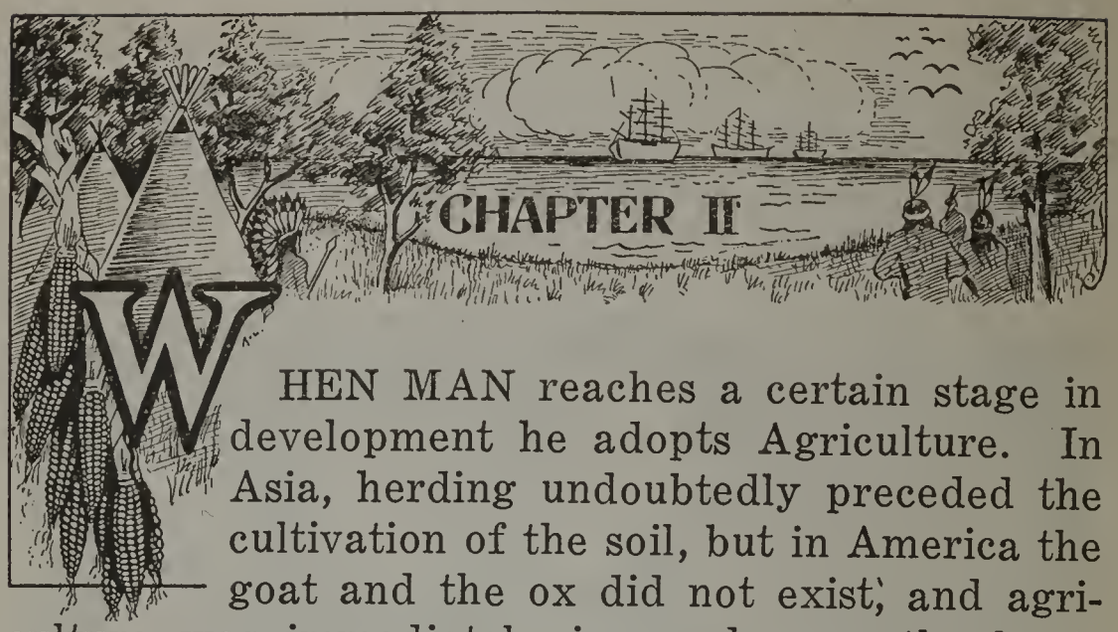
In her hours of leisure she wandered by the brook and gathered the plants that she knew were good to eat. One day she pulled the weeds and grasses from around a plant that she hoped to gather later, when it should be full grown and edible. By this act Agriculture was born, and for ages following woman was the agriculturist.

So long did woman till the soil with pointed stick and stone hoe and man hurl the spear and draw the bow that a difference in the structure of male and female shoulder blades resulted, and today a woman cannot hurl a stone with any kind of precision. The memory of these ages when woman was the agriculturist comes down to us from barbaric, through

historic times, for all the ancient gods of agriculture had female names and feminine attributes. All Hail—Agriculture! But better, All Hail—Woman! Woman, who has brought us the best that civilization can afford!



NO WONDER HE WORSHIPPED FIRE



CHAPTER II

WHEN MAN reaches a certain stage in development he adopts Agriculture. In Asia, herding undoubtedly preceded the cultivation of the soil, but in America the goat and the ox did not exist, and agriculture was immediately imposed upon the hunting age.

The trend of agriculture was evidently from the South toward the North, and especially is this Northward trend evident in the case of the Indian corn, the principal agricultural staple of the Indian dietary.

Without referring to the Aztec race (an agricultural people who inhabited Mexico and were distinct from the Indians), we may say that the inhabitant of this continent North of the Rio Grande lived in some twelve different ethnic, or radical environments which produced as many different types of Indians. Natural environment determines the nature of the food supply for man and determines also what his clothing needs to be, what shelter he requires, and, through these what his domestic industries, and personal and social customs shall be. So in the Arctic region, where the major portion of the year is intensely cold, where the country is a barren, treeless waste, we may find a people dependent entirely upon animal life for food, clothing and tent-

age, engaging in hunting, fishing and bird nesting and without suspicion that such a thing as agriculture can exist. But in a region like the Atlantic slope of the Appalachian Mountains, where there are rich lowlands, fertile foot hills, streams full of fish, abundant plant life, great forests, and a climate favorable to agriculture, we may expect to find a people with a considerable range of choice in their food supply, clothed in the lighter skins or even in woven cotton garments, and living in hovels constructed from wood or mud or other permanent material, and rendered sedentary by the practice of some form of agriculture, though hunting and fishing are yet followed as equal sources of subsistence.

Indeed, at the time of the landing of the first colonists upon these shores from England in 1607, we find that agriculture was a main source of life for all that Indian population along the St. Lawrence and around the Great Lakes, on the Atlantic Slope, throughout the Gulf Coast country, in the great Mississippi Valley (exclusive of the Great Plains), and in the Pueblo country of the arid Southwest, though interested writers and so-called historians would have us believe that they were principally nomads and that agriculture was the exception rather than the rule. In the Arctic region, in the Yukon MacKenzie section, on the Western plains, and in the Rocky Mountains conditions were unfavoroble to Indian agriculture, while on the North Pacific Coast, in the Columbia and Frazer River regions, and in California and Oregon, animal and native plant foods were so abundant and easily available that there was no inducement for the Indian to take up the cultivation of the soil.

In this chapter it is our purpose to discuss only the agricultural Indians and especially the Eastern Indians, who first came in contact with the invading white man and who led in such resistance as the red man could oppose to the ruthless trampling of his natural rights and the certain destruction of his race.

The diet of the red men varied with the season and the food supply, ranging from fully three-fourths vegetable in the South to fully three-fourths animal in the North, and in all their agriculture, **corn** was the most important plant known to them. They also cultivated beans, squash, pumpkins, sunflowers, gourds, tobacco and, in the South, the cotton plant. Eighteen varieties of cultivated plants were known to them and fully one hundred other plants, uncultivated, furnished them further addition to their food supply; among these, of course, being acorns, berries, wild fruits, nuts, roots and seeds.

Not only did they cultivate these plants, but they had developed an effective storage and preservative system. Corn, beans, acorns, chestnuts, etc., were dried upon mats in the open air and stored in granaries or cribs. Onions, artichokes, corn, etc., were buried in pits. Pumpkins and squash were covered with piles of leaves and hay. Peppers, gourds, grapes, passion flower, sunflowers and tobacco were hung up in their houses. Venison was dried in the sun, fish were cured in the smoke of a greenwood fire as also were oysters, which they strung on a string. Drinks they had none, except mild infusions of leaves and willow bark which they drank as medicine. Fermented or distilled liquors (fire water) were introduced by the white men.

Corn was the principal cultivated plant of the agricultural Indians. Evidently originated in the tropics, it had found its way Northward by the adoption of the tribes, to a point far up the Ottawa River in Canada, where it was observed by Cartier, the French explorer, as early as 1534. This plant has played a great part in the economic and political history of America and may be justly said to be the greatest food producing plant now grown. The Jamestown and Plymouth colonies only became permanent as they were able to get supplies of this cereal from the Indians and by adopting its cultivation in their early fields. Also in the wars which soon succeeded the settlements by the whites, the great Iroquois nation was only defeated by the complete destruction of its corn supply; and later, after the Revolution, when Mad Anthony Wayne was sent against the Indians of the Western Reserve, he only succeeded in his mission by cutting down and burning the thousands of acres of corn fields they had cultivated in the rich river bottoms.

The Indians, then, were not the wandering people we have been taught to believe them to have been, but were really fairly well advanced agriculturists, though they retained many of the characteristics of their former nomadic life. We now know that they practiced communal farming and lived in large villages surrounded by their extensive fields. The average per family seems to have been from two to two and one-half acres and the production of corn an average of about forty bushels per acre. And, when we consider that the soil was broken by means of wooden or stone mattocks and crude wooden spades, and that the cultivating was mostly

done by the women and children with hoes made from clam shells and the shoulder blades of the bear and moose, we are forced to realize that they were a remarkably industrious people, and that, had they known the use of metals, they would have compared most favorably in productive ability with the Europeans who came to supplant them.

The cultured methods of the Indians have been but little changed by modern agriculture, and one tool of their invention, the "husking peg," is still in use wherever corn is harvested by "armstrong" methods, a fact that the boys of the A. W. O. are likely to appreciate.

An eminent writer on agriculture gives the following agricultural achievements of the Indians:

They reproduced wild plants under control.

They propagated cultivated varieties of wild plants.

They practiced plant breeding by seed selection.

They planted seeds in hills, to give light, soil space and room for cultivation.

They used crop fertilizers, such as fish buried in the hill with the seeds.

They practiced good tillage.

They practiced clean cultivation.

They practiced multiple cropping (corn, beans, sunflowers, etc., in the same field.)

They made clearings by girdling and burning.

They invented the corn crib.

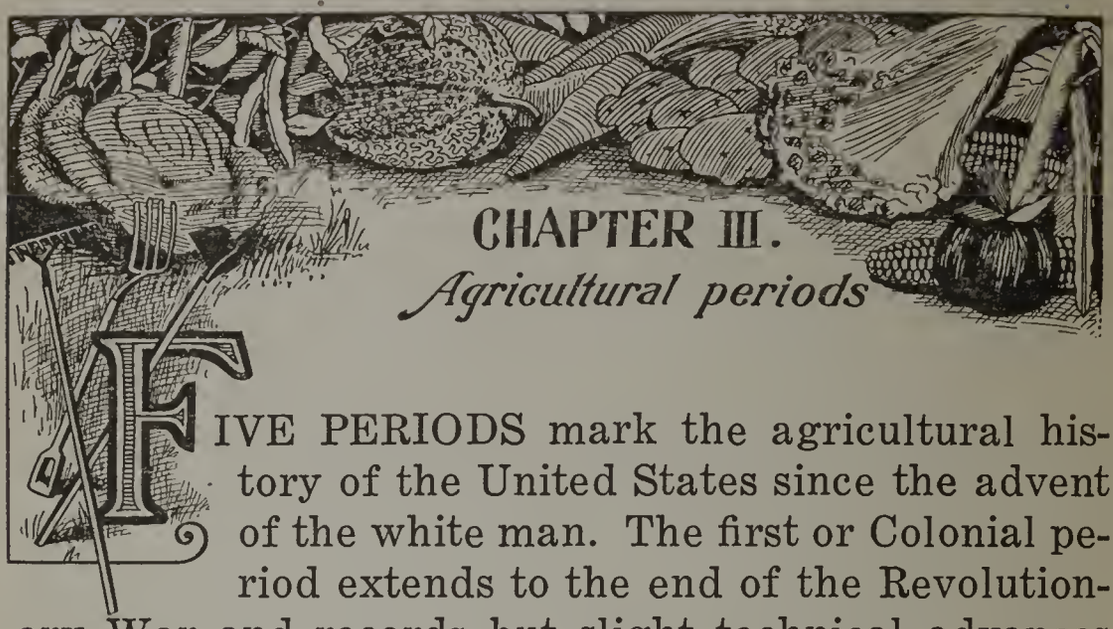
They discovered the narcotic effect of tobacco.

They cured tobacco by artificial heat.

They made syrup and sugar by evaporating sap.

They preserved fruits, etc., with syrup, wild honey, etc.

In the face of these achievements, who can doubt that the red man could have assimilated the civilization of the whites? Evidently there was no real effort on the part of the colonists, even of the hyper-religious Puritans, to find a reasonable basis on which the two races could work out a common destiny. The spirit of exploitation was rampant and the weaker, less advanced Indians went down before the superior shrewdness and unscrupulous ruthlessness of his Caucasian adversary. The history of the white man's dealings with the red man is a record of his cruelty, exploitation and dirty chicanery that bourgeois historians try hard to conceal, its last monumental infamy being the destruction of the buffalo during the seventies, by which act the Indians of the West were forced upon the reservation and reduced from **freemen** to that curious position of a "ward of the government"—"neither man nor boy; just **hobbledehoy.**"



CHAPTER III.

Agricultural periods

FIVE PERIODS mark the agricultural history of the United States since the advent of the white man. The first or Colonial period extends to the end of the Revolutionary War and records but slight technical advances in the art of agriculture. It was a period of clearing the forests, breaking the soil, and generally experimenting with crops and cultural methods. On the whole, it was a self-sufficing period; that is, the farmers derived practically their entire living from their own farms and had a small surplus to exchange for a few necessary commodities and services with the merchants and craftsmen in the village. The country, however, did export some wheat from the Middle Colonies, tobacco from all the Southern Colonies, rice and indigo from the Carolinas and Georgia, and a small quantity of cotton from the Sea Islands.

The second period, from 1783 to 1830, saw a rapid spread of the agricultural population across the mountains into the Ohio, Cumberland and Tennessee Valleys and even beyond the Mississippi to the edge of the great plains. A public land policy was adopted by the Federal Government, cotton became the dominant agricultural product of the South and made slavery a paying and therefore a characteristically Southern institution, and the

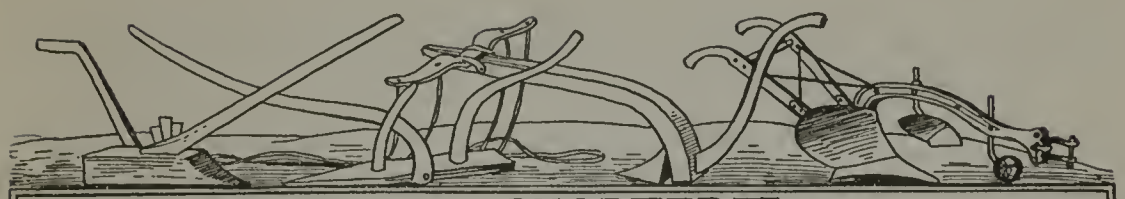
first efforts to apply science to agriculture were made. During this period, as in the first one, agriculture was practically self-sufficing, though in the South the specialization on cotton caused a considerable dependence on other regions for supplies that otherwise would have been produced at home.

In the third period, from 1830 to 1865, occurred an almost complete transformation of agriculture. The rapid rise of the factory system in the North, due to the use of steam and a flood of labor saving inventions with a consequent transfer of home industries into the shops, the invention of agricultural machinery such as the reaper, mower, thresher, etc., the extension of the railway system and the development of the prairie states caused an era of specialization which transferred agriculture into the commercial stage. Crops were now grown primarily for the market and incidentally for the use of the farmer and his family, a reversal of the former process. The new necessities of the farmer gave him a new view of his industry and in his effort to meet the new situation he turned to agricultural societies, fair associations and the scientific breeding of live stock, all of which were of wonderful assistance in the development of the country by demonstrating its resourcefulness.

The fourth period was the era of expansion into the Far West (1865-1887), and was remarkably stimulated by the Homestead Acts of 1862 and 1864, the disbanding of the Armies of the Civil War, the transformation of Southern farming due to the abolition of slavery, the invention of the twine binder and the roller process of milling flour, the exten-

sion of the railroads to the Pacific Coast, the greater extention of the interior railway systems, the development of the cattle ranches of the West after the extinction of the buffalo and the cooping up of the Indians on the reservations, and a new flood of immigration from European ports. Manufacture experienced an equal expansion at this time and more of the home industries were transferred from the farm to the factory and the shop.

The fifth period, which began in 1887, is now practically completed by the establishment of the Rural Credit or Land Bank system throughout the country. This period has been an era of agricultural reorganization. The easily available public lands were exhausted and intensive methods of cultivation came into vogue in the Eastern and Central sections with a rapid rise in land values. State and Federal schemes for irrigation and drainage were put through to increase the acreage of arable lands. Agricultural colleges were established to spread scientific cultural methods so that the food supply might keep pace with the demands of an increasing industrial population, research work in the realm of agriculture was vigorously prosecuted by numerous experiment stations under State and Federal control, and the period closes with the establishment of a separate system of finance designed to place the agricultural capitalist on a par with the commercial capitalist in the money markets of the world by modilizing and standardizing the basis of his credit.



CHAPTER IV

Colonial period

THE INCEPTION of the white man's agriculture in this country was a matter of pure imitation. Smith and his company at Jamestown were "gentlemen" who knew nothing about the cultivation of the soil, and took their first lessons from a couple of Indians that they held as prisoners. The "Pilgrim fathers" also were not originally farmers, and their cultural methods were derived from a study and imitation of the red man. Naturally, since they possessed iron spades and hoes, their labor was more efficient; yet for many years the settlers went upon the land with a farming outfit so meager that the man, accustomed to modern agriculture and its perfected machinery, is apt to gasp with astonishment and wonder how in hell they kept from starving when he learns how small it was.

Here is the list of tools supplied a Virginia settler with six persons in his family: :

Agricultural tools—5 broad hoes, 5 narrow hoes, 3 shovels, 2 spades, 2 hand bills, 2 pick axes or mattocks.

Clearing tools—5 felling axes.

House and domestic tools—2 broad axes, 2 hatchets, 2 steel saws, 2 hand saws, 1 whip saw, 2 ham-

mers, 2 augurs, 2 piercers, 3 gimlets, 6 chisels, 2 frows, 1 grindstone, nails of all sizes.

Compare the agricultural tools listed above with the tractor, pulling its gang of plows, harrow, seeder, and land packer; also the mower, combined harvester, corn binder, potato digger and threshing machine, and you have some idea of the great advance that three hundred years of effort and invention have brought to modern man. It certainly would be a "boob" that would start in to buck the modern game with a Virginia settler's outfit. It's easy to see the "water tank" where he would "hit the grit."

The Indians were communal in their method of life and usually cultivated their fields in common, and the Virginia settlers tried the communal way for a couple of years, but, finding themselves unsuited to such a mode of labor, resorted to individual ownership about 1609 or 1610.

There were three methods of acquiring land; first by purchase of a share of stock in the colonization company; second, by some act of meritorious service; and third, by "Head Right" (paying the passage of some person from England to the Colony). The share of stock cost $62.50 and entitled the holder to one hundred acres in the first subdivision and another one hundred acres in the second subdivision. Great tracts of land were secured to individuals who were able to buy a large number of shares, and much of the early trouble with the Indians arose over the efforts of these shareholders to drive the red men off these purchased holdings, the redskin not being regarded as endowed with any title, either natural or acquired.

Ministers of the church, physicians, government

officials and employers of the company were given one hundred acres each for meritorious service and could secure the second allotment by the erection of a house within three years. Any person who paid the passage of a laborer, either bond or free, to the colony, received fifty acres by "Head Right," and after 1618 this became the common method of obtaining land. As labor was in great demand, the practice became a system of investing in labor and having a piece of land thrown in to make the bargain a good one. Finally the payment to the Secretary of an amount equal to the passage money of a laborer would secure title to a tract of land and "Head Rights" passed by purchase.

Wherever there are free lands in abundance free labor is difficult to secure. The laborer can usually make as much working for himself, if he has an outfit, as anyone else is willing to pay him, and this was especially so in Virginia. Laborers came under bond to work a certain time to repay their passage money and pay for tools, seeds and provisions to make a start for themselves, and when this time was up became farmers on their own account, so there was really no paid labor in the colony worthy of mention. When a Dutch ship landed a cargo of negro slaves at Jamestown in 1619, the labor problem was practically solved for the colonists. It also solved the question of small land holdings, for we find records showing larger and larger tracts being patented every year. In 1619 the patents averaged about one hundred acres; in 1626, about one hundred and fifty acres; in 1636, about three hundred and fifty acres; in 1642, about five hundred and sixty

acres; in 1650, about six hundred and seventy-seven acres, and from 1666 to 1679 they averaged eight hundred and ninety acres. The slaves not only drove out the small landholders, but profoundly effected the economic and therefore political history of the whole country, and especially the South. And in this connection it can be shown that "cattle ranching" originated in Virginia rather than in Texas or the Far West, for the small planters, having failed in competition with their slave holding neighbors, retired to the foothills beyond the colony lands, taking their cattle with them, and in a few years had large herds grazing in the highlands, where they held annual "round ups" and marked and branded in genuine "cow-puncher" style.

Agricultural development moved slowly in Virginia, even if they did have the slaves, and in 1650 there were only one hundred and fifty plows in the whole colony, though the population was well over the fifteen thousand mark. Yet in 1631 the people were able to offer to sell corn in the Dutch settlements, and in New England tobacco was their principal export crop, and as early as 1640 they attempted to restrict the crop to 1,500,000 pounds in order to keep up the price. Cotton was well known to the Virginian, but did not assume any great importance with them until about 1750, at which time it became important to all the South, though its great commercial importance did not come about until the end of the Revolutionary War.

The raising of cattle reached large proportions in Virginia and the breeding of horses was taken up early in the history of the colony, but for a long time saddle horses were bred in preference to drafters.

Sheep, goats and swine did well and became numerous.

The colonies to the south of Virginia have about the same agricultural history, with the same system of land holding, the same labor problem, and the same general agricultural system. Cattle raising was a large industry with them. They raised wheat, tobacco, and corn, and, of the latter, exported 100,000 bushels from South Carolina alone in 1792. Forest products, such as tar, pitch, turpentine and lumber were exported from North Carolina, and on the basis of the rice and indigo exportation, Charleston became the largest and wealthiest city of the South.

Large tracts of land and a baronial style of life was the rule in the South. Small towns were unknown, the great plantations being practically self-sustaining and the "planters" conducted their commercial operations directly with England, the West Indies or the Northern colonies.

New England never was agriculturally independent. She had to rely somewhat upon other regions for a portion of her food supply, yet agriculture was always large among her economic interests.

The early New England land system was based upon the common ownership and use of a tract of land by a number of church members. The meeting house was the center of their community and only those who adhered to the faith were citizens. They allotted the citizens portions of meadow, plow lands and grazing and forest lands, together with a right to the commons which everybody used. Many Indian communal customs were adopted by them, though

the most of their customs are directly traceable to their religion.

They learned to cultivate and fertilize corn from the Indians, also beans, pumpkins, artichokes, etc., and themselves introduced wheat, rye, buckwheat and barley from the mother country. The custom of seeding worn fields to grass in order to recuperate originated in New England and seems to be the particular contribution the Puritans made to the art and science of agriculture.

The quasi communal customs of log rollings, house-raisings, husking bees and quilting parties, together with spelling matches and literary societies and singing schools seem to be typically New England productions, arising not only out of their common religious bond, but out of the economic fact that there was practically no non-land-owning laboring class. Hence co-operation in the things too heavy or too tedious for one man and his family became a custom of their communities.

In the matter of plowing, the plowman usually went about breaking up the land for his neighbor, and in some towns a bounty was paid to anyone who would buy a plow and keep it in repair so that the neighborhood plowing could be done. Their other tools were the harrow, the spade, the hoe and a clumsy wooden fork.

Cattle raising never became a large industry in New England on account of the difficulty of securing forage for beef cattle, but dairying did become important, the foundation for their herds being imported from Denmark about 1633. Little attention was paid to horse breeding, as oxen were the principal draft animals, though a breed of pacing horses

were developed in Rhode Island, but they disappeared as a distinct breed by the year 1800.

The middle colonies contained a mixed population of European peoples, with several systems of agriculture. The land tenure was similar to New England, except in New York where the Dutch feudal "Patron System" prevailed. The holdings of these patrons ran up as high as 100,000 acres and form the basis of many of the great New York estates of today. The patrons acted as local governors, securing immigrants to rent their lands at low rentals, collecting taxes and supporting the schools and churches.

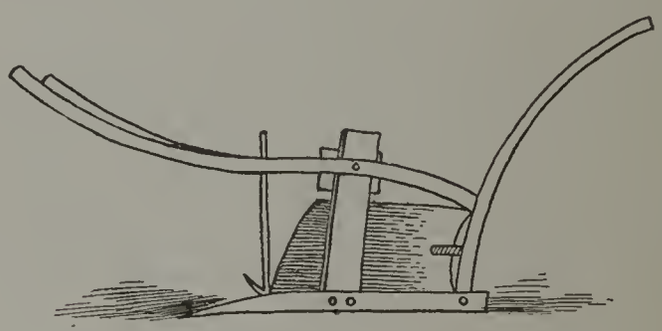
Wage labor on the farms did not exist to any extent in these colonies. Slaves and bond servants only worked for a master. Every one else had a small free hold of his own or else was a craftsman and kept his own shop in the little town.

The farming implements were practically the same as those used in New England and the South. Among the crops, wheat held the leading place and the Pennsylvania millers had a great reputation for the excellence of their flour. Cabbage, turnips, potatoes, apples, peaches, watermelons, buckwheat and corn are mentioned largely in their agricultural reports, and the Swedish traveler Kalm reports the irrigation of meadows in Pennslyvania in 1748, and the following of land to grasses, as was the practice in New England. Cattle, horses, hogs, sheep and poultry were plentiful in all these colonies, though there does not seem to have been any effort to standardize a breed or get a better stock.

Many intelligent writers have condemned the wasteful methods of colonial agriculture, but they

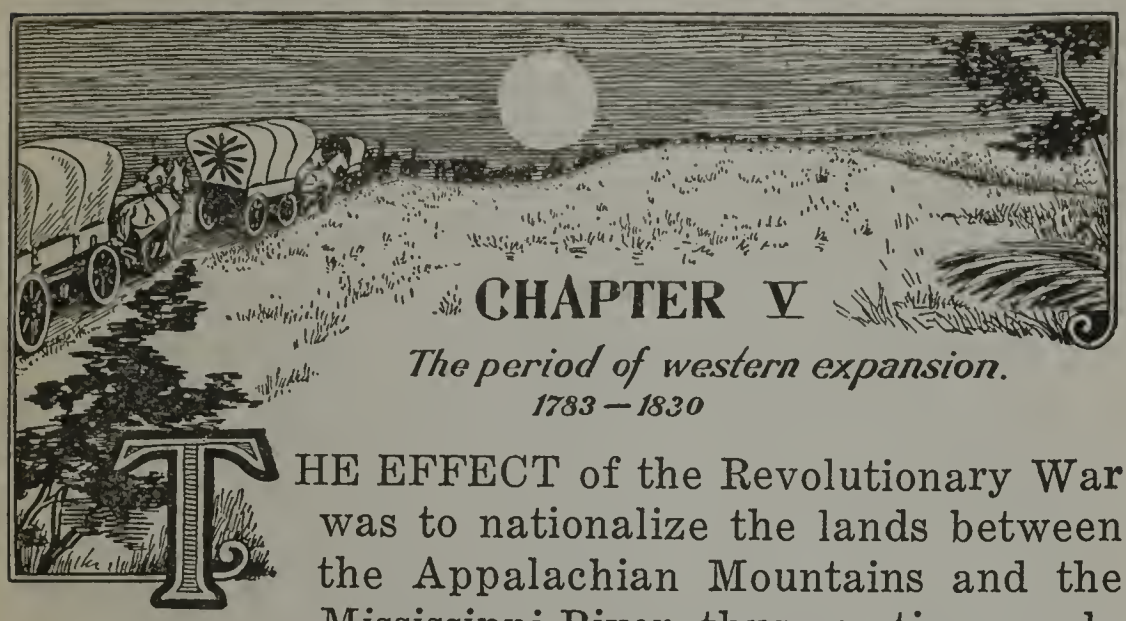
have failed to consider the fact that land was cheaper than labor and we only economize in that of which we have a scarcity. It was cheaper to plow a new and fertile field than to manure and intensely cultivate an exhausted one. The fertilizer problem was left to future generations.

Whatever may be said, the colonist met his task squarely and fairly and so well did he seek out the possibilities of the land that only one important crop (sorghum) has been introduced to our agriculture since his day.



DRAY PLOUGH

A plough used in the old days. In summer, when the ground was hard, this contrivance was very difficult to use because the point was constantly flying out of the ground. The plough was set higher or lower by means of wedges.



CHAPTER V

The period of western expansion.
1783—1830

THE EFFECT of the Revolutionary War was to nationalize the lands between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River, thus creating a public domain and laying the foundation for a national land policy. Indeed, since the relation of the people to the land is a fundamental factor in all history and the basic factor in economics, it is absolutely necessary to refer first to all the land policy and point out the methods by which a region of practically 296,000 square miles was transferred, in the course of about 130 years, into private hands.

Apparently there never was any other idea in the American mind than that the public domain should become private property as rapidly as possible. And, since the colonists were casting off all the major incumbrances of Kingly rule and feudalism, the Ordinance of 1787 is of the greatest importance, for it not only provided for republican government and made provisions against slavery, but determined the form of land tenure in the public domain. Land was to be held in "fee simple" to be freely transferred by bargain and sale, and the estates of persons dying without will were to be divided among their heirs in equal parts. This ordinance not only determined

the form of land ownership for the West, but the old states, which yet had feudal tenures, changed their forms to be in accord with it.

The only question that ever arose was, whether the transfer of land from public to private ownership should be strictly for financial benefit or should be made on social considerations; that is, whether the national treasury should be enriched or whether the settler should be primarily benefitted and the government reap its returns by the early improvement of the property and its consequent rise in taxable value. The Revolutionary War debt caused the first idea to prevail for a time, but gradually the results of such a policy became apparent and there was a change to the other view and the social motive came to predominate altogether.

There were five stages to this transition. The first from 1783 to 1800, when the land was sold for cash in tracts of six hundred and forty acres upwards, with an annual sale of about 100,000 acres. The second, from 1800 to 1820, during which quarter sections at $2 an acre on four annual payments were the minimum sales, and 15,500,000 acres were finally disposed of. The third stage, from 1820 to 1841, when forty acre tracts at $1.25 cash per acre were the minimum, and 76,000,000 acres were sold. During this period there was a genuine riot of speculation in Western lands, which induced the passage of the Pre-emption Act of 1841, and ushered in the fourth stage ending in 1862. During this stage the lands were sold in limited quantities to actual settlers at $1.25 per acre, and in the twenty-one years more than 69,000,000 acres became private property. The final stage was reached in 1862, when

the first Homestead Act became a law and the settler was granted one hundred and sixty acres on proving a period of actual residence and improvement. The operation of this law, together with the Timber Culture Act, the Desert Land Act, grants of land for educational purposes, grants to railways, canals, irrigation and drainage projects, have practically exhausted the available arable lands, and the present public domain consists of desert sections, national parks, and national forest reservations. The prospective settler must now comb the Western half of the continent for "smuggled" tracts or migrate to the mosquito infested tundra of Alaska, a region that does not yet figure in our agricultural reports to an appreciable extent.

Next to the land policy, cotton plays an important part in the national development, and due to it slavery was prolonged as an American institution. Short staple cotton had been known from the earliest settlement, for it was cultivated by the Southern Indians, but the great labor attending its preparation for the spinning wheel had made it unprofitable to grow even with slave labor. But in 1786 the long staple cotton was introduced into the South from the Sea Islands, and in 1793 Eli Whitney invented the saw gin which enabled a single man to clean 1,000 pounds of the fiber in a day. Immediately cotton was not only a commercial possibility, but became a highly profitable commodity. The invention of a remarkable series of textile machines in England, which was the home of the weaving industry, brought a great demand for the fiber, and the South, with a suitable climate, slave labor and Whitney's gin, was

in a position to supply the demand. By 1803, cotton became the leading product in the South.

As slavery had thrived on tobacco in the early days of the colonial period, it now thrived on cotton in the early days of the national existence. Undoubtedly slavery would have died a natural death but for this development of the cotton growing industry. And yet, slavery stifled the South by preventing immigration into that region. Free labor cannot exist comfortably alongside the slave, because it is called upon to help bear the stigma that is cast upon labor by the fact of slavery.

Slavery also contributed to continue the custom of "land killing" so common to the Americans—that is, the cropping of a field until it is exhausted and then moving on to a new one; it increased the tendency away from small farms to great plantations, and prevented the early adoption of more efficient tools and methods because the slave could not be trusted to use them.

The **spread** of the cotton industry was the only change the agricultural South experienced during this period. Tobacco spread Westward into Kentucky and Tennessee and the cattle industry thrived in the same region. Virginia and Kentucky began the breeding of mules from a stock of jacks that had been sent to this country from France and Spain by Lafayette and the King of Spain as presents to General Washington.

If slavery stopped the gap to immigration in the South, there was no such obstacle in the North, and from 1785 until almost the close of the nineteenth century the great exodus of the peoples poured Westward—the most wonderful and inspiring fact in all

American history. The great land hunger of the race was being fed, the wilderness being peopled, the promised land entered, Caucasian destiny fulfilled. As a child, I stood with my father at the gate of our farm in Illinois and saw the later tide of this great migration pouring onwards toward the West. He had come from Poland on the crest of an earlier flood of immigrants and could appreciate the wonderful significance of their endless wagons, the trudging pilgrims, the worn and weary livestock. From him I caught an understanding and an inspiration that more than forty years have not been able to efface.

The American "settler" with his ax, the most energetic and destructive agent the world has ever seen, leveled the great forest which stretched continuously from the Atlantic Coast to the end of Lake Erie on the North and far beyond the Mississippi River on the South. A genius of the lamp! At his call whole states have risen over night! And yet, during the period of this expansion there were comparatively few changes in the general character of agriculture. Some significant beginnings were commencing to appear, prophetic of the changes that later would occur. In 1797, Charles Newbold invented the cast iron plow, but the farmers said it poisoned the soil, and wouldn't use it. Jethro Wood also took out patents on cast plows and was the first man to seek a mouldboard that would give the least resistance.

Societies for the improvement of agriculture began to form in this period and an intelligent importation of improved breeds of livestock from Europe got under good headway.

In 1783, Ringgold, Groff and Patton of Baltimore began the importation of Shorthorn and Hereford

cattle from England. The first bull of their importation was sent to Kentucky in 1785, and in 1817 Colonel Sanders of that State sent to England for twelve head of the best stock that could be bought. Shorthorns were introduced into New York in 1792 and into Massachusetts in 1818. Henry Clay imported Herefords in 1817. Others followed a little later.

In horse breeding, the famous "Messenger," father of the American trotting horse, was brought to Philadelphia from England in 1788, and Justin Morgan (son of True Briton, an imported British horse), was foaled in Massachusetts in 1793, and became the progenitor of the celebrated breed of all-purpose horses known as the "Morgan horses."

The first merino sheep were imported in 1793 and, later, when the Napoleonic wars disrupted a great part of European industry and agriculture, sheep raising became an important industry. There were 5,000 imported merinos in the country by 1809, and in 1813 wool sold at from $2 to $3 a pound.

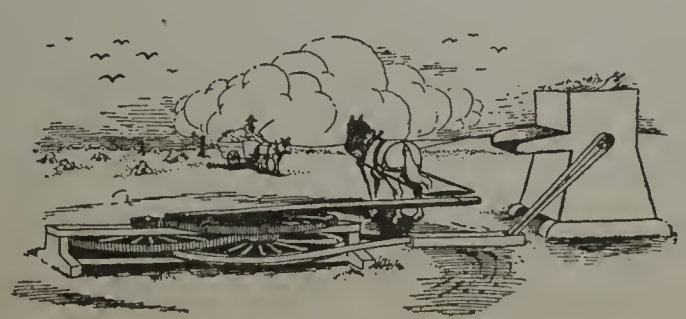
Hogs multiplied in the frontier settlements and came into greater demand for food as the game was killed off, thus stimulating the production of corn and a greater clearing away of the forests. Cincinnati became an extensive pork packing center and traded, not only with the East, but, after the invention of the steamboat, had extensive commercial relations with Ohio and Mississippi River points as far as New Orleans.

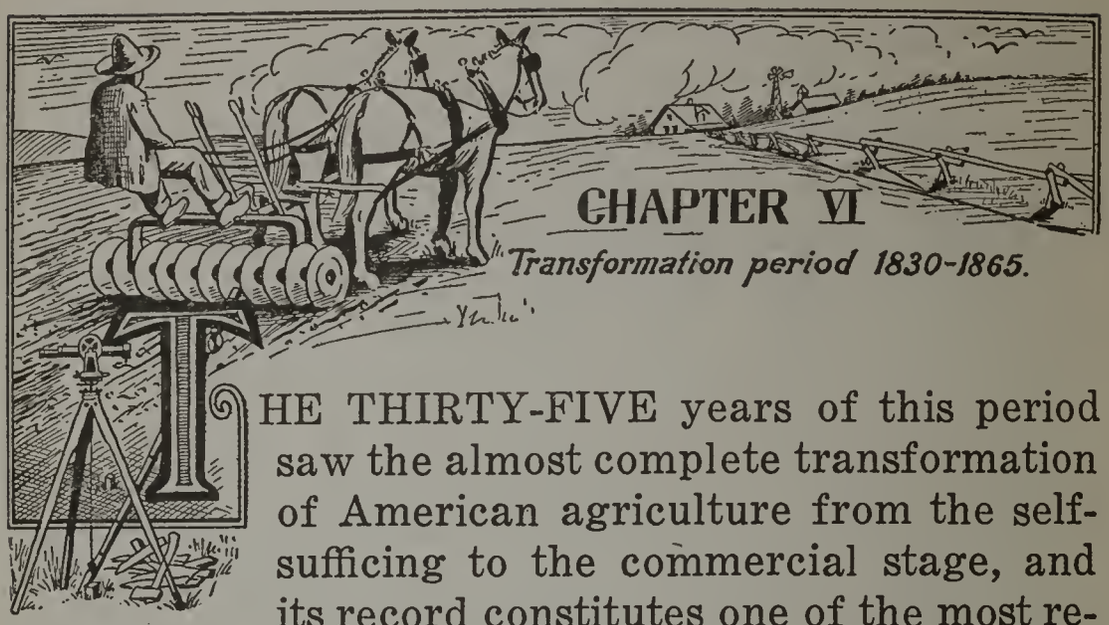
During all this period the people were especially well fed; their energetic stirring of the fertile soil produced an abundance; but opportunity for ex-

change were severely limited by the lack of transportation. In Western Pennsylvania the farmers turned their corn into a paying crop of whisky and the "Whisky Insurrection" came as the result of a tax laid on their enterprise which took all its profit away. The Ohio Valley used the river as an outlet and traded largely with the South, which grew cotton and had the money to pay for pork and corn.

The opening of the Erie Canal in 1825 made a great change in the agricultural world. The tide of immigration swung Northward and following the line of the Canal and the Great Lakes, settled North Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Illinois. Wheat was easier to raise in these Northern latitudes and, as it stood transportation better than corn, became the money crop of that region. The traffic generated by this new avenue of transportation flowing through New York City, caused that place to advance ahead of Baltimore and Philadelphia and become the leading city of the country.

On the whole it was a splendid period, when every white man was his own master, and the conquest of the wilderness developed qualities that, though they may become perverted, must ever compel our admiration.





CHAPTER VI

Transformation period 1830-1865.

THE THIRTY-FIVE years of this period saw the almost complete transformation of American agriculture from the self-sufficing to the commercial stage, and its record constitutes one of the most remarkable chapters in the economic history of the world.

European agriculture had taken up the breeding of better livestock, improved cultural methods, systems of crop rotation, the growing and feeding of roots, and the use of commercial fertilizers; but, aside from the better livestock, these matters had received but little attention in this country. Agricultural tools had been slightly improved on both sides of the Atlantic, and we have seen the inception of the modern plow but, beyond this, it may be said that prior to 1830 there was not an agricultural **machine** in common use anywhere in the world.

At the beginning of this period all farm work except plowing, harrowing and carting, was done strictly with hand tools. Agriculture was practically the same as it had been for two thousand years before. Grain was sown broadcast, and harrowed in with a wooden tooth drag or a tree top drawn by oxen. The reaping was done with a cradle and the threshing accomplished with a flail or by driving

horses and cattle over the shearer upon a threshing floor. Hay was mown with scythe, and raked and pitched by hand. Corn was planted by hand, and covered and cultivated with a hoe.

Within thirty-five years, in the settled regions and near the avenues of transportation, machinery had displaced the hand tools. Grain was planted largely with the drill, reaped with a machine, and threshed with machinery. Hay was mowed by a machine, raked with a horse-rake, and stacked or lifted into the mow by horse-power. Corn was planted and cultivated by horse-power. The farmers mode of work was completely changed.

The idea of power—horse power—had seized upon the human mind and must be wrought out to its logical conclusion. The plow, the harrow and the cart had been the only implements calling for other than human power, and the slow moving but relatively economical ox had furnished a satisfactory motive force. But when the machines came in with their mechanical ability to perform faster than the ox could travel, the faster moving, more amenable horse and mule came into general use. The **horse-power** idea came to dominate American agriculture and lifted its production capacity beyond that of any other country in the world.

The influence of the use of machinery was to induce a specialization in crops—the growing of "money crops"—and the purchase of such products as were needed to complete the living on the farm. Home industry after home industry was transferred to the city shops and factories and the farmer limited his efforts to supplying some particular demand.

The self-sufficing age went out; the commercial age came in.

Prior to 1830 the South had specialized in cotton, as we have seen before, but the adoption of machinery did not extend into that region. The old hand methods continued on, though the production of cotton was six times greater in 1860 than it was in 1830. This increase was due almost wholly to natural increase for, though immigrants poured into the country by hundreds of thousands, they avoided the South on account of slavery and in 1860 there were only eleven cities of more than 800 population in that whole region.

The near Southern states of Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri engaged largely in the growing of tobacco, a crop the slaves were well adapted to cultivate; but, after all, the negro was not kept to grow the crop; the crop was grown as an excuse for breeding the negro. In 1836 a field hand was worth $600; in 1849 he sold up to $1,000, and in 1860 the prime "nigger" brought $1,400 in the Southwest.

A determining factor in the transformation period was the building of the railroads. There were no roads in operation in 1830, but by 1860 there were 30,000 miles of line, extending into all the territory east of the Missouri River. Fifty thousand miles of telegraph lines were erected between 1844 and 1860, and in 1850 letter postage was three cents for distances under 3,000 miles. The isolation of the colonial and pioneer periods was broken. The markets of the world were nearer and ideas found more room in which to spread.

The European situation also helped the transformation in America. The development of Eng-

land's manufacturing industries caused a greater demand for foodstuffs and raw materials and induced the repeal of her corn laws. The great Irish potato famine, the rebellions in Continental Europe and the Crimean War increased European dependence upon the United States for food supplies.

At the same time the Eastern states were rapidly developing the manufacturing industries and using a larger food supply. The Pre-emption Law of 1841 stimulated immigration and furnished an easy means for the political refugees from Europe to obtain homes. The immigration from 1840 to 1850 was almost three times as great as in the previous ten years, and the twenty year period, from 1840 to 1860, added more than 4,300,000 immigrants to the population.

By far the most important factor in this transformation was the invention of farm machinery. Manning patented the mowing machine in 1831. Hussey patented a grain reaper in 1833, and McCormick patented a similar machine in 1834. Threshers came into use sometime in the thirties and were combined with the fanning mill before 1850. John Deere made the first steel plow in 1837. The corn planter and the two-horse cultivator came into use during this period, and by 1860 portable steam engines were being used to run the threshers.

The invention of the reaper was one of the greatest events in the history of modern industry and is really deserving of a chapter by itself. Yet it is doubtful if it effected a greater saving in labor than did the corn planter and cultivator when it is considered that corn is our principal crop.

The idea of horse-power not only brought about the invention of labor-saving machines, but it induced the importation and breeding of better, more dependable horses. The Morgan, all-purpose horse, has been mentioned, but it was the importation of the two Percheron horses, Louis Napoleon and Normandy, in 1851, that gave the breeding of draft animals a generous boost in this country. The thoroughbred stallion, Denmark, brought to Kentucky in 1839, became the founder of the breed of American saddle horses.

Hogs continued to multiply with the increase in corn production, the center of hog breeding moving Westward with the corn center and, after 1861, Chicago became the center of the pork-packing industry.

Sheep did not make any proportionate increase during the period, but cattle increased, especially in the West. There was a systematic effort to improve the breeds and the breeding of Shorthorns received a great impulse in 1834 by the organization of the Ohio Company for Importing English Cattle, and before the close of the period some famous bulls brought as high as $5,000 per head.

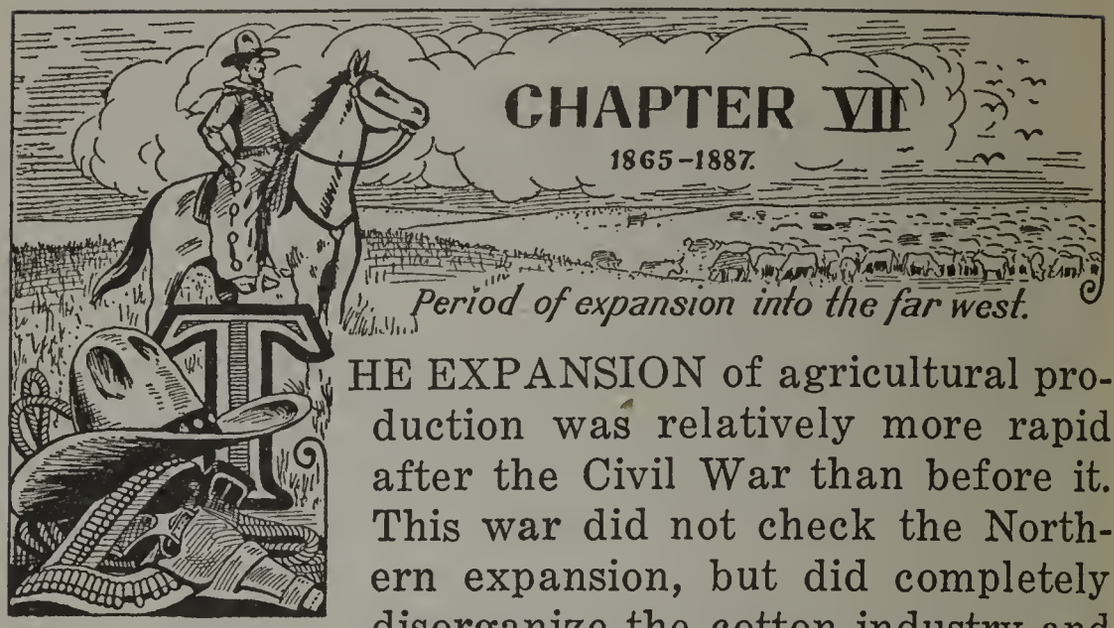
The settlement of the prairie states caused a considerable decline of agriculture in the East, especially in New England, and by 1840 there was a strong movement of farmers out of that section. General farming in competition with the West was no longer possible but in suitable locations, dairying and market gardening were especially profitable and a movement for the importation of dairy cattle became quite strong. In 1853 there were seventy-five

pure bred Jerseys in Massachusetts, also a number of Ayrshires.

Up to 1850 all the butter and cheese of the country was made on the farms, but after that year the cheese factory came into existence, with a consequent standardizing of the product and a very large increase of the business.

The farmers commenced to study farming during this period and the fairs and agricultural societies that had been formed in the previous period were greatly increased and extended. By 1860, every state held an annual agricultural exhibition, and practically every county had its fair. These annual gatherings were not only distinguished for their horse racing and "fist and skull" pugilism, but furnished splendid opportunity for the view of new agricultural machinery, livestock and farm products, and had a powerful influence in stimulating improvements and spreading agricultural knowledge.

A wonderful period! A period in which the annual corn crop increased to almost one billlion bushels, and wheat and oats were each above the 170 million bushel mark. In 1860, almost 21 million dollars' worth of agricultural implements were sold to the American farmers. The old, hard method of farming was due for the discard, and along with the new farmer and his vision of agricultural conquest came the farm hand. The Civil War closed this period and the whole country faced a readjustment of its ideas to suit the fact that the industrializing process was invading every avenue by which the people lived.



THE EXPANSION of agricultural production was relatively more rapid after the Civil War than before it. This war did not check the Northern expansion, but did completely disorganize the cotton industry and involve it in temporary ruin. The improved machinery (reapers, threshers, corn planters, cultivators, etc.), enabled the North to increase its production, though a large portion of its labor force was diverted into the army.

Women and children fed the North, their labor being rendered more efficient by the use of the machines. In 1865 there were 250,000 reapers in use in the Northern states. From 1859 to 1863, the wheat crop of Indiana alone increased from 15,000,000 to 20,000,000 bushels, though 10 per cent of her male population was in the army on the latter date.

Part of the drain on the labor force of the North occasioned by the war was made good by immigration, the immigration from 1860 to 1870 being nearly as great as from 1850 to 1860. Practically all these immigrants settled in the Northern states, and 42 per cent of them settled in the group of states which lie north of the Ohio River, west of New York and east

of the Missouri River, the number going to the real South being practically negligible.

In the following years the immigration was almost 3,000,000 persons—a population equal to that of the Colonies at the time of the Revolution—and these settlers added 297,000 square miles of cultivated fields to the farm lands of the country—an area equal to that of Great Britain and France combined. From 1880 to 1890 the immigration was 5,250,000, many of whom found their way onto the Western farms.

While this great migratory movement was going forward the mining, transportation and manufacturing industries were being developed to keep pace with the growing needs of the increasing population. In the field of agricultural machinery there was a great expansion and the census figures are extremely interesting. Farm machinery produced in the census years was as follows:

1860	$21,000,000
1870	42,500,000
1880	68,500,000
1890	81,250,000

And during this same period the census returns show the grain crops to have been as follows:

1859—Corn	889,000,000	bushels
Wheat	173,000,000	"
Oats	172,600,000	"
1869—Corn	761,000,000	"
Wheat	288,000,000	"
Oats	282,000,000	"
1879—Corn	1,122,000,000	"
Wheat	459,500,000	"
Oats	407,800,000	"

1889—Corn	2,122,000,000	"
Wheat	468,300,000	"
Oats	809,200,000	"

Also during this period the export of breadstuffs was very significant of the agricultural advance, and by 1880 the United States had become the greatest exporter of wheat in the world.

The "Homestead" Law of 1862 was a great factor in the Westward expansion and the growth of agricultural enterprise. Practically free land encouraged the settlement of the public domain. The ease with which ex-soldiers could get land helped to prevent a glut of the labor market. The sale of army horses and mules to farmers helped to expand agriculture and it may be said that the close of the war marks the time when the ox, as a draft animal, was finally displaced by the horse.

This rapid settlement and cultivation of the land (very often on a purely speculative basis), brought a glut of agricultural commodities on the market. (Note the almost doubling of the cereal crops between 1869 and 1879.) Foreign countries were not able to take up the surplus, which resulted in an era of very low prices and the panic of 1877.

The rural discontent generated by this period of dislocation gave rise to the Grange and other farmer movements, which sought to readjust the environment by means of rural co-operation of all kinds.

A great expansion of the railway systems occurred in this period. Steel rails were substituted for iron rails; trunk line systems were organized; feeder lines or "Granger roads" were built in all directions, and the transcontinental lines were pushed through

to the Pacific Coast, thus enabling the Western farmer to compete in the markets of the East.

Along with other improvements came the refrigeration car (1869), which permitted the transportation of meat at all seasons of the year and, by extending the refrigerating system to the ships, fresh meat was exported to Europe in 1876. Also, a system of grading and classifying grain was adopted, which allowed the handling of vast quantities in bulk and promoted the building of elevators both at interior points and on the lakes and seaboard, thus helping to decrease shipping costs and open up the world's markets to the American farmers.

The amount of grain that can be economically grown in any section is limited by the amount that can be harvested, and it was the invention of the twine binders by Appleby that enabled the production of grain to expand to its present magnitude.

Its consequences were quite as important as those that followed the invention of the reaper. The per capita production of wheat increased from 5.6 bushels in 1860 to 9.2 bushels in 1880.

Miller's improvement of the threshing machine and the use of the steam engine also helped in the expansion of the grain industry.

The invention of the roller process of making flour enabled the production of a better grade from spring wheat than had before been made from winter wheat. This immediately made the further North available as a wheat growing region, and Minnesota and the two Dakotas more than doubled their population in the ten years from 1870 to 1880. Further, the center of flour production moved at one jump from Rochester, New York, to Minneapolis, Minnesota.

The check rowing corn planter cut the labor of planting corn in half and enabled crass cultivation of the crop, and a greater production in consequence. In the semi-arid region the lister was adopted for corn planting and, by getting the corn deep, assured moisture for the plant and an almost certain crop. Other tools were devised to lighten the labor of cultivation, with a corresponding increase of the production per man. The corn harvesting machinery came later, owning to the fact that the corn can safely be left in the field until late in the year. Much of it is still gathered by hand with the husking peg, just as the Indians did it over 300 years ago.

Figures prepared by Mr. H. W. Quaintance of the Department of Agriculture, and based on the production of the staple food and forage crops, show that the efficiency of the farmer, through the use of improved machinery, increased during this period some 500 per cent over his efficiency in the previous period.

We have seen that cattle ranching began in the foothills of Virginia soon after the introduction of negro slavery. But, due to the wooded character of the country and the lack, both of demand and of transportation, had never developed to the point of being a distinct branch of agriculture.

However, the Westward march of the peoples and the gradual pushing back of the Indians opened the "plains" for settlement, and the grazing of cattle began to assume definite proportions as a distinct industry in the vast region. Western Texas was a great feeding ground where the buffalo and wild Spanish cattle roamed side by side and the pioneers were not slow to realize the possibilities of these natural pastures.

In 1857 the "cattle trail" was broken, a herd being driven "on grass" from Texas to Illinois—a truly remarkable performance. But the Civil War cut off the outlet for these cattle and they were left to multiply, awaiting the day of peace.

Then it was discovered that the grass of the Northern plains was as nutritious as that of Texas, and cattle could live outside all winter—could rustle forage. It was also discovered that Southern cattle gained more weight if driven North at 3 or 4 years of age, and the beef was of a superior quality. Immediately the plains, both North and South, must be made safe for the cattle business. The buffalo must be killed off and the Indians be confined on reservations. This task was complete about 1870, and the "trailing" of cattle from the breeding grounds in Texas to the fattening grounds in the North became an institution in Western life.

In 1871, 600,000 head of stock came over the trail from Texas. The sixteen years from 1869 to 1884, inclusive, show almost 5,000,000 head driven Northland—an average of more than 305,000 per year.

So vast a movement in a single industry must have its social reflexes, and we see the development of the "cow towns"—Newton, Abilene, Great Bend, Ellsworth, Dodge City, Hayes City and Ogallala—with a life as colorful and exciting as that furnished by any bonanza, handled 400,000 cattle in the year 1884.

After 1884 the trail declined because the railways began to penetrate to the heart of the cattle country. The corn fields were being pushed Westward and the winter feeding of cattle developed to link the pastures with the farms. The refrigeration of meat and shipment of frozen carcasses to Europe in 1876

was rapidly developing the packing industry. Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, Sioux City, St. Louis and Chicago became great slaughtering centers.

In connection with the cattle-feeding industry the raising of hogs became a by-product, as the hogs could be fattened on the droppings and wasteage of the cattle.

We have seen the beginning of the dairy industry in the Colonial period and the subsequent effort to improve the breeds of dairy cattle. Butter making was practically confined to the supply of various local demands and the surplus of milk was converted into cheese, but the refrigeration system began to open up the possibilities of the butter market and the invention of the mechanical creameries in 1880 caused a revolution in the industry.

The commercial butter making center was at first in Orange County, New York, but the Babcock butter fat test, the centrifugal cream separator, and the bacteria method of "ripening" cream so developed the business that the center of manufacture moved Westward to Elgin, Illinois. The Americans are not great cheese eaters, and the foreign markets have special tastes in this regard, hence cheese making naturally declined and, on the strength of the national demand, butter making supplanted it.

The Civil War produced a violent agricultural change in the South. The emancipation of the slaves and the bankruptcy of the Southern planters required a reorganization of the cotton industry. This reorganization was encouraged by the high prices for cotton on the English market, which reached 43 cents per bushel in 1865.

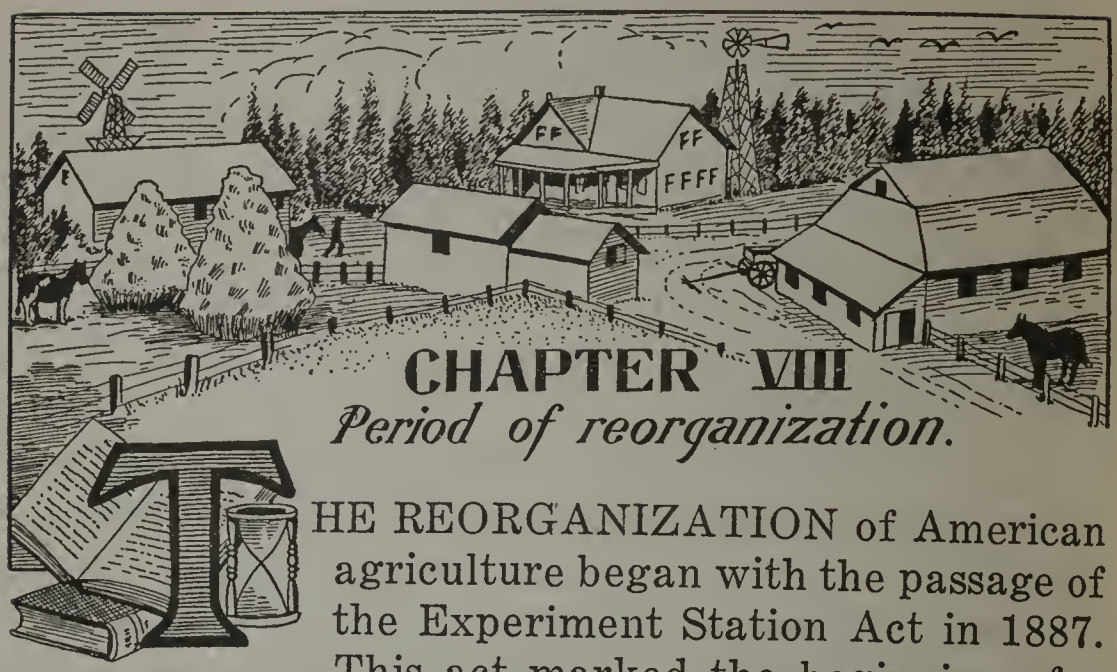
But the reorganization was not a judicious one

and fostered such an over production that the prices tumbled and many of the planters were involved in ruin. This tended to break up the big plantations, and many of them were cut up into small farms. It also encouraged the "tenant" system and "on the shares" farming, which in many sections degenerated into peonage—virtually a disguised form of agricultural slavery.

By 1879 the cotton industry had revived and the production of that year exceeded the production of 1860. Also, there was considerable diversification, the small farmers planting part of their land to corn and potatoes, raising gardens, keeping chickens and hogs, and milking a cow or two. This diversification met the bitter opposition of the merchant class of the South, who furnished the farmers with supplies on credit. They wanted a **money** crop—cotton—for by this means they derived a double profit and kept the agricultural class in economic subjection through the machinery of a vicious credit system.

The noise of this conflict still re-echoes throughout the South, its active manifestation in recent years being the formation of the Farmers' Union, which has acquired a large membership in every Southern state.

The twenty-two years of this period was one of the greatest in American history—a period of rapid growth in population, vast development in industrial enterprise, and enormous expansion of cultivated area. The American people were achieving unity and preparing for the conquest of the markets of the world.



CHAPTER VIII

Period of reorganization.

THE REORGANIZATION of American agriculture began with the passage of the Experiment Station Act in 1887. This act marked the beginning of a comprehensive and systematic application of experimental science to agriculture and was the signal for great activity in research work in all lines of agricultural endeavor. The Experiment Stations are really the foundation of the new agriculture.

As we have seen, the steady stream of settlers and homesteaders pouring Westward had populated the desirable lands and made it profitable to push the railways entirely across the continent. Great interest was developed in the irrigation of the arid regions and the drainage of the swampy sections, and **intensive** agriculture began to be preached. It was recognized that agriculture expands quite as readily by better cultural methods and a greater production per acre as it does by placing more land under cultivation. In fact, since the free lands were now occupied, the price of land generally was greatly advanced and only an intensive cultivation would pay dividends upon the investment now demanded.

The old days of cheap land and dear labor had

passed and the inefficiency and waste of the old farming must go with them. The avenue of escape from wage labor was being definitely closed, the era of tenantry and wage farming was coming in—an era of dear land and cheap labor—and it began to pay better to raise 100 bushels of corn on an acre than to raise 100 bushels on four acres, as had been done before.

The higher land becomes and the cheaper labor becomes in relation to it, the more intense will the cultural methods become. In other words, the farmer will adopt the method that gives the best returns on the sum of the interest, maintenance and labor charges.

The demand for better agricultural methods was met by the Experiment Stations and the demand for more land was met with great schemes for irrigation and drainage. The Carey Irrigation Act was passed in 1894, granting arid lands to the states for irrigation development purposes.

This was followed in 1902 by the National Reclamation Act, under which the greatest of the irrigation projects have been constructed. Fifteen million acres were granted to the states under the Carey Act, and more than 2,000,000 acres reclaimed under the Act of 1902.

In the East the various states along the Atlantic seaboard took up the matter of the drainage of the great succession of swamps and marshes that extend from New Jersey to the Everglades of Florida and contain about 80,000,000 acres of land. Untouched they were not only valueless but disease breeding—the home of malaria and the yellow fever spreading mosquito. Reclaimed, they might easily support a

population of 10,000,000, adding vastly to the food supply of an increasing population.

During this period a desperate warfare was carried on in the semi-arid region of the West between the cattle men and the homesteaders on "Nesters." The Campbell system of dry farming made it possible to extend the cultivated area to the very edge of the arid region and thereby restrict the open range. The "Nesters" finally prevailed and ranching materially declined. The old free life of the plains and the romance of the "trail" passed into the realm of song and story.

The general farmer is now taking the place of the range men as the breeder and feeder of cattle. Better methods are producing more and better cattle and, despite the trustification of the slaughtering business by the packing interests, the raising and finishing of "block" cattle is a most attractive side of modern farming.

It is also interesting to note that the general farming situation has resulted in a revival of cattle raising in the mountainous sections of the East, from Maine to Georgia.

This period has also seen the development of Agricultural Colleges in all the states, the spread of agricultural knowledge by means of the Farmers' Institutes, and field demonstrations, and the quasi-government direction of rural activity by means of County Agricultural Agents sent out by the Department of Agriculture. Indeed, so great is the progress of farming on the scientific side that it seems likely to enter the ranks of the learned and dignified professions.

At least, scientific research and methods have finally brought the art of agriculture to a paying basis and the up-to-date farmer, equipped with a scientific education and technical training steps forward very much in advance of the so-called business men and intellectuals of the rural towns.

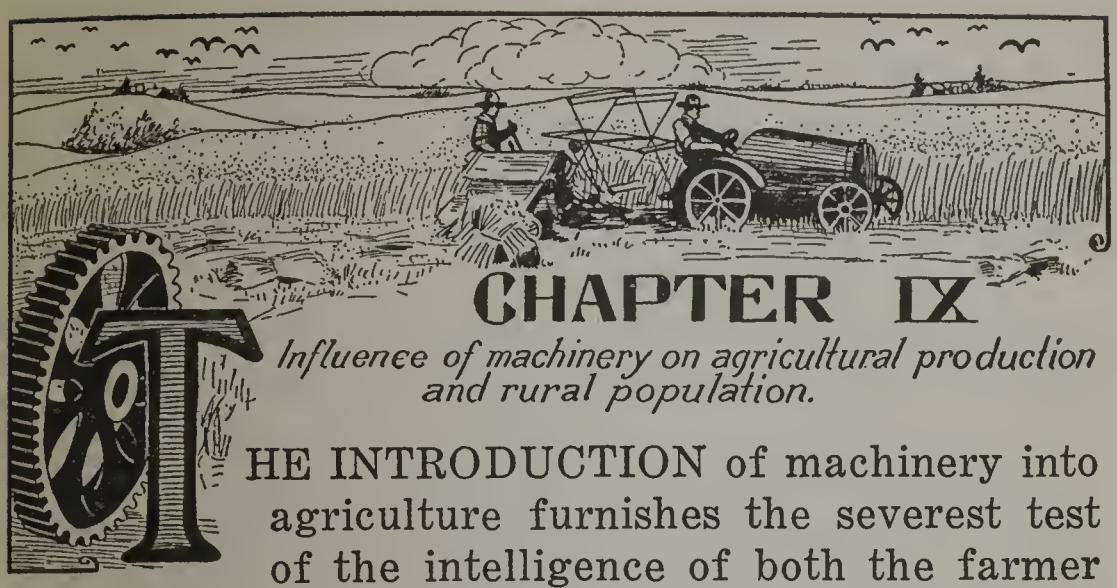
This period, just now closing, is really too near to us to properly evaluate its material achievements. Socially, it has been a period of concentration; the open spaces have been populated and the dissimilar elements of the people so pressed together as to produce crystalization—the American type is commencing to appear. Economically the line of cleavage between the farmer and the farm laborer has widened into a gulf, across which they glare at each other in uncompromising hostility. Also, the question of agricultural finance as opposed to commercial finance has come up for a final solution. The borrowing farmers have forced upon the statute books the Rural Credit Act, hoping thereby to achieve financial equality between the agricultural and other industrial interests, but these hopes are illusory.

With the great increase in farm values caused by the inflation due to the war, the expectations of the tenant class to become land-owners through the Rural Credit Banks are doomed to disappointment. Instead of creating an era of small farms, the tendency is for the big farmer to finance further purchases of land through the credit banks, and these are a decided tendency towards concentration. The "Land Trust" is well upon the way.

The universal application of machinery to agriculture has definitely industrialized farming and created three distinct classes in the rural regions—the

farmers, the tenants, and the laborers. Unionism has finally penetrated to this latter group and for the past five years their Industrial Union has been steadily growing until it has become a factor in the agricultural situation in all the Trans-Mississippi region and on the Pacific Coast. Not only have the laborers organized and improved their conditions, but in the grain growing states they have produced a political revolution—the formation of the NON-Partisan League being directly traceable to the pressure exerted from below by the Agricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 400, of the Industrial Workers of the World.

"100% American."



CHAPTER IX

Influence of machinery on agricultural production and rural population.

THE INTRODUCTION of machinery into agriculture furnishes the severest test of the intelligence of both the farmer and the farm laborer, and the extent to which it may be introduced depends upon a number of factors which vary considerably in the different regions of the Earth. However, in the United States the conditions were favorable to the change, except in the South, which was cursed with slavery, and a consequent lack of intelligence on the part of the major portion of the population.

In the North there was a population eager to advance, and as fast as the machines could be demonstrated they were adopted. It was so rapidly developing a region that but few rural traditions had taken root; there were no deep-seated prejudices that needed to be overcome. Most of the farmers were land-owners, the proportion of tenants was small, and the number of wage-earning farm hands very limited, so there were practically none to oppose the change because they felt their mode of living threatened.

The early machines were fairly simple in construction and required but little imagination to be able to grasp their general principles. Hence, the

new farming came into use without the friction that developed in Europe where the lands were long settled and where there were well defined classes of landlords, tenants and laborers with strongly developed class psychologies and ancient prejudices.

We have already discussed the history of agriculture in this country and have fairly well traced the advance of the machines in the transformation of the art, but it is now necessary to invade the realm of dry figures and show the concrete result of machine farming in the direction of increased production which, of course, is the true test of utility and beneficence.

The Federal census of 1840 was the first to take any account of agricultural production and, as the machine age was in its infancy at that time (none of the machines having been adopted to the extent that they materially affected the total of production), we may very justly use the figures of that census as the basis of our comparisons.

The following tables have been made as brief as clearness will allow and will repay a careful study. Round numbers and percentages are given rather than burden the reader with the niceties of the statisticians. The ten year periods are used as being ample for comparison. The 1919 figures are approximations, and all figures refer to the United States proper.

See Page 62 (Table A).

Table A comprises the working farm population with the total population by ten year periods from 1840 to 1919. During these 79 years the working farmers decreased from 20 per cent to 13 per cent of the total population, a relative decrease of 35 per

cent. While the total population had increased practically six and one-third times, and the export of foodstuffs to foreign lands had also vastly increased, relatively speaking, less than two-thirds the number of farmers was necessary to supply the demand in 1919, as compared with 1840. Without doubt, this is due to the introduction of machinery on the farms.

It increased the capital necessary to enter into the new competitive farming and compelled vast numbers to seek employment in the developing industries who would otherwise have sought a living on the soil. This fact is amply illustrated by a glance at Table B, which shows the relative increase of the industrial population as compared with the total population for the same period.

See Page 63 (Table B).

The industrial population increased from 13 1-3 per cent in 1840 to 31.1 per cent of the total population in 1919, a relative increase of more than 2 1-3 times in 79 years, but also an actual increase of 14.8 times as compared with an actual increase of 4 1-9 times on the part of the working farmers (see Table D). The machine method of wealth production limited the opportunity of the ordinary man to compete on account of his lack of capital and he sought his outlet in the shops where, as a man without capital, he was at least able to earn a living.

See Page 64 (Table C).

Nowhere can the effects of the machines be more clearly shown than in the figures supplied by the census on the production of the cereals. (Grain) Table C gives the production of wheat, oats, corn, rye, barley, rice, buckwheat and Kaffir corn for the census years from 1840 to 1919. This, of course, gives but

TABLE A.

Showing Relative DECREASE of Working Farm Population as Compared With Total Population

Census Year	Total Population	Working Population on Farms	Percentage of Working Farmers to Population	Relative decrease of Working Farmers in Ten Year Period
1840	17,069,000	3,413,800	20%	12%
	Increase, 35.9%	Increase, 19.56%		
1850	23,192,000	4,081,800	17.6%	85%
	Increase, 35.6%	Increase, 24%		
1860	31,443,000	5,062,300	16.1%	4.35%
	Increase, 22.6%	Increase, 17.5%		
1870	38,558,000	5,948,000	15.4%	None
	Increase, 30%	Increase, 29.7%		
1880	50,156,000	7,714,000	15.4%	11.4%
	Increase, 24.8%	Increase, 10.9%		
1890	62,622,000	8,556,000	13.7%	None
	Increase, 20.7%	Increase, 21.3%		
1900	75,568,000	10,382,000	13.7%	22%
	Increase, 21.7%	Increase, 18.3%		
1910	91,972,000	12,285,000	13.4%	3%
	Increase, 17.5%	Increase, 14.36%		
1919*	108,067,000	14,049,000	13%	

*Approximate

TABLE B.

Showing Relative INCREASE of Industrial Population as Compared With Total Population

Census Year	Total Population	Working Population in the Other Industries	Percentage of Workers in Other Industries	Relative Increase of Industrial Workers in Ten Year Period
1840	17,069,000	2,275,900	13 1-3%	17.7%
	Increase, 35.9%	Increase, 60%		
1850	23,192,000	3,641,100	15.7%	9.5%
	Increase, 35.6%	Increase, 48.8%		
1860	31,443,000	5,418,700	17.2%	Sl't dec.
	Increase, 22.6%	Increase, 20.9%		
1870	38,558,000	6,552,000	17%	13.7%
	Increase, 30%	Increase, 48%		
1880	50,156,000	9,699,000	19 1-3%	17%
	Increase, 24.8%	Increase, 45.9%		
1890	62,622,000	14,155,000	22.6%	9.3%
	Increase, 20.7%	Increase, 32.1%		
1900	75,568,000	18,699,000	24.7%	13.75%
	Increase, 21.7%	Increase, 38%		
1910	91,972,000	25,883,000	28.1%	10.67%
	Increase, 17.5%	Increase, 30%		
1919*	108,067,000	33,648,000	31.1%	

*Approximate

TABLE C.

Showing Relative Increase of Productive Capacity for Working Farmer by Ten Year Periods

Census Year	Working Population on the Farms	Total Cereal Production in Bushels of Corn, Oats, Rye, Wheat, Rice, Barley, Buckwheat and Kaffir Corn	Bushels of Cereal Production Per Working Farmer	Relative Increase of Productive Capacity per Working Farmer for Ten Year Period
1840	3,413,800	617,300,000	188	13.51%
	Increase, 19.56%	Increase, 41.1%		
1850	4,081,800	871,000,000	213.4	15%
	Increase, 24%	Increase, 54.1%		
1860	5,062,300	1,242,100,000	245.4	04.11%
	Increase, 17.5%	Increase, 22.34%		
1870	5,948,000	1,519,600,000	255.5	36.98%
	Increase, 29.7%	Increase, 77.64%		
1880	7,714,000	2,699,400,000	350	17.54%
	Increase, 10.9%	Increase, 30.43%		
1890	8,556,000	3,520,900,000	411.5	03.77%
	Increase, 21.3%	Increase, 25.95%		
1900	10,382,000	4,434,700,000	427	00.56%
	Increase, 18.3%	Increase, 18.95%		
1910	12,285,000	5,275,400,000	429.4	00.605%
	Increase, 14.36%	Increase, 15%		
1919*	14,049,000	6,066,700,000	432	

*Approximate

TABLE D.

Table of Comparison With Population and Production of 1840 by Ten Year Periods

	Total Population Compared to 1840. See Table A.	Total Working Farmers Compared to 1840. See Table A.	Total Industrial Workers Compared to 1840. See Table B.	Total Cereal Production to 1840. See Table C.	Rates of Increase of Cereal Production Compared to Increase of Farming Population.	Bushels of Grain Produced per Capita of Population.
1840	1.	1.	1.	1.	.....	36.
1850	1.36	1.195	1.6	1.411	118%	37.5
1860	1.842	1.483	2.38	2.012	135.7%	39.4
1870	2.259	1.742	2.90	2.462	141.3%	39.4
1880	2.938	2.26	4.26	4.373	193.5%	54.
1890	3.669	2.506	6.22	5.704	227.6%	56.2
1900	4.427	3.042	8.216	7.184	236.1%	58.7
1910	5.388	3.60	11.37	8.546	237.4%	57.3
1919	6.331	4.115	14.80	9.828	238.8%	56.

one phase of farming, but is enough to indicate the great increase in productivity as the machines were gradually introduced. In 1840 the working farmer produced 188 bushels of all kinds of grain, while in 1919, he produced 432 bushels of all kinds of grain, an increase of 238.8 per cent (see Table D). Table C is faulty in the respect that it refers the cereal production to the total number of farmers. That would be well enough for 1840, but in 1919 and for many years past, there has been specialization in farming and a large percentage do not produce any grain whatsoever, which means that the efficiency of the grain farmer is really much greater than the table indicates. Quaintance, for instance, places the individual increase of barley production per farmer in 1910 at thirty times the production of 1840.

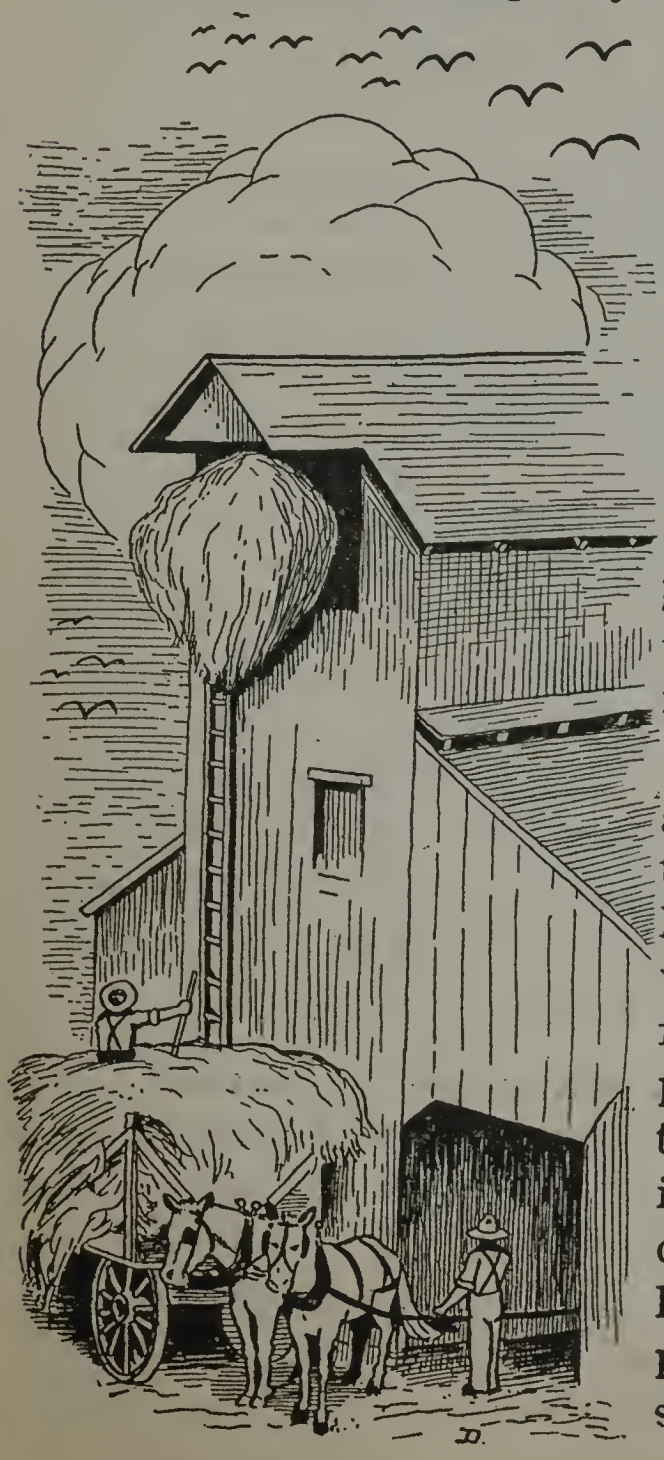
See Page 65 (Table D).

It is interesting to observe that while our population has increased 6 1-3 times, and the industrial population has increased 14.8 times, the working farmers have increased but 4 1-9 times. While the farmers have increased 4 1-9 times, their cereal production has increased 9.8 times and the grain production per capita of total population increased from 36 bushels in 1840 to 56 bushels in 1919.

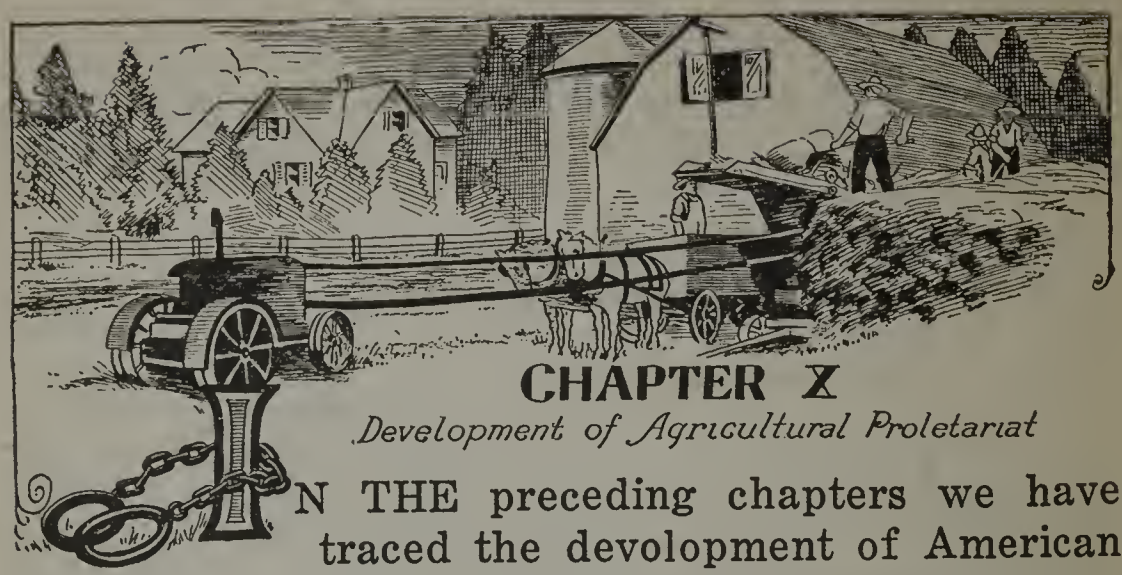
For years we have had dinned in our ears the cry of "Back to the land! Back to the land!" The impression sought to be conveyed being that our countryside was becoming depopulated. But the fact of the matter is that there has been **no** movement **away** from the land. The agricultural population has steadily increased, as Table A amply shows. But it has not increased at anything like the rate of the industrial population. The decrease of the number

of working farmers is relative, not real. The number of land owners, however, shows a decided tendency to actually decrease, and this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Dr. Mathews figured that the world would soon reach the limit of its capacity to feed the population, but the progress of American agriculture sets all his predictions aside. Machinery and scientific farming solve the problem. When 13 per cent of the people can feed the entire population and export almost as much more to foreign lands, there is no need to worry over the food supply.



Even in Great Britain, Prof. Marshall of the University of Dublin estimates that, with a proper store of fertilizers, the British people would be able to withstand an indefinite blockade, machinery and science having settled the problem of food supply.



CHAPTER X

Development of Agricultural Proletariat

IN THE preceding chapters we have traced the devolopment of American agriculture and the effect of machinery both upon production and rural population. In the present chapter we will attempt to show the development of a distinctly proletarian class upon the farms.

The American census reports are utterly unreliable for the period prior to 1850, for the reason that they were entirely general in their character and failed to gather that particular information which would give an exact view of the condition of the rural population. The authorities are completely at sea as to many phases of the agricultural problem and hold divergent opinions regarding the same, thus making one man's idea quite as reliable as the other's and all of them open to question.

Only in the South, where the negro slaves constituted the laboring population, was there specialization in agriculture (in the cotton and tobacco raising industries). In the Middle States and in the North where general farming was practised, there was no genuinely rural proletariat, for the reason that the lands were cheap and the undeveloped West

was open to every man who had sufficient knowledge of agriculture and enough energy to devote himself to the conquest of the soil.

So far as the white man was concerned, the perriod prior to the Civil War was an era when the farm hand was really an apprentice to the trade. The tools of agriculture were crude and the cultural processes were simple. The farmer's son, the immigrant and the bondsman worked for wages only so long as was necessary to obtain the needful instruction or to save the price of a few acres of land and secure the tools of the trade. When he had these, he became a farmer on his own account, either by the purchase of land in his home neighborhood or by migrating Westward to less settled regions.

The relations of the farmer and his hired man were, therefore those of social equals. The farm hand resided with the farmer as a member of his family—the old guild relationship of master and journeyman persisted longer on the farms than in any other industry—and, due to this near social equality, the class antagonisms so characteristic of capitalist society were very slow in developing.

But with the introduction of machinery on the farms, and the development of commercial or competitive farming, the condition of the rural population began to change. The cost of the machines with which the farmer could engage in the new farming and hold his own on a competitive market so greatly increased the capital necessary to embark upon the venture that the farm hand was forced to remain longer at his apprenticeship—the age at which men

started farming for themselves began to increase—and many who would have continued on the soil, gave up the idea and sought employment in the other industries which were being developed by leaps and bounds. Others contented themselves to start on a limited capital as renters or tenants, hoping to be able to purchase land a little later on.

In 1850 the number of farms was 1,449,000 and the working population on the farms was 4,082,000 persons. Of these, 34 1-2 per cent were land owners, 1 per cent were tenants, and 64 1-2 per cent were the children of farmers, wage hands and slaves. Thirty years later (1880) when the slaves had long been freed and the settlement of the Western lands was in full swing, the number of farms had increased to 4,009,000, with a working population of 7,714,-000, and of these 44.2 per cent were land owners, 7.8 per cent were tenants, and 48 per cent were children of farmers and wage hands. The proportion of land owners had increased by 28 per cent, the farm hands, children, etc., had decreased more than 25 per cent, but the tenant farmers had increased 680 per cent. The development of the railroads and the opening of the homestead lands offset to a great degree the increased cost of farm equipment; yet, relatively speaking, there were 12 1-2 per cent less farmers in 1880 than there were in 1850—the working farmers, in comparison to the total population, had decreased one-eighth.

In 1900, twenty years later, the farm owners were 42.7 per cent of the working population on the farms, a decrease of about 3.4 per cent. The tenants had

increased to one-eighth of the farm population (22 3-4 per cent of the operating farmers), while the wage hands and children had decreased 1-15 to 44.8 per cent. During this period, machinery was displacing vast numbers of farmers for the total number of farmers in comparison to the total population had suffered a decrease of more than 11 per cent in the ten year period from 1880 to 1890, and from 1890 to 1900 it had practically held its own. The reason there was no comparative decrease in the farm population between 1890 and 1900 was because great numbers of men sought the farms during the hard times from 1893 to 1896, and immediately following this occurred the failure of the European wheat crop, which drove that cereal up to a dollar per bushel and suddenly made farming a profitable enterprise.

During this period the number of land owning farmers increased by 1,023,500 persons, the tenants increased 696,000, and the wage hands, children etc., increased 948,400.

Since 1900, the homestead lands have all been occupied, a great immigration of farmers from this country into Canada has taken place, and the price of land has gone up to almost fabulous figures—all of which have decreased the ratio of land owning farmers. In the nineteen years just past the number of land owning farmers has increased by 512,000 persons, a little more than half the increase in the previous twenty years. The tenants increased by 823,-650, and the wage hands and others increased by 2,331,217.

The land owning farmers are now 35.2 per cent of the working rural population, the tenants are 15.1 per cent (occupying 30 per cent of all the farms), and the farm hands, farmer's children, etc., equal 49.7 per cent of the tillers of the soil.

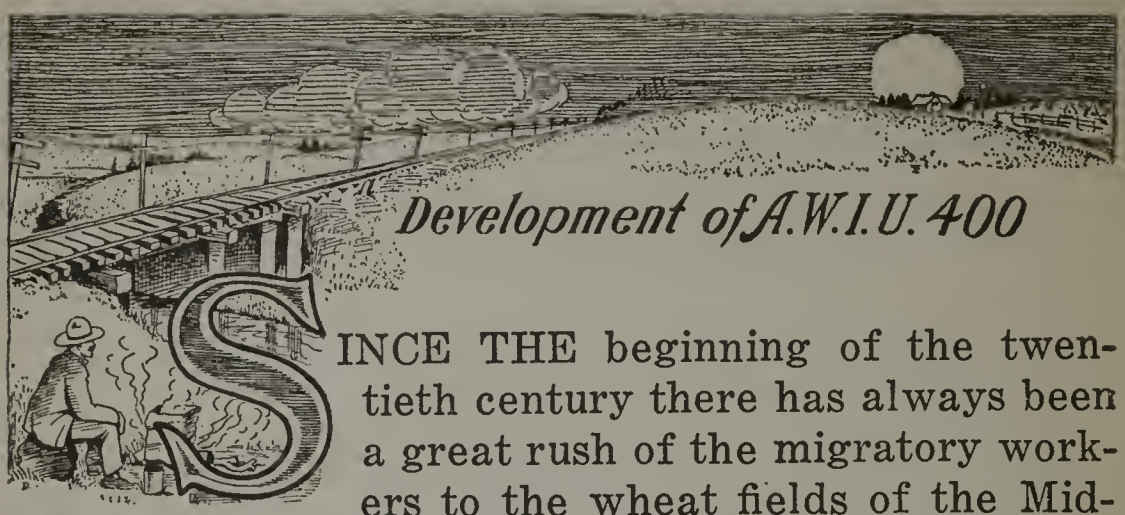
With the working population on the farms constituting but 13 per cent of the total population, we have arrived at the point where but little more than 4 1-2 per cent of that total are land owning farmers, a little less than 2 per cent are tenants, and the remainder (6.46 per cent), are the children of farmers and wage hands. The price of farm land and the cost of farm equipment has advanced to such a figure that the farm wage worker, with an average wage of less than $35 per month (1918), has a remarkably slim chance to become a farmer on his own account and that chance growing slimmer.

The farm hand of today is no longer the potential equal of his employer, and all the old show of social equality is rapidly disappearing; only in the backwoods sections can it yet be found, and there the farm hand is usually the son of a neighboring farmer and therefore carries the status of his father. In the most developed regions the same relations prevail upon the farms as are found in the other industries, with the exception that the work is largely seasonal and therefore the employment is irregular and precarious. The farm hand has become a migratory laborer, possessing all the characteristics of his industrial brother, and faithfully reflecting the influences of so unstable an environment. Robbed of

his hope of permanent economic advancement, he takes his place as a section of the great dispossessed —the agricultural proletariat.

UNCLE GOSH'S IDEA OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

"B' gosh, ol' Izra Hinkens sez as how one o' thum W fellers threw his best plow horse in th' well——!"



Development of A.W.I.U. 400

SINCE THE beginning of the twentieth century there has always been a great rush of the migratory workers to the wheat fields of the Middle Western states. Many have gone in response to advertisements especially in the Eastern papers to the effect that big wages are being paid for the very commonest kind of work. Upon their arrival they usually found conditions to be of the very worst kind, long hours and small pay, instead of good wages, hours and conditions, as had been pictured to them.

The men were unorganized and therefore helpless until the Industrial Workers of the World came along and took the lead and organized the agricultural industry the same as many others.

Since the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1905, much agitation had been carried on amongst the agricultural laborers, but it was not until the Agricultural Workers' Organization was chartered, April 21, 1915, that a real effort was made to organize the men following this line of work. The new organization proved a winner right from its inception, in spite of the fact that there were some who predicted dire failure and who were constantly raising the cry, "You cannot organize the harvest stiff."

While it is true that these few crepe-hangers were

proven bum prophets, there is no denying the facts that our task did appear to be almost a hopeless one, for the conditions in the harvest fields were indeed pitiful.

The long hours of hard work, the uncertainty of the job lasting any length of time, the poor food, and the poorer pay, together with the brutality of the small town marshal, hostile railroad shacks, the dangers from unscrupulous and merciless hi-jacks (hold-up men), all tended to weaken the stamina of the habitual harvest worker.

Nevertheless the job of organizing him was undertaken and none knew better the hard and difficult task it was to be than those that met at the first convention in Kansas City and those who first took out credentials in the new union of Agriculture Workers No. 400 at a time when the I. W. W. was almost financially and numerically bankrupt. It was under these most adverse conditions that the A. W. O. was launched.

No money in the treasury, the members almost penniless; but while there was a lack of finances, there was an abundant supply of courage and a will to do or die possessed by those who tackled the job and said it could be done.

With pockets lined with supplies and literature we left Kansas City on every available freight train, some going into the fruit belts of Missouri and Arkansas, others spread themselves over the states of Kansas and Oklahoma, and everywhere they went, with every slave they met on the job, in the jungles or on freight trains, they talked I. W. W., distributed their literature, and pointed out the advantage of being organized into a real labor union. Day in

and day out the topic of conversation was the I. W. W., and the new Agricutural Union No. 400.

On every hand stickers and leaflets calling on the harvest slaves to organize were prominently displayed; the delegates were everywhere; men who had never before heard of the I. W. W. and those who had heard of it were beginning to discuss the advisability of joining, and a great many of them did so.

After spending their last few dollars for iniatiation fee and dues and after a most successful drive through Oklahoma and Kansas, the delegates came right up into Nebraska and North and South Dakota and even into Canada, while others went into Montana and Washington and also Idaho.

Everywhere they went the good work went on; the organization gathered tremendous momentum all the way. Along with the large increase of the membership the status of the harvest stiff was perceptibly improved.

Small town marshals became a little more respectful in their bearing toward any group of workers who carried the little red card, and the bullying and bo-ditching shack had a wonderful change of heart after coming in contact with the No. 400 boys once or twice. As for the hi-jacks and bootleggers, one or two examples of "direct action" from an organized bunch of harvest workers served to show them that the good old days, at least for them, was now over, and that there was a vast difference between a helpless and unorganized harvest stiff and an organized harvest worker. But best of all, the farmer, after one or two salutory examples of solidarity, invariably gave in to the modest request of the organ-

ized workers, with the result that wages were raised, grub was improved, and hours shortened. Those farmers who have had full I. W. W. crews have been highly satisfied, and many stated that from that time on they would hire none but I. W. W.

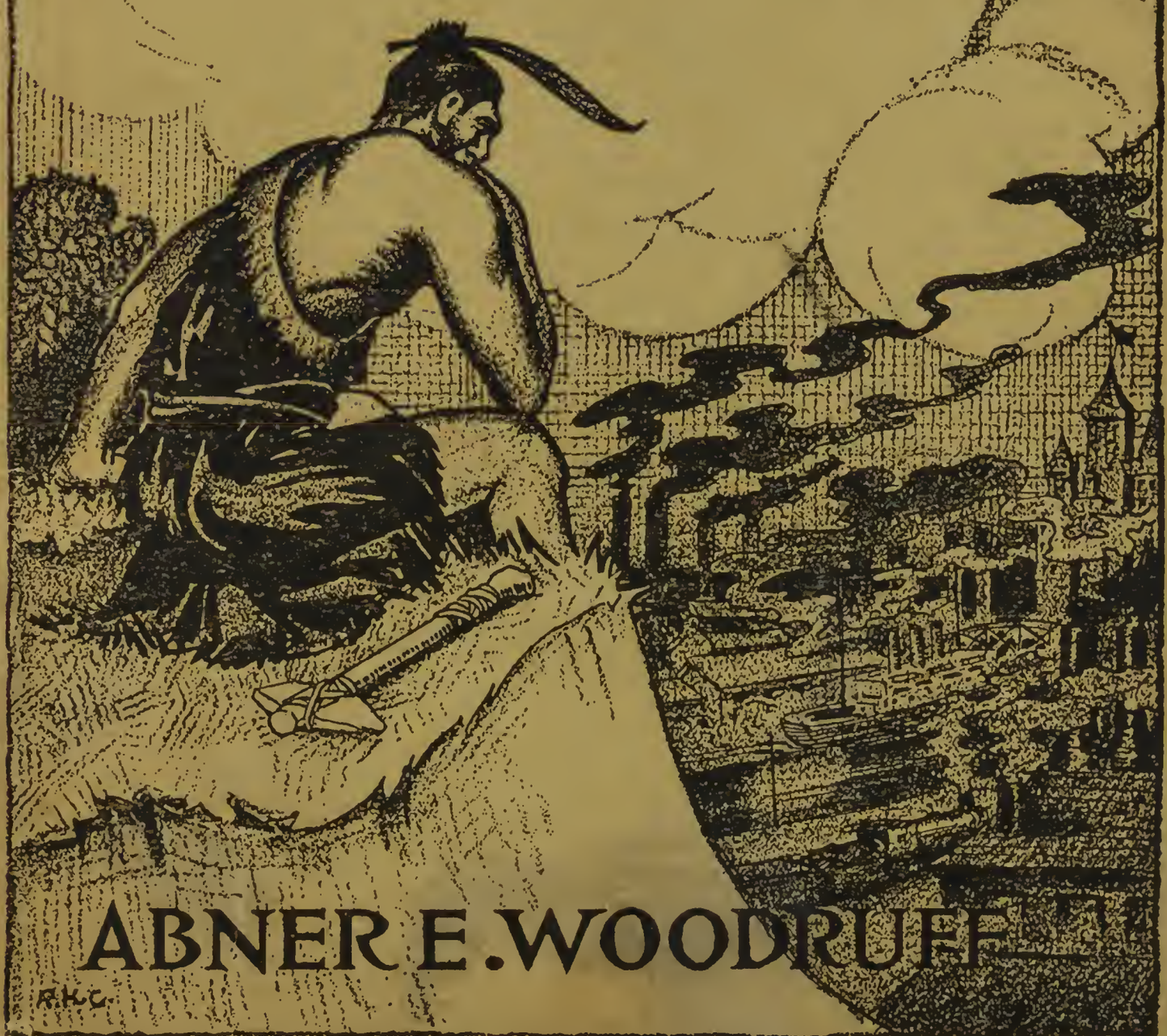
And, so it has been with the agricultural laborers since 1915. Nearly every man who is eligible throws his whole spirit into the work of organizing and agitating his fellow man and many thousands of new members are taken in every year.

The I. W. W. came as a mighty boon to the harvest workers. What they have done for themselves in the past few years is but a marker in comparison to what will be accomplished in the future. With a considerable minority of farm laborers and harvest workers, organized and educated, with the knowledge of the principles of the Industrial Unionism, the rest of the world will be asking the Industrial Workers of the World, "What are we going to have for breakfast in the morning?"

Printed by

P. & P. W. I. U. 1200

The Evolution of Industrial Democracy



ABNER E. WOODRUFF

SOLIDARITY

ENGLISH ORGAN OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

SOLIDARITY presents a weekly review of the activity of labor the world over. Accounts from all the important strike centers by the workers engaged, News of all the labor cases on trial. Sparkling editorial comment on current industrial events. Discussion of form, aim and tactics of revolutionary industrial unionism. Clever Cartoons.

A WEEKLY
LABOR NEWS PAPER
SUBSCRIBE TO-DAY

$1.50 per year Foreign $2.00
I. W. W. PUBLISHING BUREAU
1001 W. Madison St. CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

BY

ABNER E. WOODRUFF, C. E.

———o———

Arthur Lewis, in his pamphlet, "Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois," speaks of the "Co-operative Commonwealth" of the Political Socialists as an "Apocalyptic Vision." The same may be said of the idea held by some Industrialists in regard to the "Industrial Democracy." Like the Socialists, they foresee a great "Association of Workingmen" producing and enjoying the wealth of the world, but when asked as to the nature of this wonderful Association are forced to fall back upon the old Socialist answer, that "we cannot say *now* just what form the "new society" will take—the workers will decide that question when the time comes."

Such an answer not only begs the question, but is an insult to the intelligence of the questioner, and is, therefore. an injury to the Industrial cause. We have a better answer and it is the purpose of this pamphlet to give that answer in general terms that can be readily understood by even the simplest men.

The purpose of the "Revolutionary Working Class" is to build and use an "Industrial Democracy"—a form of society based upon man's necessity to harmonize himself with the method by which he produces and distributes his living. The writer does not contend that this can be done by following any "cut and dried" line of action, or that the new society can be built to a "ready made" plan, but he does contend that, since human growth moves along certain lines towards better conditions, a study and understanding of the changes that have taken place in the past will indicate the changes that are yet to occur. A knowledge of past and present Industrial methods and the forms of society built upon them must surely point out, not only the Industrial methods of the future, but also the form of society that will arise to place man in harmony with those methods.

Each new form of human association has grown out of an older form, and was intended to meet the needs and demands of a growing and expanding class within the framework of the old society. The rising class followed no set plan, but fought out its battles according to the needs of the moment, using the materials and weapons it found ready for its hands, and then, throwing these aside for better things, when it had finally won the master's place, built a new society of its own.

"History repeats itself"—rather, it follows the course of a vast ascending spiral which periodically produces great "parallelisms"—it shows that in each human forward-step the method of change has followed the same general line of action. The "law of progress" holds good and, if we can understand modern conditions—modern class needs—in the light of the past, we can see a new society taking form within the framework of the present. Applying the laws of historical development, we may make an intelligent prediction as to the future civilization.

The new society exists. It is. The task before the working class is to free this new society from its bonds—to lead it out into the brightness of the day—and the more there are who realize this task the sooner the event will occur.

Human society must progress. As Barbarism replaced Savagery; as the Chattel Slave System replaced Barbarism; as Feudalism replaced Chattel Slavery; as Capitalism replaced Feudalism; as Plutocracy replaces Capitalism, so must Plutocracy be replaced by Industrial Democracy. Beyond that I do not go. The great Future I leave to the future—it has always taken care of itself.

In the pages which follow, an attempt is made to briefly show the rise and fall of past social systems and point out that general course of development which leads to the Industrial Democracy.

I hereby acknowledge much aid and friendly criticism on the part of a large number of the Fellow Workers.

ABNER E. WOODRUFF, C. E.

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IN GENERAL

To understand the "how" of things, we must first know the "why" of things. We justify the existence of an institution by showing that it meets the needs of a class in society and then determine the means by which it was established. All social institutions are rooted in economic necessity and we need only to know the mode of wealth production and distribution prevailing in any historical period to be able to explain all the social phenomena of that time.

Primitive man probably produced nothing. He lived directly off of nature, as the beasts do. The discovery of the use of FIRE brought about the formation of the Family, and man entered upon the savage state. The Domestication of the Animals (the dog, the horse, the ox, the sheep) and the beginning of Agriculture founded Barbarism and its attendant communal institutions. Human Slavery came when tools and processes were improved to the extent that a man could produce out of the earth more than enough to feed himself. Private Property appeared after it was found possible to separate herding, agriculture and the handicrafts, and the slaves became chattels shortly afterwards. Numerous Chattel Slave Societies succeeded each other until the breaking up of the Roman Empire by the Barbaric Communal Tribes which overran the whole of Europe. The amalgamation of these two systems transferred the subject class from a condition of chattel property to a condition of Serfdom; in which condition he was a creature bound to the soil—having the right to live upon and cultivate the land, but compelled to contribute to the support of the lord of the land and denied the right to move from place to place—the distinctive feature of the Feudal System. The growth of the Merchant Class, the rise of the Factory System of production, with its subdivision of labor in the shop, and the quarrel between the Guild

Masters and the Journeymen brought about the overthrow of Feudalism. The Capitalists introduced Machine Production and the Corporate method of ownership; and these now give way before the Plutocrats, who rapidly Industrialize all production and prepare the world for its next progressive step.

The institution of Private Property broke up the ancient communal relations and introduced Classes into society. The constant warfare between the classes brought one class after another into power; in each case building a form of society which met the needs of the class holding power; until at last there is but one class that has never yet held power. This last class—the Proletariat—is peculiar in this, that it must do away with private property in order to obtain its power. By this act, it will abolish all classes (itself among the others) and will, at the same time, build a new society based on Social property and the Industrial method of wealth production—the Industrial Democracy.

THE SAVAGE ERA

During the Savage Era the males and females were economically equal. They worked together to provide food, clothing and shelter. The man may have killed the game, but the woman helped to skin the carcass and cut up the meat. Together they gathered fruits and roots and nuts, and worked at dressing the skins that furnished them both clothing and shelter. The division of labor began soon after the discovery of the use of fire and the commencement of the art of cookery. Someone must keep the fire and it must be kept in a suitable place. The crippled, the aged, the young first assumed this duty, but, later, it fell to the lot of the woman. During the period just preceding child-birth and then when the infant needed the most care she must have a place to stay. She assumed the care of the fire, because it was kept in a safe and sheltered spot; then she took charge of whatever was brought to the fire; and finally, took

command of those who came to the fire. Woman was now master and the family was established.

The discovery and use of fire is the great turning point in the history of man. It sets him completely apart from the other animals and opens the way to all the social progress he has made. No fire—no family; no family—no domestic arts, no domestication of the animals, no progress, no civilization—nothing—only just beastly conditions. No wonder the Savage worshiped the fire!

The discovery of fire and the art of cookery which followed enabled man to extend his hunting grounds to the rivers, lakes and seas. His food supply was vastly increased—his range of travel immensely broadened. He had conquered his natural environment and could no longer be starved. It was the supreme event in the life of man—he was no longer a beast. Around the fire he grouped his growing institutions—his family, his handicrafts, his councils, his religion. Even down into our own day the veneration of the fire persists in the formal parts of religious worship, for in the cathedrals the candle must ever burn before the sacred images upon the altar.

BARBARISM

Barbarism came with the invention of pottery and the domestication of the animals. At first the dog and horse were aids to the cause; afterwards they assisted in preventing the straying of the herds and flocks. Man ceased to hunt only for a living; he became a herdsman and around those herds and flocks grew up new institutions and very great changes in the old ones. Wandering was limited to mere change of pasture grounds; the fire remained longer in one place; the family relations became more settled; the man took control of the household, reducing the woman to the position of a drudge or mere bearer of children. Agriculture had its beginning; the handicrafts extended to spinning, weav-

ing, sandal making, the building of mud and wooden hovels, the grinding of grain and baking, the smelting of metals, blacksmithing and the making of simple tools and weapons. The ox was broken to the yoke, the drag, the plow.

Religion also changed. The bull—father of the herds—was sacred; the flooding river that made sure the crop of grain was a holy thing; the hot wind of the desert was a demon. It was but a step from the worship of the fire to Polytheism—a separate god for every separate thing—the regions of the unknown as populous as the regions of the known.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Man finally settled himself upon the soil as an agriculturist—the artificial production of forage was essential to the preservation of his flocks and herds—and when he stopped long in one place his life began to grow more complex; tools and processes began to multiply; and soon he discovered that a division of the industries would promote a greater and better production. Herding, agriculture and the handicrafts became separated, and each member of the family or tribe took upon himself some particular task; the herdsmen watched the flocks; the farmers went afield; the smiths made tools and weapons of defense. Then what more natural that in the end each one should claim for himself the products of his toil and care, and that a system of exchange should be set up?

PRIVATE PROPERTY—a thing attached to a man rather than to his family or tribe—has come into the world, furnishing us a basis on which to examine and criticise all the following systems of civilization. The individual now sets himself apart; no longer producing for the common use, but for himself alone; no longer bringing in according to his ability and taking away according to his needs; but depending, for the satisfaction of his wants, upon his own foresight, patience, energy and skill; and exchanging the products of his toil

for the products of others, who, like himself, must find those who can, will or must exchange upon the open market. The law of supply and demand of commodities sets itself up in the affairs of men.

Next to the discovery of the use of fire, the institution of private property has probably had the most effect upon the progress of mankind. The individual, thrust again upon his own resources; every incentive to "get ahead,' 'to accumulate a supply against the rainy day or old age when he may no longer be productive, held before him, suffers a revival of every base and cruel primitive instinct. Terrorized by his lone and defenseless condition, he plunges into a struggle through which only the craftiest and most cruel may survive. The most cowardly descend to the meanest depths and emerge with the greatest loot of worldly possessions.

In private property man has found an incentive for the noblest works and justification for the most devilish acts that history records. It is the producer of paradoxes —the parent of inconsistencies. It is a god—creating good and evil.

HUMAN SLAVERY

Owing to the structure of his hand, man is a tool using animal—no other animal can seize upon things as man does—and this development of his hand enabled him to do so many things that were not possible to the other tree dwellers—so widened the range of his experiences—that he rapidly grew away from them. His power to grasp and use a club made him dangerous to the other beasts and he boldly descended to the ground where he soon learned to walk upright. His erect posture tended to deepen the cranial cavity and made room for the enlargement of the brain; while his curiosity and disposition to experiment led him into experiences that strengthened his mental reactions and developed the complexity of his nervous organization.

No avenue of approach to primitive man gives us a

better view of him than the study of Technology. The tools he left behind him tell us clearly of his progress. At first, the "stone age" and then, after the discovery of fire, the "age of bronze"; and always the tools and processes were being improved.

One of the most important changes in human society was the introduction of slavery—a result directly traceable to the improvement of the tools and processes in agriculture. In savage times the bodies of prisoners taken in battle were sometimes eaten by the victors, but when barbarism came into vogue and it was found that a man could produce from the earth more than enough to feed himself these prisoners were enslaved. They were the property of the tribe and, as such, produced for the tribe. But when private property came into existence it was quite natural that the slaves should also become private property. Indeed, so profitable was the labor of slaves that, in the course of time, we find nations waging war to enslave other nations. There is little doubt that the Gallic Wars waged by Julius Caesar were none other than great looting and man hunting expeditions; the plunder of goods and people being sold in the auction rooms and slave markets of Imperial Rome.

In the savage state the increase of population was very slow, for man was just beginning to conquer his environment. Under barbarism man is coming into his own, and the increase in population is hastened; while under the Chattel Slave System, with a greater food supply, the population steadily increases. Invention introduces improved weapons, tools and processes. The slaves in agriculture and the handicrafts produce in abundance. Tribes expand into nations. Petty chieftains become kings. Wars are waged for territory and slaves. Barter and exchange become domestic trade, which, in turn, grows into commerce and banking. The slave owners have wealth and luxury. There is a leisured class which has time for culture; and art, poetry,

music, literature, the drama flourish. The classes are sharply divided—they clash—the class struggle is on, with all its bitterness. Wealth concentrates; power centralizes; the family is settled in its form; and religion, changing from the worship of many gods to the adoration of only one, pushes that god off the earth into a heaven in the great beyond.

ROMAN CIVILIZATION

The very interesting periods of Barbarism and Chattel Slavery were the parent periods of Feudalism. They existed alongside of each other for a great period of time, but with only a limited connection between them. Egyptian, Assyrian. Grecian and Roman slave civilizations flourished along the shores of the Mediterranean. while across the Black Forest and beyond the Alps, the Slavic, Germanic and Celtic tribes worked out their communal destinies.

The social system of Rome was quite complex. Patricians, knights, plebeians, adopted citizens, freedmen and slaves mingled in a busy hive of industry, trade and intrigue; each class actively defending itself against the others. The highly centralized government, representing the proud and wealthy Patrician class held despotic sway, and underneath it all were the slaves. So numerous did these become that, at one time, they were required to be dressed like the citizens, for fear they would realize their own numbers and strength, and destroy the Empire.

A combination of wage slavery, serfdom and chattel slavery was at the base of the productive system. The workers performed their tasks by hand labor and with comparatively simple tools; though there were a few simple machines operated by men and horses.

One great social feature of the Roman system of personal relationships was the "Patrocinium," or relation of Patron and Client—a relation which, in an altered form, was practised during Feudalism and extends even into our own time in the form of the Italian "Padroni" Sys-

tem. Under the Patrocinium, any person not a slave or serf (*coloni*) being harassed by debt or enemies—needing protection of some sort—could go to a Patrician and, on assuming certain obligations of service as a client, would receive in return the patronage or protection of the great man. It is reasonably certain that if the client had any property he put that as well as himself under the protecting influence of the Patron.

Furthermore, there existed among the merchants and free handicraftsmen certain trade and craft associations which were evidently strong enough to maintain themselves without resorting to the Patrocinium. Indeed they seem to have been patrons within themselves—corporate patrons—the members being the clients. So forceful were these associations that they survived the destruction of Rome and transferred themselves bodily into the Feudal System where they were known as "Guilds"; and these formed the centers around which gathered the elements that finally overthrew Feudalism and established the Capitalist System.

THE BARBARIC TRIBES

While Rome was at the height of her wealth and power a great natural calamity was occurring in Northwestern Asia. The country was drying up. For lack of water it could no longer support the people with their flocks and herds. Natural barriers prevented migration either north, or east, or south; but to the westward were pastures green and an open way. They came—a wild and unkempt horde—and looked with wondering eyes upon the wealth of Rome. No man can say what went on beyond the far flung frontiers of the Roman Satraphies; but this we know, Rome recoiled before the advancing tribes, and wherever Rome moved out the Barbarians moved in. For three hundred years that warfare raged. Goth, Visigoth, Ostrogoth, Frank, German, Alleman, Lombard, Vandal, Hun—tribe after tribe—poured in from the great unknown.

Rome fell. The wars with the tribes and fierce internal quarrels laid her low. Her hands were held and ruled by the warlike tribesmen, but the influence of her civilization lived after her.

The struggle of the tribes was primarily for *land* and wherever they secured possession their barbaric customs were put in force, but the Roman customs could not die out altogether and many of them were adopted entire. Others were adopted only in part or were joined with similar customs of the tribes.

The tribesmen were communal in their practices, so it is not surprising that they rejected the idea of chattel slavery. Indeed Rome herself had helped destroy slavery by liberating great numbers of the slaves, so that they might serve in her armies. But the Roman "Coloni" (captured people colonized on the land) came under the rule of the tribes and these were restrained by the tribes—bound to the soil, these were the beginnings of the serfs.

The Goths served in the Roman army in great numbers. At no time do the tribesmen appear to have been soldiers (paid fighters)—they were always "warriors." They did not fight in organized battalions and legions as the Romans did, but in "fratries" or sworn brotherhoods. Each man was sworn to his chief and the chief in turn was sworn to the man. It was an honorable relation and implied many mutual obligations and services. This custom was known as the "comitatus," and in many ways resembled the Roman "patrocinium."

During the period of change, when the Roman civilization and Barbarism were working out the new system, the patrocinium became a form of land holding and was known as "precarium"; while the comitatus continued to be a personal relation between the tribesman and his chief, and was known as "commendation." Thus, a freeman might hold lands from a bishop by precarium, while

he was bound to perform military service for his chief by his oath of commendation.

Then a new invasion occurred. The followers of Mohammed—the Saracens or Moors—conquered all of Northern Africa and spread over into Europe by the way of Spain. A strong and warlike people, determined upon conquest and fanatical for their religion, they threatened the life of Christendom. Charles Martel, the Frankish king, gathered the warriors of the German tribes at Tours and drove the Moors backward in defeat. But his campaigns were fearfully costly to the tribesmen, who fought without pay and furnished the horses to mount the newly formed cavalry, which was organized to meet the Saracens in their own style of fighting. To relieve the distress among his warriors, Martel seized the lands of the Church and divided them among those who were most impoverished, and, for the first time, combined the oath of commendation to himself as king, with a grant of land by the custom of precarium. This was the real beginning of the Feudal System.

Then followed the plagues—the "black death" devastating immense sections of the country—and social chaos prevailed. Out of this fearful condition, the strong and forceful finally struggled to the head of affairs and exercised a semblance of control. The former territorial officials of the kings took possession of the soil and all *the obligations which men had formerly owed to the tribe or nation were changed into private obligations owed to persons and services were rendered as a form of rent* FOR THE USE OF LAND. The Feudal System was in force.

FEUDALISM

LAND was the basis of the Feudal System and those of the people who were most impoverished were bound to it—they were Serfs. Production on the great estates was carried on entirely by hand labor. Each one gave a portion of his time to service and production for the overlord—the balance of the time he labored for himself.

Out of the Lord's portion, his retainers were supported and the handicraftsmen, who contributed to his luxury and power, were paid.

But the Barons were not the only force in Feudal society. The associations of handicraftsmen, merchants and bankers, that can be readily traced through the Greek and Roman civilizations, had continued to live and appear in cities of their own, where they carried on the manufacture and directed the trading and commerce of their time. As Feudalism grew in age the "Guild cities" grew in population and importance. Fifty-seven of them formed a league, which performed all the functions of an independent government. They made war, entered into treaties of peace, guaranteed the independence of petty kingdoms in return for monopolies in trade, and in every way labored to make themselves more powerful than the Barons.

Within the walls of these cities or "bourgs" gathered the merchants and skilled craftsmen, where they produced and distributed a vast portion of the wealth of their time. Guildmaster, journeyman and apprentice lived and worked together. The shop was in the dwelling house and goods sold at prices fixed by the guilds.

The guildmasters finally *subdivided labor*. They found that, by limiting the workman to a single portion of the process of manufacture, production could be increased and the importance and privileges of the journeyman be greatly reduced. The guild system was disrupted by this innovation—the workshop was removed from the guildmaster's house to a separate building—the "factory system" was born.

Here also was Capitalism born. The manufacturer and merchant prince step upon the scene. The tools of the craftsman pass out of his ownership and become the property of the factory owner. A class of workers appear, who have only labor-power to sell and must go to

the owners of the tools in order to sell that power—the proletarian class.

Here was a radical departure from the old method of production and a new struggle began. Manufacturers and journeymen clashed—the serfs, demanding greater liberties and led by the new capitalists, rose in revolt against the barons—and in the ragings of this dual conflict the feudal system had its end. All classes in the old society were thoroughly embroiled in the warfare. Out of the welter of the conflict the Capitalists rose supreme—the old personal obligations disappeared and payments of cash adjusted every human relationship.

Marx, in that wonderful epitome and arraignment of Capitalism—the Communist Manifesto—gives us an illuminating view of the new Capitalist class and all who consider themselves students of modern conditions, should read that splendid document.

CAPITALISM

Man set himself apart from the beasts and commenced his social progress when he discovered the use of fire. The separation of herding, agriculture and the handicrafts introduced the institution of private property; and the subdivision of labor in the handicrafts introduced the factory system of production, with its atendant capitalist and wage slave classes. Then came the discovery of the expansive force of steam and the invention of the steam engine. A new force had been found and, like the wild horse of the prairies, it had been harnessed.

Who can say what were the dreams of the ambitious capitalists when this fact came home to them? A new source of power, harnessed and ready to do the world's work! Could you have imagined the results? Look around you and see the answer.

The application of steam to industry stimulated every capitalist activity. The possibilities of the event were so vast that they set every known agency to work to take advantage of it. Experimentation was the order of the

day. Facts, facts, facts—facts were the things they wanted. Knowledge of every kind must be collected and they applied themselves to the task with the greatest enthusiasm. Gathering and garnering from every possible source, they built up the noble sciences. Chemistry, engineering, invention, processes, machinery—the iron slave with steel fingers took his place in the factory with a human slave as his groom. Iron slave and slave of flesh toil together to produce.

Almost a century and a half have passed since the making of the first steam engine and practically all of our vast, complex civilization has been made over in that time. America (the land of the free and the home of the brave) has grown from a wilderness to the first of capitalistic nations. No greater monument to the unbounded faith and energy of a ruling class has ever been so rapidly erected—no more wonderful triumph of the man and the machine can be imagined.

Machinery revolutionized the methods of production and, to keep pace with the possibilities, changed the mode of ownership. The old time partnership became a corporation; thus permitting the conduct of business on a broader scale and placing the management of large enterprises in the hands of men specially gifted or trained for the task. Ownership and control were separated and today we find many of the great industrial institutions directed and managed by men, who have no other interest in them than their splendid salaries.

It was this separation of management from ownership that made possible the greater capitalism—Plutocracy. The old time capitalist knew his business from top to bottom. He knew his market and the productive capacity of his plant. He could not be frightened off the job. He performed some service in the way of management—might be said to have earned his keep—but the absentee stockholder, depending on someone else for the success of the enterprise, is absolutely a parasite upon

the business from the personal point of view and correspondingly skittish. His connection with the concern depends on his confidence in another and once this confidence is shaken or he fears for the safety of his capital, he sells out. Being ignorant of the business, he is a coward.

Upon this ignorance and cowardice the Plutocrats built themselves. Manipulators and stock jobbers are they, and the other fellows' weakness makes it an easy matter for them to gain control of industry. Under their rule small enterprises disappear—being swallowed up or merged in the trusts. All the old dividing lines in production are wiped out. Not only are individual plants merged to form an industrial trust, but allied industries are brought together in great departmental trusts. The Steel Trust, for instance, is no longer a mere manufacturer of steel, but a miner of ore and coal, transporter by lake, sea and rail, and constructor of ships ,railroads, bridges and buildings. All the processes, from the raw material to the final delivery of the finished product into the hands of the consumer, are under its control. It has become the Base Metal Department of American industry.

Here, then, is the latest development in industry—the Departmental Trust controlled by the Plutocrats.

One step yet remains to be taken before the process of concentration of control is complete, and that is to co-ordinate the departmental trusts by means of interlocking directorates. These are rapidly forming, in spite of legislative enactments to the contrary, and it cannot be long until we shall have in full operation the Industrial Feudalism*—the special product of the Plutocrats.

NOTE ON INDUSTRIAL FEUDALISM

Under the ancient Feudalism, land was the source of wealth for the majority of the people, but the ownership of the land was monopolized by a few great landlords—Barons, Counts, etc. The people, needing access

to the land in order to live and agreeing to the ownership of the earth by these Lords, naturally became subject to them, and were bound to the soil as serfs.

In modern days the great mass of the people earn bread by the Industries, as distinguished from Agriculture, and must have access to the machines in order to live. The industries concentrate into the hands of a few men (the Lords of Industry) and the people agreeing to their ownership become subjected to them.

The ancient serfs could not move from place to place—it now remains for the Plutocrats to limit the rights of the workers to change from industry to industry, thus establishing a condition of serfdom equal with that of the Middle Ages.

In England, under present war conditions, with the industries concentrated under the control of the Cabinet, we may see Industrial Feudalism in operation—the workers cannot quit work or change their occupations without first obtaining permission to do so. Industrial Feudalism is the last calamity to man, from which we must drop back to savagery, unless an aroused and class conscious proletariat shall rescue civilization by the institution of the Industrial Democracy.

A. E. W.

THE SLAVE CLASSES

Ever since it was discovered that a man could produce from the ground more than enough to feed himself, there have been slaves; and the very day the first slave was driven to his task two classes set themselves up in human society—the masters, who owned and enjoyed, and the slaves, who toiled and suffered—a master class and a slave class. The earliest slaves were communal property and worked in the fields, but when the industries were separated and private property was instituted the slaves also became private property. They were bartered and sold just like any other commodity and the degree of happiness or comfort they experienced depended upon the

character of the master and his necessities. Food, clothing and shelter they had, for they must be kept in condition to work, and, since the tools of production were simple and large numbers of hands were needed to keep up the power and luxury of the masters, they were encouraged to breed—to reproduce themselves. They must be obedient and submissive; so they were kept in the densest ignorance, filled with the vilest superstitions and taught to believe themselves only a little above the beasts, while their masters were descended from the gods.

Under the Feudal system the slave became a serf—a creature bound to the soil and forbidden to leave the lands of his overlord. He must cultivate the fields and perform various personal services. He had food, clothing and shelter—the amount and kind depending on the fertility of the soil, his own industry and the exactions of his Lord—and he could always work. The tools of the time were simple and many hands were needed. The more there were to labor and wait upon the Lord, the more were his vanity and his palate gratified. Petty wars, scourges and famines raged, and the serfs must breed, that more plowmen should turn the furrow and more soldiers march at the heels of the military chieftains. Also, they must be kept in ignorance—they must believe the false and debasing superstitions that would keep them in submission. They were taught to accept "the natural depravity of man"; to submit to every villainy on this earth, that thereby they might win a home in heaven; and to endure the brutalities of the overlord as the will and desire of an all-wise, all merciful and omnipotent god.

With the fall of Feudalism the Capitalists set up the fiction that all men are free and equal. The serfs were liberated from their personal obligations to the Lords and became the landed peasantry, or rented lands for a cash payment from the gentry. Land and commodities passed from one proprietor to another by direct purchase. Trade

in all things was open and free. The workingman, possessed of labor power only, was not bound to work for any certain master, but could take that labor power into the open market and sell it to whoever would pay the highest price—he was a *free* man.

While between master and slave, between baron and serf, between guildmaster and journeyman certain personal obligations existed; under the Capitalist system all obligations ceased upon the payment of the day's wage. Both were free to go their separate ways if the terms of the employment did not suit them. They were *free* men.

The slave worked all the time for his master and received food, clothing and shelter in return. The serf worked a part of his time for the Baron—the balance of his time for himself—receiving protection from other barons in return, but providing his own food, clothing and shelter. The *free* workingman sold his labor-power for a price, therefore he was said to work for himself, and he took this price, or wage, and went into the open market where he bought food, clothing and shelter. In each event—whether as slave, serf or freeman—all the worker really got was food, clothing and shelter.

In truth, the freeman was not a *free* man. The lands and tools of production were still privately owned. The workman possessed no property on which he might employ himself—he had merely labor power and he must sell that power in order to live. It was not a matter of choice, but of grim compulsion. He must submit his will to the will of another. He was a slave—a wage slave. The greater portion of the wealth he created remained in the hands of someone else; the portion he received barely supplied his creature wants and allowed him to reproduce his kind.

Furthermore, the slave and serf could always work, for it was vastly to the interests of the master and baron that they should produce in abundance, but the wage slave may be denied the right to labor—he can be excluded from the field or shop. His labor power is now a commodity

and no one need buy unless a profit appears in the labor. No one is responsible for him or to him—he is a free man and all modern obligations are paid in cash. If, through an improved process, the use of a better machine, or overproduction, his services are no longer needed, he may be discharged; and, if he can find no other master before his slender savings are exhausted, he should starve in silence and die with the dignity befitting his high estate as a *free* man.

WAGE SLAVES ARE DIFFERENT

Environment is the ruling force in the lives of men—they are moulded and moved by the things about them—their ideas come from their experiences—their thoughts and actions are determined by the manner in which they get their livings—and in a world so changed by the use of machinery, we find that the modern working class differs very much from the slaves and serfs that preceded it. The slaves worked with the simplest tools that moved as fast as they moved. Their ignorant, untravelled minds groped but a little way beyond the horizon that bounded them. They took no care of the morrow—their master did that. Besotted by their toil and the very fact of their slavery, they seldom sighed for other than a better master. History records a few great slave rebellions, but usually the servile revolts were not of their own making. In most of them, they furnished numbers. but not initiative, and when the affair was concluded either served new masters, or returned to the old ones and the punishments meted out to them.

The serf differed little from the slave. He worked with very little better tools and endured about the same abuse (in France his condition was particularly abject) and, though he had somewhat more of intelligence, he only stirred in revolt when led by adventurous bandit chieftains, or when urged by the rising and militant Capitalists. Left to himself, he might have continued to

endure and to have become more helpless and hopeless as time went on.

The modern wage slave is something different. The machine has conquered production and the worker must keep pace with it. Intelligence and a measure of resourcefulness are necessary to his continued presence in industry—the besotted and slothful are of no use to the present master class, for that gentry yet practice a certain amount of competition. Furthermore, the worker, thrown on his own resources, as to food, clothing and shelter, and having no certainty of continuous employment, must take heed of the morrow. The very nature of capitalist production forces him to think and, thereby, his wits are exercised and sharpened. The "Machine proletariat" as this class is now beginning to call itself, is not to be measured by the old slave or serf standards, but by standards of its own.

The capitalist system of machine production requires the workers to possess considerable dexterity and education in order to function to the best advantage. Also, the capitalist method of absentee ownership throws a great part of the burden of management upon the workers, so that they have, not only a large technical training, but executive ability as well. Is it any wonder that such a class should become critical of its condition and surroundings? Is it strange that, finding itself in practical control of industry, it should commence to inquire why it continues in poverty while the proprietors mount to the position of millionaires? Is it amazing that this class, having the wealth of society within its grasp, should seek to take possession?

History teaches us that, in each epoch of the world since the advent of private property, some one class has been dominant; that the civilization of each epoch was the product of the then ruling class; and that a subject class grew and expanded within that civilization and finally made itself the dominant class. The new class created a

new society and, in its turn, was displaced by yet another class which set up another society in its turn. Following the parallelism, it is quite unbelievable that the proletariat—a class having large intelligence and a militant spirit—should continue to submit indefinitely to the dominion of a dwindling few, who, from every practical viewpoint, have become absolutely parasitic.

CRAFT UNIONISM

Immediately the capitalist class settled itself into power, it began to have trouble with the wage slave class. The "iron law of wages," which decrees that "wages shall always tend to sink to the lowest point at which the worker can maintain the efficiency demanded by the development of industry and reproduce his kind," began to operate forcefully. The wage workers awoke to the fact that the boasted freedom of the capitalists meant, for the workers, an unlimited freedom to starve. Private property in the lands, tools and machinery of production gave the proprietors a *right of exclusion* and, unless the workers accepted the terms laid down by the masters, they *would* starve.

The individual worker found himself helpless, and the early history of the factory system is too shocking and too shameful to be repeated here. It is enough to say, that out of the suffering and humiliation of the workers, the first Labor Unions arose. Originally, these were Mutualist Associations, with the design of conforming the worker to his environment by providing sick and burial benefits, and in other ways assisting him to make both ends meet; but later, the craftsmen, finding the automatic machine encroaching upon their skill, converted them into defensive institutions with the purpose of protecting the crafts.

The craftsmen now set up the plea that "skill is a property" and, therefore, possessors of skill should have the same rights as other property holders; and, so long as the machine processes were crude and imperfect and the

organization of the master class was equally imperfect, these craft unions were able to secure small concessions for themselves. The theory that skill is a property led easily to the effort to monopolize that property and many were the dodges and subterfuges adopted to make the monopoly effective. Limitation of apprenticeships, high initiation fees and dues, difficult and technical examinations for membership, gentlemen's agreements with the employers and closed books in closed shop cities and towns, were a part of the protective and exclusive measures adopted, but beyond this property idea the craftsmen apparently could not go. The hand tool limited their vision to the mere thing they hold in their hands—they could not see the great world of industry growing up around them, nor catch the inspiring message of the machines to the struggling masses.

The American Federation of Labor, the Australian Workers Union, the Amalgamated Societies of the English workers and other nationalistic organizations of their kind seem never to have come to a realizing sense of the great fact that *production is now a social process* and that the organizations of the workers must take on an all inclusive or universal character in order to conform to that fact. Their protestations of industrial vision and purposes are mere hollow phrases belied by their persistent *separation* of the workers into craft or district organizations that render them helpless and futile in the vast industrial sea in which they are submerged. Without doubt, they continue to accept the wage system as a finality and seek only to maintain themselves as integral parts of that system. While they struggle and fight for a larger wage, there is no apparent knowledge that the wage is merely a portion of the worker's production and not a reward for services rendered—their cry is "a fair day's wage for a fair day's work," the only question being "what is fair"?

Collective bargaining is a principle with the crafts-

men and, since they choose to accept the laws and standards of the master class, it is but natural that they should regard their bargains, or contracts, as holy and sacred, even when such contracts force them to work alongside of men who are "scabbing" or "black-legging" on other craft unionists who may be out on strike. They are thus forced into the paradoxical position of paying strike benefit assessments with one hand while they filch away wages with the other by working with the scab or black-leg and aiding the boss to break the strike.

Such string-halted morality certainly comes from ignorance of the structure of capitalist society and the mission of the working class, and so long as it continues to influence the minds of these workers will lead their class in an ever-descending spiral.

So long as the capitalists competed vigorously among themselves and the various shops confined themselves to the manufacture of single articles, or closely related articles, or only one of the processes of transformation was carried out in the one shop, the craft unions had a measure of success, but when, through the process of elimination, competition centered wealth into fewer hands and machine production took on the form of industry (following the raw material through all the processes to the completed article) craft unionism lost its force and effect.

The machines break up the skill of the craftsmen and spread it out in the hands of groups of unskilled workers, who do simple tasks in connection with the machines. And since such skill as these machine workers require is mostly in the nature of mere nimbleness and can be acquired in a very short time, the craftsman's notion of "property in skill" can never obtain any foothold with them. The essence of property is a right of exclusion, and the machine tender's skill (?) is too easily acquired for exclusion to be practiced at the machines.

The craftsman's opposition to the machine in industry loses validity in the presence of the machine—defeat

is too apparent—and the machine attendants, developing under new and different conditions, have a new and different viewpoint--to them, the old craft notions of property, mutual interests, contract and defense are just so much ancient and useless "junk."

THE MACHINE PROLETARIAT

With the development of the machines there also developed the grooms of the machines—the machine proletariat (workers possessing no specialized skill). These workers have always been denied recognition by the craftsmen, because the craft attitude was one of contempt for the unskilled; and further, the craftsmen have always had an instinctive knowledge of the difference of the proletarian outlook upon industry and life, and feared that the machine men would refuse to accept the "God-given" leaders and would rule the labor organization by reason of their superior numbers. However, these workers are now organizing on their own account and, since they are the most numerous and most militant class in production, with the most urgent need to be served, they must in the end become the dominant force within the working class and their form of organization become the prevailing form.

The machine proletariat recognizes itself as the product of the machine, and, just as the craftsmen organized into craft unions on the basis of the hand tool, because it was the source of their living, so do the proletarians organize into industrial unions, on the basis of the machine—that being their source of life. They do not recognize skill as a property, giving anyone an aristocratic standing in labor, for the conquering machine rapidly destroys such skill as yet survives. Manual training, industrial schools and shop experience quickly fit the worker for his place at the machine, so the industrial union practices no exclusion, but accepts all who will enter at only a nominal fee. It regards the wages system as

a passing phase and, instead of offering "a fair day's work for a fair day's wage," inscribes on its banner "the abolition of the wage system" and endeavors to build up the co-operative and communal instincts of its class. It demands the full product of its collective toil, declaring that modern conditions and modern needs have set aside all the rights of private property that may have existed heretofore, and that the modern absentee owner is a parasite, doing nothing to earn his keep. It accepts collective bargaining, but sets no time limits to its agreements and holds no contract sacred—in fact, it abhors the contract with a master—and stands ready to disregard all contracts when an observance of the same would force it into the attitude of a strike breaker, or compel it to give countenance to organized scabbery.

The machine proletariat, recognizing its subject position in modern class society, stands squarely on the class struggle, organizes to carry on the class struggle, and prepares itself to direct industry and administer society when that struggle shall have been won.

In all the various social systems of the past, the wealth and power of the ruling class has depended upon the wealth producing capacity of the working class and the degree to which it could be exploited. If the tools were simple and the portion of the wealth remaining after the workers were provided for was small, then the master class which took this surplus was relatively poor. But when modern machinery is used and the working class is highly productive, then the surplus of wealth is vastly increased and the master class actually wallows in a glut of wealth. The gulf between the workers and the masters yawns wider and deeper, and the workers, increasing in intelligence, grow ever more bitter and impatient with their poverty.

The chattel slave and feudal serf might well have toiled and suffered in silence—they knew no better—ignorance, superstition and bestial conditions held them in

thrall, but not so the machine proletarian. He must be quick of body and alert of intellect—only as a trained man is he useful to the masters—therefore his reactions on his environment are more intelligent and more vigorous than those of any servile worker that has preceded him. He takes up the cudgel to defend himself. All the knowledge of the world is at his command and he quickly learns that labor power applied to the materials of the earth is the source of all wealth, and that the source of the master's riches lies in his appropriation of the surplus of wealth remaining after the workers are miserably fed, clothed and housed. Conversely, he learns that the worker's poverty arises from the fact that he does not retain the surplus of his own labor for himself, but allows it to be taken by another. The proletarian learns that governments and laws are used to awe him into submission to the looting of his labor; and that school and church and press are used to lull him into quietness. Is it then strange that he despises governments, despises courts, rebukes teachers, loathes editors, abhors priests and seeks only to seize the materials and machinery of production, that thereby he may turn them to his own advantage and, through them, destroy the domination of classes and the governments, laws, schools, presses and pulpits that uphold class domination?

The machine proletariat attacks private property as a human institution. It recognizes the fact that through that institution all the other institutions of modern society have their force and effect, and nothing short of its destruction as an institution will ever be satisfactory. The proletariat knows that it can build a better society—a society, into which poverty, with all its hideous concomitants, can never come—and it is thoroughly determined to build it.

THE PROCESS OF TRANSFORMATION

The historic mission of the proletariat is to overthrow the present master class and to replace this civ-

ilization with a new and better civilization. In the meantime it is under the necessity of making growth and developing itself within the framework of modern capitalism in preparation for this great transformation. Let us see what are the transforming processes going on in modern society which promote the growth of the proletariat and on which we may predicate the structure of its new society.

The greatest of these processes are: First, the perfecting of the machinery of production and distribution, which goes on by means of invention; second, the perfection of the processes of manufacture, which goes on by means of chemical and engineering experimentation; third, the perfecting of management, which goes on by means of the study of cost data and automatic systems of superintendence; fourth, the centering of wealth in the hands of a few great Plutocrats, which goes on by means of manipulation and stock jobbery; fifth, the development of the proletariat, which goes on by means of the intimate contact of the workers with the machinery of production and management; and sixth, the awakening of the proletariat to a realization of the fact that it must take over and operate the industries in order to save itself from an impending condition of Industrial Serfdom and preserve such culture as the genius of man has handed down through the ages.

So great is the inventive faculty of the human animal, that, in all of the civilized countries, great bureaus are maintained for the examination and classification of the inventions; and each great industrial plant keeps a corps of trained men constantly at work trying to perfect the machines and make them truly automatic. Prizes and bonuses are paid to workmen, who suggest valuable changes or bring in useful hints; and so great are the improvements, that, at times, entire plants are scrapped to make way for new devices that have actually revolutionized the methods in a particular line of production.

New combinations of chemical elements and new facts in regard to the qualities of old materials are constantly being discovered, with the result that new industries spring up to make and supply new wants of the people. The craftsmen are constantly threatened by the machines and whole crafts are, at times, swept off the boards to be replaced by an automatic device that can be operated by unskilled labor.

When the machines seem to be perfected, the workers themselves are experimented upon to discover new ways of doing old tasks. Motion studies are made to develop methods for increasing the output and efficiency of individuals. Rearrangement of plants and team work are devised to get the most and best work out of gangs and working forces. Automatic systems of management, by which the workers practically drive themselves, are introduced; and profit sharing, piece rate and bonus systems of payment, which are intended to induce the slaves to work themselves to death for a supposed increase of pay, are instituted.

Although the middle class, which is being consistently wiped out, screams with agony and uses every possible reactionary device, the process of the centering of wealth goes steadily forward. The personnel of the Plutocracy may change from time to time, but the number grows beautifully less and the control of industry centers into fewer hands. So also, the real government centers into these same hands; though a show of democracy is maintained to keep the ignorant and patriotic deceived as to the true state of affairs. Salaried managers, engineers, chemists and accountants, together with the workers specialized at the machines, carry on production, while the Plutocrats thimblerig the middle class with Stock Exchanges, Boards of Trade and other similar gambling devices.

The numbers of the proletariat and the "slum proletariat" are constantly increased by craftsmen, whose

skill is no longer needed, and by members of the middle class, who have lost out altogether in their efforts to buck the gigantic brace game that the Plutocrats maintain for their special benefit.

The tendency of the machines toward perfection, naturally causes the great majority of the workers to become machine attendants and to approximate a level, so far as skill is concerned; thus breaking down the craft and other artificial barriers that formerly divided them. The machine process of production prevents the separating out of individual outputs and results in a practical equality of wages. This equality of wages naturally standardizes the livings of the various workers and causes them to flow together as a class. They find themselves subjected to almost identical conditions in all sections and begin to recognize themselves as a class, regardless of races, nationalities or creeds. Recognition of class generates that sense of duty known as the social conscience—the moral sense of the working class. They study their class needs and, through their identity of interest, associate so that they may harmoniously promote those interests.

The workers now become critical of their environment. They tear it to pieces and examine its parts—they study its effects upon themselves—and see to what depths of degradation they have been reduced. They perceive the growing numbers of the unemployed (displaced by the perfecting of the machines and the long hours of labor) and the steady operation of the law of wages towards further reductions of the standard of living. They learn also that there must be a constant effort to raise the rate of pay to keep pace with the increased production and cheapening of gold, on which the prices of all commodities, including labor power, are based.

The proletariat is at bed rock. It views the world and the institutions of society from the standpoint of utter disillusionment. Everything is naked before it and its attitude is one of absolute disgust and uncompro-

mising hostility. In fact, it is at bay—its back is against the wall—it has turned upon its tormentors. The "social revolution" is on.

POLITICAL MEDDLERS

The modern socialist parties, which pretend to represent the workers upon the political field, but which are almost wholly "middle class" in their aspirations and tactics, and are obsessed with a reverence for statute laws, propose that the direction of industry shall be placed in the hands of the "government," thereby illustrating their own fatuity, for *government can only operate industries through the agencies of bureaus—and bureaucrats are primarily despots.* In their keenness to be social saviors the politicians, who usually know very little about industry, fail to realize that the workers must control the industries through their own associations, if the spirit of democracy is to be preserved and promoted. Working class control of the industries means democratic participation and control in all production and in the social life flowing from it; therefore, *the workers are not to be hampered by administrators appointed by some delegated authority,* as would surely happen under a territorial political system. To adopt such a policy, would defeat the ends of the social revolution and set up a new form of servitude, since the bureaucrat could only secure efficiency by adopting coercive measures.

If, by some chance, a purely political Socialist party should accomplish the overthrow of the present master class government and divert the control of industry—the administration of production—into the hands of the working class as at present developed and organized, nothing short of chaos could result. A recession in civilization is all that could be expected, since the Industrial Democracy is not to be had as a gift from above, but is a growth—a development—a thing to be achieved through the economic training and disciplining of the working

class. Our good Socialist friends must remember that "the nations and classes which, in the past, have acquired the right of self government, have demonstrated their ability and have laid the foundations of their new governments while they were struggling for freedom." The workers must do the same.

The workers must undergo a training for voluntary co-operation in production, and engaging in political contests at the polls is no such training. That is a game of "follow your leader," or a mere counting of noses—an enumeration of those people of all classes, who, for the moment, adhere to the same sentiment, or hold the same opinion. It is no indication whatsoever that these people are so organized, trained and developed that they can harmoniously and effectively operate and manage the complex industrial life of today and build up the new social institutions in the face of a determined opposition on the part of a large minority of the people, who will have voted the other way. The development of the social consciousness and altruistic emotionalism no doubt cause many persons to vote the Socialist tickets, but that does not mean that these same persons would remain steadfast in their allegiance when they should see their present economic security threatened with wreck at a time of crisis in the real struggle. No. Industrial Democracy comes only by the desire and with the consent of a conscious class—an organic division of the people—and that class is the machine proletariat; the workers trained in the processes of industry, experienced in social production, living and working on an identical plane of material interest, subjected to the same economic influences, constant, stable, harmonious, and capable of discipline and responsibility. Nor is the change likely to come as the result of a general election; but more likely, it will come at a time of great economic and social turmoil (lockouts and general strikes threatening) and as the result of a "plebiscite," or election held by the workers only. Even

then, *it can properly occur only after the working class has been thoroughly marshalled, drilled and disciplined for the event*—"when the proletariat has had sufficient training in voluntary co-operation and self-government to be able to demonstrate its ability to successfully continue production and handle distribution so that all may be fed."

Marx, the great economist and social philosopher, has well pointed out that political action is a mere reflex of economic power; that as a class grows in wealth and conscious economic importance, it endeavors more and more to take part in political activities; that the government, in a class society, is an instrument of class domination—strong, as the class it represents is strong, or weak, as that class is weak. He also declares that the mission of the working class is to overthrow Capitalism, with its class government, and establish a new order of society based on economic equality, and therefore without classes or the forms of government that flow from class dominion. Frederick Engles, commenting on the later French revolution, concludes that the working class can never seize upon the ready made powers of the state and convert them to uses of its own. All our thinkers are quite agreed that the State, as such—the coercive instrument of economic class power—must disappear with the classes that have upheld it, and, in its place, must appear an "administration of affairs," an economic institution conforming to the needs and aspirations of an economically free and fluid industrial society. Therefore, the prime consideration of the proletariat is not to take over the powers of government by a mere conquest of the political state at the ballot box, but to develop and organize its economic powers, so that it may proceed by methods of its own to destroy the class power of its opponents and the hateful, hurtful institutions which that class power bolsters and maintains. Economic power constitutes the entire force of the capitalists—all modern institutions are based on that foundation—and

when that power is undermined, when its protecting strength weakens and fails, all these institutions must naturally totter and fall.

Man is like the bug—he travels in the direction of the food supply—and institutions are like men—they perish when unfed. The master class, besieged upon the economic field by an aroused and class conscious proletariat holding the sources of wealth in its determined grasp, must go down in defeat and its class institutions must be drawn down with it into the abyss, thus clearing the field and making room for those better and fairer structures which the genius of the new society will erect.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The first duty of a ruling class is to direct production, and the fact that it can and does prevent chaotic conditions in distribution generates confidence in it, breaks down opposition and gathers adherents to its cause. Therefore, the proletariat, in its struggle for power, must grasp at the means of production and distribution—in fact, the success of its movement depends upon its ability to seize the lands, tools and machinery, and set itself up as the supreme economic factor in the life of mankind. It *must* be in a position to starve out all opposition and dictate the terms of surrender, just as the present master class starves the rebellious workers into subjection and makes submission the condition on which they may be admitted to the use of the machines.

The conquest of economic power is the supreme consideration of the workers and *the stupendous fact of the new labor movement is the contest for ownership.* The master's right to possession is challenged and the right of the workers, based upon their use of the machines, is set up in opposition. "Only those who use shall possess." An open and conscious class struggle begins, in the course of which, modern society is shaken to its foundations.

The miseries of the working class arise from exploi-

tation at the point of production—robbery on the economic field. Its struggles constitute a daily battle, taking place on the farms and in the mills, mines, shops and factories—around the machines, by access to which it lives—therefore it must organize its forces at the machines and in terms of industry in order to fight successfully. Without an organization conforming consistently to present economic conditions, it is a defeated class. It must marshal its hosts on the true battlefield—in the place where it daily meets its enemy and where its class weapons are ready fashioned to its hands.

The craft method of organization, as practiced by the A. F. of L., the A. W. U. and the British Amalgamated Societies, is foreign to the proletariat, since its mental viewpoint differs from that of the craftsmen. Its experience is a machine experience—not the experience of the hand tool; the exclusive skill, or property, idea does not exist, because the machines have scattered skill, and exclusion cannot be practiced by machine workers. Modern industrial methods have destroyed individuality—"by group effort, or team work about the machines, the proletariat earns its bread"—"access to the machines is the basis of proletarian life"; and, with the loss of individuality and the property idea, the workers think no longer in the restricted terms of property institutions, but in the terms of an industrial class. Realizing themselves as a class—knowing that only as a class may they hope to survive—they attack modern society in the place where they function within that society—at the point of production. Their whole attitude is one of opposition and, therefore, distinctly revolutionary.

Realization of class character naturally strengthens the class characteristics; realization of class needs generates class aspirations and ideals; and realization of class power leads to class organization in order to use that power in supplying class needs and attaining class aspirations and ideals. "The world for the workers" is

when that power is undermined, when its protecting strength weakens and fails, all these institutions must naturally totter and fall.

Man is like the bug—he travels in the direction of the food supply—and institutions are like men—they perish when unfed. The master class, besieged upon the economic field by an aroused and class conscious proletariat holding the sources of wealth in its determined grasp, must go down in defeat and its class institutions must be drawn down with it into the abyss, thus clearing the field and making room for those better and fairer structures which the genius of the new society will erect.

THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

The first duty of a ruling class is to direct production, and the fact that it can and does prevent chaotic conditions in distribution generates confidence in it, breaks down opposition and gathers adherents to its cause. Therefore, the proletariat, in its struggle for power, must grasp at the means of production and distribution—in fact, the success of its movement depends upon its ability to seize the lands, tools and machinery, and set itself up as the supreme economic factor in the life of mankind. It *must* be in a position to starve out all opposition and dictate the terms of surrender, just as the present master class starves the rebellious workers into subjection and makes submission the condition on which they may be admitted to the use of the machines.

The conquest of economic power is the supreme consideration of the workers and *the stupendous fact of the new labor movement is the contest for ownership.* The master's right to possession is challenged and the right of the workers, based upon their use of the machines, is set up in opposition. "Only those who use shall possess." An open and conscious class struggle begins, in the course of which, modern society is shaken to its foundations.

The miseries of the working class arise from exploi-

tation at the point of production—robbery on the economic field. Its struggles constitute a daily battle, taking place on the farms and in the mills, mines, shops and factories —around the machines, by access to which it lives—therefore it must organize its forces at the machines and in terms of industry in order to fight successfully. Without an organization conforming consistently to present economic conditions, it is a defeated class. It must marshal its hosts on the true battlefield—in the place where it daily meets its enemy and where its class weapons are ready fashioned to its hands.

The craft method of organization, as practiced by the A. F. of L., the A. W. U. and the British Amalgamated Societies, is foreign to the proletariat, since its mental viewpoint differs from that of the craftsmen. Its experience is a machine experience—not the experience of the hand tool; the exclusive skill, or property, idea does not exist, because the machines have scattered skill, and exclusion cannot be practiced by machine workers. Modern industrial methods have destroyed individuality—"by group effort, or team work about the machines, the proletariat earns its bread"—"access to the machines is the basis of proletarian life"; and, with the loss of individuality and the property idea, the workers think no longer in the restricted terms of property institutions, but in the terms of an industrial class. Realizing themselves as a class—knowing that only as a class may they hope to survive—they attack modern society in the place where they function within that society—at the point of production. Their whole attitude is one of opposition and, therefore, distinctly revolutionary.

Realization of class character naturally strengthens the class characteristics; realization of class needs generates class aspirations and ideals; and realization of class power leads to class organization in order to use that power in supplying class needs and attaining class aspirations and ideals. "The world for the workers" is

their rallying cry; "an injury to one is an injury to all," their watchword; "Educate! Organize! Emancipate!" their slogan.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The proletariat, being now an awakened class, with an experience peculiar to itself, conscious of its position in modern society and of its class needs, and with a vision of a future condition of economic equality and social freedom, organizes into One Big Union, in order to solidify its strength and carry on the class war in a systematic manner. Necessarily the Industrial Workers of the World has three functions to perform: First, to oppose and break down the power of the master class; second, to build the new society within the framework of the present society; and third, to operate as manager of the productive forces and director of the social life of the new society when emancipation shall have been achieved. Naturally it must assume a form different from any other organization ever before attempted by any portion of the working class. It must conform to the modern development of industry—to the machine age—and group the workers accordingly.

The displacement of the hand tool by the machine; the displacement of the small shop by the great industrial plant; the displacement of the individual employer or the partnership by the huge corporation or industrial trust; means that the craft union must be displaced by the One Big Union, organized along modern lines, so that the struggle may be waged on terms more nearly equal. The machine—aye, industry itself—must be the basis of organization.

The structure of the Industrial Workers of the World provides that all who labor in a given industrial plant or in an industry, of which there are one or more plants in the same locality, shall be gathered into one Industrial Branch, without reference to the tools they may use and

without prejudice as to skill, race, color, sex, age or creed. The combined Industrial Branches from the Industrial Union. Wage earning is the "open sesame" to membership. Eligibility depends on the fact that the worker earns his bread in that industry and his labor is wrapped up in the output—laborers, craftsmen, office force and salesmen—all may be members because all are necessary to efficient production. The Industrial Union is a class organization and, as such, not only promotes that solidarity which gives clearness of vision and generates lofty ideals.

Branches, Industrial Unions of allied industries are combined into Industrial Departments (of which there are six), and the combined Industrial Departments from the Industrial Workers of the World. This, however, is not a rigid structure and may be varied as the needs of the working class may dictate; but its purpose is to bind the workers together in one general union of the entire working class —the ONE BIG UNION—with the thorough knowledge and understanding that wealth production is today a SOCIAL PROCESS, in which the entire working class co-operates to feed, clothe, shelter and provide the entire population of the world with the accessories of civilization." . . . This form of organization precludes the idea of the workers in one industry 'owning and operating that industry for themselves.' That proposal is found to be impossible of realization in view of the social character of production. The GENERAL ORGANIZATION of the I. W. W. is for the purpose of securing and maintaining the co-operation of all industrial groups for the work of social production for the use and benefit of all the people."—(B. H. Williams)

The Industrial Workers of the World not only marshals the workers properly upon the economic field, but drills and disciplines them for the final test of their strength and solidarity, the Social General Strike, which is regarded as the culmination of the class struggle. At the same time instruction in regard to the industries is carried on,

so that each worker learns his true relationship in the world of industry. The social lives of the workers are broadened and built up on the basis of their economic relations, and their vision of the future society strengthened and ennobled by the cultivation of the communal instinct and the awakening of the social conscience.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

That form of social organization known as the Industrial Democracy should not be—in fact, is not—a hazy or nebulous conception. It is predicated upon the Law of Economic Determinism which says that "the thoughts and actions of men are determined by the manner in which they obtain their livings," and that psychologic law which says that "similarities of experience cause similarities of thought and promote unity of action." Therefore, the common method of living forced upon the proletariat by modern industrial development and methods, furnishes those common experiences which generate its common mind, inspire its common ideals, and energize its common purpose towards the construction of a new society. The proletariat has no choice—it must proceed—the law of evolution is imperative. The miseries of a suffering humanity justify its every act and deed.

The proletariat, functioning at the machinery of modern production and gaining its living by group effort—team work—about that machinery, cannot conceive of a society producing its living properly in any other way. The machines are absolutely necessary to its existence in society today, therefore it will carry the machines with it into the new society. Functioning at the machines—conscious group effort—will be the means of life in the new society and all the social institutions of the new order will be grouped about the machines and be colored by them. *The machine method of production will determine the form of the new society*, and human relationships (the great Association of Happy Workingmen) will

be determined by the industrial method of wealth production.

The proletariat is essentially a democratic class and in its new society the ownership and control of the means of life must necessarily be democratic—to give an opportunity for monopoly to reappear is unthinkable. Freedom of access to the machines and enjoyment of the full product of one's toil must be the base of life. Participation in production will make the worker a joint owner and administrator with his fellows, not only in the industry in which he works, but in all industries—in all the wealth producing activities of the race.

Compensation in the industries would necessarily be upon the basis of the "man-day"—the average production of an average man in an average day when working under average conditions—and in those industries not of an actual productive nature, such as "public service," etc., the man-day must prevail there also (being based upon the average production of all the industries served) for the reason that no man could be induced to serve for less than that average—to do so being to confess himself an inferior being—and to compel him to serve for less would be to set up a new slavery, which the moral sense of the new community could not endure.

Rights of inheritance would disappear with the right to hold private property in the lands, tools and machinery of production. Any accumulation by the individual that might be used for exploitation would pass to the collectivity at the death of the holder. Society would be the heir of the individual and, vice versa, the individuals would be the heirs of society. The right to freely function at the machines and enjoy the social value of his toil would guarantee the worker a full competence. Rational human and industrial association would teach self control and promote initiative. In harmony with his environment the worker would be free and, being free, his

best powers must manifest themselves in the highest degree.

Responsibility for the efficiency of the various industries would, at first, devolve upon the collectivities which operated them, but, since the lines of "co-operation in production" cross several (sometimes many) industries. there must, with the perfection of machinery, be a rapid growth towards the classification of all industries as portions of "public service," and when this merger shall be complete, responsibility for industry will be universal or social. "Government," as now understood, will disappear —there being no servile class to be held in subjection— but in its place will be an "administration of affairs" based upon universal economic and social equality. The present territorial representatives (industrially ignorant politicians) who are a necessary part of master class government, will also disappear, being replaced by industrial representatives (engineers, chemists, educators, technical men, etc.), who will constitute an advisory council and direct the gathering of those industrial statistics that will be necessary in maintaining the economic adjustment of the new society.

Universal participation in production and in the benefits of industry—equality within the industries and equality of the industries—must necessarily result in a free and fluid society. Machine production, the social consciousness of humanity, and the industrial form of social organization; these are the bases of the new society. These are the guarantees of the Industrial Democracy—an harmonious civilization, from which must spring a truly cultured race; and this, from the viewpoint of the proletariat, is the eminent purpose of the existence of man upon the planet Earth.

ABNER E. WOODRUFF, C. E.

FINIS

SONGS

Of The Workers

The Latest

I. W. W. SONG BOOK

Frank H. Little and Joe Hill
Memorial Edition

CONTAINS sixty-four pages of satirical, humorous and inspiring songs of labor. Parodies on the well known popular airs. Wherever the English language is spoken, there will be found countless numbers of workers singing these songs.

PRICES:

Single Copies Ten Cents
Five Dollars A Hundred

Address

I.W.W. Publishing Bureau

1001 W. Madison St. CHICAGO, ILL.

I. W. W. LITERATURE

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago

Pamphlets at 10c Each, or $3.50 Per Hundred

I. W. W. History, Structure and Methods (St. John), revised.
Industrial Unionism, the Road to Freedom (Ettor).
The Evolution of Industrial Democracy (Woodruff).
One Big Union, The Greatest Thing on Earth.
Advancing Proletariat (Woodruff).
Sabotage (Smith).
Sabotage (Flynn).
Patriotism and the Worker (Herve).
Onward Sweep of the Machine Process (Hanson).

Pamphlets at 10c Each, or $5.00 Per Hundred.

The I. W. W. Song Book.
The General Strike (Haywood); also containing "The Last War."
Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois (Lewis).
The General Secretary's Report of the Tenth Convention.
Revolutionary Writings (Kelly Cole).

Books at Various Prices

The New Unionism (Tridon), 35c per copy...	$25.00 per 100
Sabotage (Pouget), 25c per copy.....	20.00 per 100
Trial of a New Society (Ebert), 50c per copy..	35.00 per 100
Proceedings Tenth Convention, 50c per copy..	35.00 per 100

I. W. W. Leaflets

I. W. W. Industrial Unionism (St. John), 5c per copy.....	$1.00 per 100
High Cost of Living (Dougherty), 5c per copy..	1.00 per 100
Hotel and Restaurant Workers (leaflet).....	.25 per 100
Tips to Railroaders (leaflet).....	.25 per 100
Metal and Machinery Workers (leaflet).....	.25 per 100
Domestic Workers (leaflet).....	.25 per 100
To Colored Working Men and Women.....	.30 per 100

Songs and Music by Joe Hill.

25c copy; 5 for $1.00; 10 or more, 15c each.
Workers of the World, Awaken!
The Rebel Girl.
Don't Take My Papa Away from Me.

FELLOW WORKERS

In order to maintain or increase profit margins, employers are cutting back on the number of workers they employ, and increasing the work loads on each person. Any benefits we might have are threatened, too. Your job could be next!

A Solution:

Organize ourselves to protect our jobs, which we need to keep food on the table and a roof over our heads. By standing together we can support each other and win the kind of wages, rights and benefits that we have coming! The longer we wait, the fewer of us will still be working, and the more organized the boss will be to keep us in our "places".

Get together with your fellow workers, and talk it over.

For help and information:
Bellingham Branch, INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
PO Box 1386 Bellingham 98227 Phone 647-2398

The IWW is a labor union with a difference. We work in all trades, from restaurants to mills to housekeepping, but we feel that all working people should organize into one union- the better to stand together in solidarity. Each local Branch is autonomous- no distant Union executive is going to tell you what your interests are. Our dues are low- $5 initiation and $5 maximum dues. We have no fat cats to feed, and we are all rank and file- no professional "leaders". You may join us as an individual, too, if you like our ideas.

Second Revised Edition

The First Congress of the Red Trade Union International at Moscow, 1921

A Report of the Proceedings by Geo. Williams, Delegate from the I. W. W.

Published by
Industrial Workers of the World
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

Price Ten Cents

Printed by members of the P. P. W. I. U. No. 450 of the I. W. W.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO

THE FIRST CONGRESS OF THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL AT MOSCOW, 1921

The following, which is the preliminary report of Fellow Worker Geo. Williams and sent from Berlin has been cut down and contains points not covered in later reports.

The reports as made out after the return of Fellow Worker Williams from Russia remain as printed in Industrial Solidarity, Dec. 25, 1921 to Jan. 14, 1922, inclusive, with slight corrections and several insertions.

The report follows:

When I arrived in Moscow on July 1st I found that I had been preceded by three other fellow workers, acting as delegates from the Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union. I am only acquainted with their surnames. They are Belinkis, Belotin and Calvert. Belinkis and Belotin had credentials issued by the New York District Council of I. W. W. locals. Belinkis and Belotin told me that they, together with Calvert, had been elected by the convention of the Metal and Machinery Workers which was held in Detroit in February of 1921. (I have not sufficient notes with me to give their full explanation and must rely on memory.) However, even though elected as they say by the convention of M. and M. W., General Headquarters would not O. K. their credentials on the ground that the General Convention would send a delegate and also that Hardy was then in Russia and would represent the I. W. W. Calvert, whose credentials I did not see, was, when I arrived in Moscow, on an expedition of some kind about which I will explain when I return home. But I met him shortly before I left, and he tells me the same as the other delegates. He was recording secretary of the Metal and Machinery Convention. I mention the circumstances of these delegates, so you will get a clearer idea or understanding of what will be told later about the Congress of the Red Trade Union International.

In addition to the above mentioned parties, Fellow Worker Kraus was also present as a delegate with credentials signed by Roy Brown as Chairman of the G. E. B. Kraus was empowered (according to the instructions) to act as alternate to Hardy, who was in Russia at the time the credentials were issued and about

whom it was not certain whether he could stay for the coming Congress, because of delays and postponements. Kraus worked in the printing shop of the organization in Chicago on the Russian paper.

The above mentioned Fellow Workers had been in Moscow two months before I arrived and had already participated in several caucuses with other American delegates. They had been officially recognized at that time as delegates of the I. W. W. by the officials of the provisional council of the R. T. U. I. and were acting as best they could in lieu of the presence of an official delegate.

Upon arriving in Moscow and becoming acquainted with the situation I informed these Fellow Workers that my credentials stated specifically that I was to be the only official delegate who was empowered by the General Convention and as it was so stated in writing on my credentials they would have to fit in as best they could. They agreed to this and were subsequently admitted to the Congress as fraternal delegates. I saw no reason to object to their position, as neither they nor the officials in Moscow could know if anyone was coming from the General Convention, and, besides, a few more fraternal delegates in an already stuffed congress could make no difference. In addition to myself and the three Fellow Workers already mentioned I found that the following were in Moscow as delegates from America:

The American Delegates

(1) Ella Reeves Bloor (under the name of Emmons), representing three locals of the International Association of Machinists: Local Union 337 of Chicago; Local Union 225 of Dayton, Ohio; and Local Union 47 of Denver, Colo., totaling about 18,000 members.

(2) Crosby, representing Amalgamated Metal Workers; Amalgamated Food Workers; Boot and Shoe Workers; minority committee needle trades of Boston; Amalgamated Clothing Workers' minority of Boston, totaling from 25,000 to 40,000 members.

(3) Hulet Wells, representing Seattle Central Labor Council. 50,000 members.

(4) Dennis Batt, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor. 60,000 members.

(5) Joseph Dixon, representing the Kansas miners, the United Labor Council of New York City and the Trade Union Educational League of Kansas City. Combined total of from 75,000 to 80,000 members.

In addition to the above, who were seated as delegates with decisive votes, there was a small army of fraternal delegates,

who were credentialed by the New York City Red Labor Bureau, most of whom were also delegates to the Third Congress of the Communist International, which was then in session, and they served as convenient stuffing for the Red International Congress. They represented everything that is known and unknown in the American labor movement.

Having perceived the nature of the organizations whom the above delegates claimed to represent, I immediately entered a protest with the credential committee and demanded that they (with the exception of Crosby) be excluded as delegates "with a decisive vote." I also asked to see and examine the credentials of those delegates to whom I objected and learned that the credentials of Dixon were an absolute fraud. He claimed to represent the United Labor Council of New York City, but no credentials could be produced from that organization. Dixon, moreover, did not even know where in New York City this particular organization had its headquarters, nor did he know the names of any of its officials. His credentials from the Kansas miners were likewise absent, but a prepared mandate from the New York City Red Labor Bureau seemed to serve as bona fide credentials for the United Labor Council and the Kansas miners. The United Labor Council of New York City, as near as I can understand, is an organization that serves the same function for radical independent unions of that city as a central labor body in the A. F. of L. It is a propaganda center and has no power to bind its constituents to an affiliation with the Red International. The Kansas miners, whom Dixon claimed to represent, are supposed to be the several districts in that state that are part of the United Mine Workers of America, yet it is certain that they never sent Dixon to represent them, but he appears in Moscow as their delegate. The Trade Union Educational League is a supposed organization in Kansas City, which only exists on paper. Presumably it is a Communist organization for propaganda purposes. That Dixon's credentials from these organizations were issued by the Red Labor Bureau of New York City and not from the organizations themselves is proof positive that his presence in Moscow was specifically arranged for and that the Red Labor Bureau was the center through which the Communist Party of America worked to control the American delegation. The Red Labor Bureau is itself nothing more than a bureau of the Communist International and functions as such.

Dixon was the American representative on the provisional council of the R. T. U. I. before the last Congress selected another. Whom he represented no one knows. That Dixon is a Communist is sufficient to know and explains everything.

The credentials of Batt, representing the Detroit Federation of Labor, stated clearly and specifically that the bearer was being sent as a fraternal delegate.

The credentials of Bloor or Emmons are open to suspicion, and whoever they were made out for was only empowered to act in a fraternal capacity. Certain it is that these three locals, thousands of miles apart, did not elect the same person as their representative, each selecting a delegate about the same time. The case is simple from the standpoint that Emmons or Bloor is a Communist and all that was needed was a letter head and a typewriter.

The credentials of Wells, representing the Seattle Central Labor Council, were also fraternal.

The credentials of Crosby, insofar as the Amalgamated Metal Workers were concerned, were good, although his representation of minorities in the needle trades of Boston and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of the same city are rather dubious and at the most are for minorities manufactured by the Communist Party of America. Crosby is a Communist.

What I have explained about the character of the delegates was also the case in the delegations of all other countries. From the first it was apparent that each delegation was safely controlled by Communists and all working strictly on the policy as laid down by the Communist International. The credentials committee (the most important in view of the fact that they decided on the standing of all delegates) was composed mostly of Communists and they maintained a (poorly concealed) hostile attitude towards all Syndicalist and Industrialist delegates. This credentials committee had one function only, and that was to see that each delegation was controlled by Communists. About the credentials of Syndicalists and Industrialists they were strangely rigid in their inspection, but about the credentials of those who were Communists anything was good enough.

The various countries were classified in four groups: England, America, Germany, France, Russia, Spain, etc., in the first group and less important industrial countries in others. The first group had 16 votes regardless of the number of delegates, the second group 12 and so on to the last group. Each delegation was instructed to divide the number of votes allotted to it in their own meetings. The American delegation, being, as it was, mostly composed of Communists, divided the votes to suit itself with the following result: Emmons 1, Crosby 3, Williams 3, Wells 3, Dixon 3, Batt 3. Total 16.

To understand more the nature of the delegates present at the Congress of the Red International I must briefly explain the manner in which many of them were sent.

From America six delegates were present with decisive votes, including myself. Of the six only Crosby and myself were official representatives of radical labor bodies or of any other kind of organization. Emmons and Dixon were Communists (so was Crosby) sent over by the Communists of America. Wells

and Batt were fraternal delegates from A. F. of L. central labor bodies. None of these four delegates could under any circumstances show that the organizations they represented or claimed to represent would ever become an integral part of the Red Trade Union International. It was admitted that the Trade Union Educational League represented by Dixon was only a propaganda bureau set up in Kansas City to educate the members of the A. F. of L. to Communist principles. But it was argued that since there must be some radical members of the Kansas City trade unions, who as such had no organization, their logical representative was the Trade Union Educational League, or in other words the Communist Party as personified by Dixon. The Communist viewpoint is that every trade union in the A. F. of L. has what is called a radical minority which is striving to overthrow the present leaders in the A. F. of L. This radical minority has no organization through which it can express itself but it must be represented in Moscow. The Communist Party has an organization, therefore the Communist Party appoints a delegate to represent whatever minority appears on the labor horizon. Or to put the case in another light, thus: There are many radicals in the A. F. of L. but they have no organization, the Communists of America have an organization but no members.

Made-to-Order Minorities

The manner of defining a radical minority in Communist circles is unique. For instance, the Seattle labor unions go on a general strike contrary to the wishes of the international officers of the various trade unions involved; or the Seattle Labor Council passes a resolution favoring the recognition of Soviet Russia. This is against the attitude of Gompers. There are 60,000 A. F. of L. members in Seattle, therefore in the Communist conception of things the 60,000 members are a minority in the A. F. of L., and as such in the manner described they are entitled to have a delegate to Moscow.

In Kansas among the coal miners a hostile attitude has been maintained against the leaders of the A. F. of L. and the United Mine Workers. They have a so-called progressive leader and go on unauthorized strikes; there are 7,000 coal miners in Kansas who because of their general attitude are styled a minority and as such they should have a delegate in Moscow. In fact they must, and since they as a minority have no means of electing a delegate, the Communist Party through the Red Labor Bureau of New York City obligingly relieves them of this burden and a Communist who never saw a coal mine in his life is dispatched to Moscow.

But there are other ways of creating minorities by the Communists. Several Communists work, let us say, in the railroad shops somewhere. As members of the Communist Party they

form what is called a cell movement and as such they are the official Communist representatives of whatever minorities can be construed out of the situation. Whether any of the other workers in the shops who are perhaps radical in their views know of their presence and that they are represented makes no difference. Elections are not necessary in hypothetical cases. To the Communists every trade union is a potential minority and in more ways than one. The Kansas miners or the workers in Seattle are national minorities, but inside the Kansas miners and the unions of Seattle there are other minorities because of the presence of conservative officials. In fact the Communists have created so many minorities that one begins to wonder if there is any majority. The minorities are made to suit the occasion. Thus the Communists needed national minorities for the Red Trade Union Congress and they were readily furnished by the New York City Red Labor Bureau.

What I have explained here I have found to be the case in every country represented. Germany for instance had over 70 delegates present; of this number perhaps 12 represented actual labor organizations. The rest were representing minorities in the German trade union movement. Moreover, nearly all of these minorities were also delegates to the Third Communist International Congress.

It might now be asked (in view of what I have said) why should there be such a manifest desire to stuff the Congress of the Red International with delegates who did not represent labor bodies when in the call issued by the provisional council of the R. T. U. I. it was clearly stated that the Congress was to be composed of radical trade union delegates only and that a purely economic international separate from the political organization was to be formed. I think that every economic organization which answered the call believed that the R. T. U. I. was to be free from any domination by a political faction. The answer to this is simple; having failed to bring the radical labor unions into the Communist International and knowing that there was a universal desire for an international composed only of radical labor organizations; realizing that sooner or later this International would be formed, the tacticians in the Communist International conceived the idea of forming the Red Trade Union International and dominating it by the mere fact that Moscow would be its headquarters. Thus the radical economic organizations in joining the Red Trade International would place themselves as completely under the domination of the Communist International as though they were units of the Third International itself. The plan as revealed by the deliberations is to place each national labor movement, radical and otherwise, under the domination of the political faction of each country, with the executive committee of the Communist International as the supreme dictators of the world's proletariat.

Stuffing the Congress

In addition to the minority delegates I have referred to, there were delegates from countries in which no revolutionary labor organization exists. There were delegates from Palestine, Georgia (Asia), Korea and several other places too numerous to mention and too hard to find on any map. The ridiculous assumption that revolutionary labor unions exist in Korea or Palestine, and the audacity of seating delegates from these countries in a Congress of revolutionary labor unions are but an indication of the steps taken to stuff the Congress with enough delegates of the desired calibre to put through any program desired. But whatever program was intended for the consideration of the Congress was lost sight of or cast aside for the purely obvious intention of placing the R. T. U. I. under the control of the politicians. In fact, the most of the delegates from Korea and Palestine were credentialed in Moscow and never saw those countries.

One of the most glaring examples of fraud practiced upon the Red Congress by the political group in control was the selection of Andreytchine as a member of the executive council. Andreytchine arrived in Moscow a few days before the Congress ended and as is well known was a political refugee from America. He was not a delegate and bore no credentials from any organization. But he is a Communist and regarded (in Moscow) as being an influential member of the I. W. W. I am reliably informed that Andreytchine was selected as the representative of America on the executive council by a secret caucus of American Communists in Moscow. And the majority of those who participated in the caucus were not even delegates to the R. T. U. I., but were delegates to the Congress of the Third International.

Shortly after arriving in Moscow and appraising the situation as I have briefly described, I abandoned the meetings of the American delegation and refused to attend their deliberations. I could not bring myself to participate in such ludicrous proceedings. I was a minority of three votes with 13 against me. Moreover there was a decided hostility against the I. W. W. I saw that the Congress was to be dominated by the Communists and nothing could be done. The credentials committee decided the course of the whole Congress. Everything was cut and dried. As for the delegates from the revolutionary labor bodies who attended, they might better have stayed home.

Somehow I was elected to serve on two committees (not elected, but just informed that THEY wanted me to act). Both of the committees met at the same time and therefore it was impossible to act on both. These committees were, of course, dominated by the politicians and the proceedings were a farce.

The sessions of the Congress are also an indication of political domination. A particular feature of the Congress was the shortness of its duration. One would think that a congress

called to form a world-wide organization of revolutionary labor unions would have much to deliberate about. The actual length of the Congress was twelve days. Considering that translations were necessary for each speech, motion and resolution, which took up at least two-fifths of the time, and the fact that many speeches were made on purely irrelevant questions, the actual constructive work of the Congress was confined to five day's time. What has been done towards construction can be easily measured from the printed proceedings, which are or should be in America by this time. It is certain that no program was adopted that bears any resemblance to a feasible plan of organization. In this the hand of the political faction is seen. The whole truth of the matter in a few words is that the political faction did not want an economic International in fact, but in name only. It is quite evident that a real International of revolutionary industrial unions would become such a powerful organization and of such world wide influence in the revolutionary field that the political organizations would have to surrender their present dominating position. The tacticians in the Communist International know this, therefore they are making every effort to control such an organization and keep it in the embryo stage.

From my observations in Russia and a knowledge of the steps taken to control the R. T. U. I., I am convinced that a truly economic International of revolutionary industrial unions cannot exist with headquarters in Moscow without being dominated by the Communist International.

This is the end of the preliminary report.

In my preliminary report sent from Germany I said that I could not go into the actual proceedings of the Congress of the Red International because I had nothing to refer to at that time. I fully expected that upon my arrival home the matter that I had assembled in Moscow for delivery would be waiting for me. But it has not showed up and there is no way of knowing when it will. This material was very important, as it includes everything I had assembled bearing on the proceedings of the Congress that had, up until the time I left Moscow, been printed in English, besides much in Russian and German of matter not yet translated. It was impossible to take this matter out of Russia, first because it is not allowed, and second because there was too much; there being a suitcase-full.

This material comprised the daily proceedings of the Congress in English, notes taken by me from day to day, and pamphlets and other important matter. But on finding that nothing had arrived, I began collecting what I could in Chicago, but to date have succeeded in getting together very little and from all indications the task of duplicating what I had gathered in Russia will take some time. A report is desired now and cannot be put

off to wait for the arrival from Russia of my material, nor is there time to collect it here in America.

I have on hand now, "The Resolutions and Decisions Adopted by the First Congress of the R. T. U. I.," and some of the daily proceedings in English (a scant collection, but sufficient for a report), also a few notes which I carried with me. I will make a report from this, basing it almost entirely on the "Resolutions and Decisions," as adopted by the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. In my opinion this is sufficient because, after all, these resolutions and decisions are the recapitulation of the whole affair, and it is upon this that the members of the I. W. W. must base their conclusions. I will explain as much as possible each resolution or decision. I will also have to refer, from time to time, perhaps, to resolutions and decisions adopted by the Communist International, in order to draw out the significance of the measures adopted in the Red International.

Went with High Hopes

There was no doubt in my mind, when I started for Russia, after being selected as a delegate by the general convention of the I. W. W., that this first Congress of the R. T. U. I. was to be a sincere effort to form an International of the revolutionary labor bodies of the world, and, moreover, that it would be independent of any political group. Indeed, I was enthusiastic over the thought that at last the workers would come together at Moscow and weld together an organization that would be irresistible. I am sure, too, that every member also was as interested as myself in the prospect of the I. W. W. becoming a unit in a world wide organization. The I. W. W. convention certainly looked with favor upon what they thought was to be an International of Red Labor organizations, and the delegates there spent much time in extra sessions clarifying the I. W. W.'s position on the subject.

All the information received in America at that time pointed to an independent International. Hardy, who had just returned from Russia, in his report to the convention drew special attention to the attitude of the officials in the Third International and those who were then at the head of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions. He quoted Tomsky, who at that time was head of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions, as favoring an independent International. Indeed, every official in Russia seems to have taken a position in various degrees for an independent International, according to Hardy's report.

From the storm that arose in the I. W. W. over the question of balloting for endorsement of the Third International and the subsequent withdrawal of the ballot by the G. E. B., it was evident that the membership wanted nothing to do with a political

faction. On the whole, appearances seemed to indicate that the undeviating position of the revolutionary labor organizations in North and South America and Europe against joining a political faction was soon to crystalize itself into an independent International.

The Berlin Conference

The Berlin International conference of Syndicalists, in which the I. W. W. participated, had been held in December of 1920, 977,000 workers from the various countries were represented, and their final conclusion was the adoption of six points which seemed to satisfy them, and in fact gained the endorsement of large labor bodies which were not present. And to my mind they were a fairly good basis on which to form an Industrial International.

I, personally, had summed up the whole situation before going to Moscow, thus:

"That the Communist International, after striving unsuccessfully to bring the Revolutionary Syndicalists and Industrialists into their organization and perhaps recognizing that they never would join as units, had come to the conclusion that an independent International was the only solution to the problem, and, as an independent International, they would be far more useful to the Russian revolution than in their then isolated condition. And, what is more logical, in view of the situation, that if these revolutionary labor bodies held to and believed in their position, it would be of little use in forcing affiliation with a political faction on them. After all, International Solidarity was the thing most desirable, in fact imperative."

Being in this state of mind, and, as I have said before, having no doubt of the sincere desire of everybody concerned to form an independent International,I left for Moscow with nothing but the instructions received from the organization. Had I, or the delegates to the I. W. W. Convention, known what course the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. would follow, it is certain that much more attention would have been paid to compiling information regarding subjects dealing with the American labor movement.

But while no thought was paid by the convention to the first Congress of the R. T. U. I. other than to suppose that it would meet only to form the proposed economic International it was not so with the Communist elements, who from all indications had been feverishly preparing for months to descend on this first Congress of the R. T. U. I. en masse.

From very nearly every country, especially Argentina, Australia, New Zealand, Mexico and to a lesser degree the countries in Europe, the representatives from the revolutionary labor organizations came with nothing but simple instructions similar

to mine, and like myself anticipating no other problem than the one of binding their particular organizations together with the others the world over.

Communists Well Prepared

But in numbers startling to behold, and burdened under a weight of documents, covering all phases of the Communist theory of the labor movement, the Communist delegates of all countries descended on the first Congress of the Red International, completely rendering the delegates from the Syndicalist and Industrialist organizations into an insignificant minority. Unfolding their voluminous documents, they set out to prove that every revolutionary labor organization in whatever country, that was in the slightest degree skeptical about joining the Third International was in truth nothing but "counter-revolutionists" "in league with the bourgeoisie" and many other names not too pleasant. They unlimbered theses setting forth that the liquidation of the revolutionary labor organizations into the conservative labor bodies of the various countries was the only solution. For an organization like the I. W. W. or the Syndicalist unions of Germany to maintain separate existence from the conservative trade unions was an unpardonable crime. In short, the whole proceedings of the Congress resembled nothing more than a huge court session, in which the high priests of the Communist International were sitting in judgment over the "criminal" Syndicalists; called as it were to participate in their own funeral. And what could the insignificant Syndicalists do but sit in speechless amazement at the unlooked-for verbal tirade from the high moguls of Communist intellectuality!

I arrived in Moscow on July 1st from Petrograd, at which place I landed on June 25th. I was delayed there several days waiting for my baggage and would not have stopped if I had not been informed that the Congress would not open until July 17th. But on reaching Moscow I was told that the Congress was to start on the 3rd, consequently I had only two days to prepare for the Congress and all of this time was taken up with getting located and seeking the proper officials to whom I could present my credentials. I was soon in touch with three fellow workers, who were acting as delegates (I have explained about them in my preliminary report), and they made me acquainted with the situation insofar as the American delegation was concerned.

I have explained briefly in the preliminary report as published in Industrial Solidarity the manner in which the delegations from the various countries functioned and perhaps it would not be out of order to reprint it here, with slight alterations for the sake of clarity.

Conforming to the manner in which the Congress was or-

ganized each delegation was grouped according to country. Thus, for instance' all American delegates (including Canada) were in the American delegation; all English delegates in the English delegation and so on. These delegations, viz.: American, English, French, German, Russian and others, were instructed to hold meetings of their delegations and select members for the various committees, such as credential, organization, tactics, constitution and so forth.

It was also the procedure for each delegation to apportion the votes allotted to it among its members. From this manner of proceeding it is easy to understand that the distribution of votes was determined solely by whoever was in the majority on any particular delegation. I have said something before about my protest against the other members of the American delegation, and for the sake of giving the members of the I. W. W. a better idea of the dispute I offer a copy of the statement to the credential committee from the other American delegates regarding the distribution of votes.

Division of American Votes

"1 vote, Emmons: Representing local unions No. 337, Chicago; No. 225, Dayton, Ohio, and No. 47, Denver, Colo., of the International Association of Machinists, totalling 18,000 members.

"3 votes, Crosby: Representing Amalgamated Metal Workers, Amalgamated Food Workers; Boot and Shoe Workers; and minority committee in needle trades, Boston, also Amalgamated Clothing Workers minority, Boston; totalling 25,000 to 40,000 members. These are all independent industrial unions.

"3 votes, Wells: Representing Seattle Central Labor Council, American Federation of Labor; totalling 50,000 members. This organization is a noted revolutionary center in the trade union movement and conducted the greatest local general strike in the history of the United States.

"3 votes, Williams: Representing the Industrial Workers of the World. This revolutionary organization is well known, and needs no comment. According to the information available the I. W. W. has a membership of something less than 20,000. The total amount of per capita tax paid into its national headquarters for the year from April 1, 1920, to April 1, 1921, according to the Secretary-Treasurer's yearly report, was $47,020.21. Dividing this sum by $3.00 (the amount of per capita paid by each member per year), we arrive at the figure of 15,674 as the total average membership of the whole I. W. W. for the past year. This figure may not be exact; there may be a variation of a thousand or two either way, hence the delegation has not adhered strictly to the principle of proportional representation

in this case, which would give the I. W. W. one, or at most two, votes and has given to the I. W. W. three votes, which it considers full and complete representation.

"3 votes, Batt: Representing the Detroit Federation of Labor, of the American Federation of Labor, totalling 60,000 members. The Detroit Federation of Labor is one of the most militant and revolutionary organizations in America.

"3 votes, Dixon: Representing the Kansas miners, the United Labor Council of New York, and the Trade Union Educational League of Kansas City, with a combined membership of 75,000 to 80,000 members. To facilitate the division of votes in the delegation, Delegate Dixon waived his claim to additional votes.

"(Signed) JOS. DIXON,

"Sec'y American Trade Union Delegation.

Moscow, July 5, 1921."

All of the American delegates had been in Moscow at least a month before my arrival, and consequently the work of placing the members from this delegation on various committees had been completed.

The three fellow workers whom I have already mentioned in my preliminary report as being in Moscow, had, upon my arrival, told me that they were practically ignored and withal outnumbered in the deliberations of the American delegation, and in a spirit of disgust had ceased to attend the meetings. I had some notes on this subject, but they are with the other stuff that has not arrived. However, I attended a meeting of this American delegation the day after I arrived in Moscow, and it was obvious from their actions that they were organized to carry out the dictates of the Communist program, and moreover, with two exceptions (Wells and Crosby) displayed a bitter antagonism against the I. W. W.

Hostility to I. W. W.

Strange to say and harder to believe, for many in this country, there is a hostile attitude against the I. W. W. among the officials in Moscow. Some of it is due, supposedly, to Sandgren's articles in the O. B. U. Monthly. But it is my opinion that most of it comes from the fundamental differences that exist between the Communist and the Industrial theory of organization. Sandgren's name is linked merely to hide the deeper reasons. As proof of this, witness the hostile attitude maintained in Moscow against any revolutionary organization that has rejected affiliation with the Third International. One and all they are vilified. I repeat, that it is strange to say this, in remembrance of the many stories that have been told regarding

the affection with which the I. W. W. were held in Moscow. Whatever might be the individual sentiment of those on top in the Communist circles, it is certain that lower down on the scale of Moscow's officialdom one hears little praise and much abuse of everything I. W. W. It might be granted that a former favorable sentiment did exist, but the disappearance of this sentiment might be attributable to the fact that these officials are no longer in Moscow; others are in their places, which fact is significant to anyone who knows the Communist Party of Russia.

A Communist Chairman

The Congress of the R. T. U. I. was conducted on the agenda plan with such additions as were appropriate and necessary to make the way of the machine as smooth as possible.

The Chairman of the Convention can be no other than the General Secretary of the Red International, and Losovsky who now holds that position, will be the chairman of the next one and all others as long as he suits the high priests of the Communist International. Nor will anyone else function in connection with the Red International without the approval of the Communists. The General Secretary of the Red International is elected by the Executive Bureau, consisting of seven members.

These are Losovsky and Nogen, Russia; Tom Mann, England; Anton Meyer, Germany; Arlandis, Spain; Andreytchine, America. The seventh seat is vacant because of difference among the Italians and French. The members of this Executive Bureau are all Communists with the possible exception of Tom Mann who, like Andreytchine, represents nobody. This executive bureau is the supreme body of the Red International and its members are chosen by the Central Council, which is in turn created by each national delegation that attends the Congress, who elect from among their number their quota to the Central Council. Now as the national delegations are always assured of a majority of Communists by the system of admitting Communist minorities, it is plain to see that there will never be any other but Communists in control of the Red International. Regarding the rules governing the Congress they were simple—there were none as far as I could discover. I asked about them but everybody pleaded ignorance, but by diligent observation I learned that Losovsky was the fountain head of all rules, and whatever he said could be depended upon as an established rule unless some situation, in his opinion, called for a reversal of former decisions.

The Steam Roller

The manner of making and deciding motions deserves comment. When anyone would get up and put forth a proposition that did not agree with the views of the chairman, he would immediately put his own proposition before the house, call off

debate and call for a decision, thus: "Is any one against the proposition of the chairman? No objection is noted." The first proposition is wrecked automatically.

The chairman can cut off debate any time with no more effort than a wave of the hand. Only once during the whole conference was the floor given to a delegate over the ruling of the chairman, and he consented to putting the question before the house only after the delegates showed signs of giving the floor to the delegate without his leave.

The chief difficulty in the Congress and that which was an ever present obstacle to a common understanding on any subject was the fact that very few of the delegates understood any but their own language.

English, French, German and Russian were the official languages used. These were the four principal groups in the Congress. All the daily bulletins and the other matter pertaining to resolutions and theses, were printed in these languages. But because of poor facilities the printed proceedings of the Congress in English were lagging far behind the others. When I left Moscow one month after the close of the Red International Congress, very little had been printed in English. However, the other languages fared better, and delegates from Russia, France and Germany were able to gather a fairly complete account of the Congress. It is worth noting, too, in connection with this, that the Congress of the Third International was in session, and between the two sessions the printing establishments were swamped.

The lack of matter printed in English was an obstacle in more ways than one. It caused a very great scarcity in printed theses, reports, and resolutions which were necessary to keep in touch with the viewpoints of the delegates from other countries. Instead of waiting to hear verbal reports and catching only scraps of what was said through poor translations a written copy should have been on hand to acquaint one with the points advanced.

As it was, it became necessary to depend on translators for all information on what was said by speakers in other languages. The function of the translators was one of the most important in the entire Congress. Upon them depended the conveyance of thoughts and ideas from one language group to another and in their hands dwelt the power to transmit correctly or incorrectly what was said. It would, of course, be unreasonable to suppose that a translator, however good or fair, could translate word for word, everything that was said, yet it is easy to concede that if a translator opposes the ideas of a speaker it is no trick to translate the matter entirely wrong, so that those listening to his translation would get a distorted account of what was said.

An S. L. P. Translator

One of the foremost translators in the Red Congress was Boris Reinstein, who was a conspicuous member of the S. L. P. in America before going to Russia. Reinstein is opposed to anything I. W. W. He is now a prominent member of the Russian Communist Party, and besides having a special dislike for the Wobblies he dislikes any other organization that does not agree with the Communist theory.

Another translator was a woman, who bore the reputation of speaking fourteen languages. She acted also in the same capacity at the Congress of the Communist International. She included English in her catalogue of languages. In truth she couldn't speak enough English to match a pupil in a kindergarten.

Reinstein and other translators were compelled to function in both congresses, the Red and Communist, because of a supposed scarcity of this talent. But this was not true, as there were many in Moscow who were capable of performing this work. They were not used, however, because their views did not coincide with the powers that be. There were two translators who were apparently fair; one who was attached to the American delegation and another with the French. But Reinstein and the woman were absolutely unfair and sabotaged everything that was not in accordance with the accepted faith.

And, too, the translators translated only the important speeches and motions. Many disputes between the chair and other speaking delegates over points pertaining to the convention were left untranslated. In justice to the situation, however, it is only fair to say that it was physically impossible to translate everything; but this fact made it impossible also for me to know anything about what was transpiring. In fact, I was at sea regarding what was happening in every language but English. And the position of the other speaking delegates, who could only understand their particular language, was the same as mine. So that nearly all the delegates were walled in by their language limitations.

Looking at the whole affair philosophically, however, it did not much matter, whether, in addition to only understanding one language you were deaf and dumb in addition, because, after all, there was only one result possible in such a Congress, stuffed as it was with Communists, and all the talking and fretting that one could easily have generated in such an atmosphere would have availed nothing. The Congress was over and decisions were made before it started.

The story of the Red International and how it was formed is still cloudy to many in America. Few people outside of the Communist Party know that the Red Trade Union International was founded by the Executive Committee of the Third Interna-

tional long before we ever heard of it in America. Zinoviev in his report of the Executive Committee of the Comintern to the third Congress of the Third International, says:

"On the initiative of our Executive Committee the Second Congress founded the Red Trade International. That was something entirely new at the time; Comrade Losovsky has collected the data showing that more than 15,000,000 *organized workers already belong to our Trade Union International. Our first step was the publication of a manifesto against the Amsterdam International, and at this Congress we shall take another long step forward. I believe that the significance of this Trade Union Congress is clear to all of us. Our struggle against the Amsterdam International, this last bulwark of the bourgoisie, must be fought to a finish. For that reason this is a most important question, and the Congress must devote its keenest attention to it. After the Congress, this question must be dealt with by all affiliated parties as the most important problem of the day."*

It is not without reason that Zinoviev uses the term, OUR TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL, as I will show later.

From the very first the Red International was in control of the Communists and its only function for a long time was to act as a bureau of the Comintern, a sort of a Trade Union section. Being created by the Communists, it was but natural that its first officials would be Communists and as party members these officials could do nothing else than guide the course of the new movement according to Communist Party principles.

Hand-Picked Labor Bureaus

These selected leaders of the Red International cannot be more clearly identified, nor the source of their inspiration more plainly traced, than a comparison of their ideas with those of the Moscow politicians. Everywhere in all the theses coming from the Red International heads one sees the finger prints of the two-by-four intellectuals that constitute the center of the Third International. Indeed, they are all of one political family. Losovsky is a member of the central committee of the Russian Communist Party and his foreign co-workers (at the time of the formation of the Provisional Council of Trade and Industrial Unions and even now) are all high officials in the Communist parties of their respective countries. The parentage of the Red International being thus established, it takes but little effort to see that any additions made to the R. T. U. I. would automatically pass under the control of the Communist International. In every large country immediately after the formation of the Red International, Red labor bureaus were set up, officered by Communists and financed by the Communist International. The duties of these

outfits (especially before the first Congress of the Red International) were to organize a corps of Communist delegates from whatever source possible (I have already described how minorities are created), and to keep informed about the labor movement and its attitude towards Russia. But its chief function was to dispatch enough Communist delegates to the Red International and thus insure a majority over whatever organizations decided to participate. And naturally what the New York Red Labor Bureau succeeded in doing to the American delegation was duplicated in all other countries. The New York Red Labor Bureau paid the expenses of all delegates sent over by them and besides, for those who had families, it allowed $25.00 a week for their maintenance while they were away. There is nothing so bad about this, only that it indicates that everyone sent over under such conditions no doubt had the Communist conception of labor unions well impressed on their minds. In view then of what I have said so far in this installment it is not such a startling assertion on my part when I said: "The Congress of the Red International was over and all decisions were made before it started."

The reader will have to overlook the faulty style adopted in this report of going back over ground already covered, because, depending on memory and having very few documents, I am unable to take up each phase of the situation and discuss it exhaustively. So in order to trace further the Communist control of the Congress of the R. T. U. I. I will discuss again the credential committee, as this was the last process in the pastime of manufacturing delegates out of pure wind.

The Credential Committee

I do not know how or by whom the credential committee that functioned as such for the Red International was created. However, I do know that they were all Communists. And I know that no credential committee was ever elected from the floor of the Congress, although the election of such a committee was called for. And further, no list was ever furnished containing the names of delegates present and the organizations they represented, which was also called for. The mandates of the delegates were carefully guarded from inspection and it was only after persistent demands that I was allowed a very hurried glance at the mandates of the American delegation against whom I protested. The only members of the credential committee whose names I can recollect without my notes are: Boris Reinstein, Russia; Bela Santo, Hungary; Watkins, England. While the credential committee issued no complete report, Reinstein did appear before the Congress in his capacity as secretary of the committee with decisions by that body on the disputes that arose in the different delegations over the distribution of votes, and, as these decisions are worthy of mention, if only to portray their attitude,

I will quote some of them here. The following concerns the dispute between Cascaden, who was sent by the Lumber Workers of Eastern Canada, and Knight, who represented the O. B. U. of Canada:

(Reinstein) "The case is as follows: Cascaden arrived in Moscow and presented his credentials. For unknown reasons he refused to give us any information on the attitude of his organization on the fundamental principles of the International Council of Trade Unions. In particular he declined to give us information of the attitude of his organization with regard to the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the credentials committee, before taking the decision as to his right to vote, again interviewed him thereon, it became clear that HE WAS THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ANARCHIST ELEMENT OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE "ONE BIG UNION," AND THAT HE WAS INCLINED TO CONSIDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE WAY MANY OTHER ANARCHISTS DO, viz.: AS A NEW FORM OF STATE OPPRESSION.

"As a result, the credential committee decided to give Comrade Cascaden a consultative vote only.

"Some comrades of the Spanish and French delegations demanded then that Comrade Cascaden be given a decisive vote. On his part he handed in a statement in which he acknowledged the dictatorship of the proletariat as a provisional measure, but only as a dictatorship carried out by economic organizations and not by a political organization."

The credentials committee finally decided to give Cascaden a decisive vote.

What is particularly interesting in Cascaden's case is that he was first refused a vote on the grounds of suspected anarchism.

Now the credential committee is reporting on the dispute in the American delegation:

Disposing of the I. W. W.

(Reinstein) "It must be noted here that it is impossible to state with any certainty the exact membership of the I. W. W. after this organization has been in the field for 16 years. According to Williams himself his organization has from 70,000 to 100,000; but, according to the figures presented at the Communist Congress and the itemized statement of the receipts of the central treasury of this organization, it has a membership of 15,000 or 16,000.

"The credential committee discussed the question and

came to the conclusion that the motion made by the comrades against whom Williams protested should be carried and, with the exception of the one vote to be given to the machinists' delegates, three decisive votes be given to each one of the five American delegates. We consider this decision perfectly just."

I had pointed out before to the credential committee and the Congress that the figures from which the membership was deduced were incomplete and besides I maintained that it was not a question of the amount of membership, but of principle. Besides, no question was ever raised concerning the financial statements of the other delegates of organizations they claimed to represent. But this fell on deaf ears, naturally.

On the German question, Reinstein gives us an insight into the situation (but not all) and it looks quite like what one would naturally expect.

(Reinstein) "As to the German question still disputed, the German delegates are, no doubt, well informed as to the facts and merits of the case. Comrade Malzan (Communist) maintains, in the name of the central committee of the trade union movement formed by the United Communist Party of Germany that out of the total of 9,000,000 organized workers belonging to the large and so-called Free German Trade Unions, 2,200,000 side with the Red International."

The representatives of the independent unions in Germany claimed that these figures were mythical and there was no way in which they could be checked up. Yet Reinstein, speaking for the committee, says:

"The credentials committee heard and discussed the arguments of the representatives of both parties concerned and finally decided that it would be more equitable and adapted to the interest of trade unions to grant 11 votes to the representation of the central committee (Communist minority) of the trade union movement, directing the activities among the massed trade unions of Germany and distribute the remaining 5 votes among the representatives of the independent opposition to the trade unions."

As a Communist clincher to the German dispute, Richard Muller (Communist) said:

"A ballot carried on in the trade unions in favor of the United Communist Party of Germany, in other words for Moscow, gives the following figures:

"The Agricultural Workers' union, 150,000; the Bricklayers and Builders 150,000; the Wood Workers, 300,000; the Transport and Communication Workers, 275,000; the Needle Workers, 96,000; the Factory Workers, 60,000."

Communist Arithmetic

The truth of the whole matter is that no such vote was taken except in a few isolated unions, and even then it was not a clear cut vote. It concerned Amsterdam and naturally those who did not favor Amsterdam were immediately seized on by the United Communist Party as the property of Moscow. And the 2,000,000 workers which the German Communists number as theirs was arrived at by the simple process of multiplying the few votes in the scattered unions by the whole German labor movement. Anybody who knows anything about the German labor movement will agree that if the so-called central committee of the German trade union movement had 2,000,000 members they would bust the conservative unions wide open in that country. They would have undisputed control.

But there was no disputing the credential committee because the majorities they were instrumental in creating would certainly uphold them.

The position of the Spanish delegation regarding the distribution of votes was descriptive of the general sentiment amongst the Syndicalist and Industrialist delegations and sums up their objection to the credential committee decisions. It is as follows:

The Spanish Protest

"The Spanish delegation believes that the present Congress in Moscow is a Constituent Congress of all revolutionary labor organizations especially of those organizations which have from the very beginning of the Russian revolution and, to a certain extent, before it, fought the reformist policy of the Amsterdam International. We think the history of the European and American trade union movement indicates that there are organized forces which must be reckoned with especially at the Constitutent Congress of the Red International. We think that the history of the Spanish proletariat, which during all these years was true to its revolutionary platform, that the history of the French proletariat, whose principles were always based on the independence of the trade union movement and the fight against all political parties, and which strove towards a labor policy of economic struggle; that the history of the American proletariat, the I. W. W., which has always supported the very same ideas and tactics as put forward by the revolutionary proletariat of Europe—we think that all these elements should be granted a sufficient number of votes to make their influence effective.

"We must include the revolutionary minority of Holland and other revolutionary minorities (I speak from the Syndicalist point of view) which represent already a most im-

posing force. In Germany we have to add three such organizations, which, breaking off from Amsterdam, have now against the latter a strong body of 400,000 men. We expected that all this would be taken into consideration by the Constituent Congress of Red Trade Unions; but our expectations were disappointed. We find that a decision was already accepted here to create a majority, which we may already call the fictitious majority. There is, thus, a feeling that there is a readiness to suppress the true revolutionary tendencies of International Syndicalism and give our Trade Union International orders which a part of the west European proletariat will not accept, whatever the decisions of this Congress. On the other hand here are present countries in which there are no revolutionary Syndicalist organizations at all, or of little influence. And all these organizations were given decisive votes.

"In other countries, such as America, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia, where the trade union centers are not yet in favor of the Moscow International and are still remaining partisans of the Amsterdam International, and only a small number of nuclei adheres to Moscow, these nuclei, which are even unable to give the number of members they are representing pretend to have a majority of votes within the delegations of these countries. It is said that the German nuclei are given the same 16 decisive votes as are given to the large organizations of France and Spain. It is, therefore, our opinion, that the first place should not belong to these nuclei which, as Comrade Williams pointed out, can easily present themselves with doubtful millions of votes, but to those organizations which by their past, by their tactics and by their everyday struggle represent, from a Syndicalist point of view, a real revolutionary power.

"We declare that such countries as Azerbeidjan, Bukhara, Palestine, India, represented here, and about whose trade union movement we are unable to judge, should not be given a decisive vote in order that the western proletariat which, even according to Marxian theories, represented for many years past a revolutionary force, should have the possibility of defining the orientation to be adopted by the organizations affiliated to the International of Trade Unions. That is why those who signed this declaration protest against a decisive vote being given to the countries mentioned previous to their having supplied data on the character and force of their organizations."

I will wind up the discussion on the credential committee controversy by explaining as briefly as possible how the countries were grouped into vote allotments.

In the first group having 16 votes were: Germany, France,

England, Russia, United States, Italy, Spain, Poland and Eastern Galicia, and Czecho-Slovakia.

In the second group with 12 votes each were Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Ukraine, Norway, Australia, Argentina.

In the third group with 8 votes each were Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Roumania, Ireland (no Irish delegate present), Canada, Mexico, Greece, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Far Eastern Republic, Azerbeidjan.

In the fourth group with 4 votes each such countries as Latvia, Korea India, Palestine and Esthonia.

In the following countries only Communist minorities were present: Russia, Italy, Poland, Eastern Galicia, Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, Australia, Belgium, Switzerland, Roumania, Greece, Finland, Latvia, Korea, India, Palestine and Esthonia. In countries like the United States, England, Germany and France and all others not placed by me in the class as having complete Communist minorities, these delegations were controlled by the Communist delegates or, in other words, the Communists had the majority of votes. Spain is the only country that was not controlled by Communist minorities.

C. P. Rules Russian Unions

I have mentioned Russia as being in the class of having only Communist minorities, because it is a fact beyond successful contradiction that the Russian unions are completely under the control of the Russian Communist Party. Its officials are all party members, who are not elected by the rank and file, but are selected by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Russia. I place Italy in the same position, because the delegates from the Syndicalist organizations in that country did not appear in Moscow until the end of the Congress, and during the sessions only one delegate was present who represented the so-called Communist minorities in the conservative unions of Italy. Representatives of Italian conservative unions did appear but did not participate in the Congress; Australia, too, because no delegates from labor organizations arrived in time to participate in the Congress (those who sat in the Congress were admittedly representing the nuclei); Finland, because its delegates were permanent residents of Russia, all Communists and had not been in Finland for some time. One of the Finnish delegates was Laukki, a member of the I. W. W. and one of the Chicago defendants.

The delegation of England was controlled by the Communists absolutely. There was a pretense of using the old Shop Stewards movement as a camouflage for some of the delegates, but everyone knows that the Shop Stewards movement has been liquidated

into the Communist Party of England, with the result that the organization has practically disappeared from the field. A fitting testimonial of what politicians will do to a movement!

That is all there is to say about the delegations. It is not much but it is as much as any individual delegate knows about their makeup. The whole dark secret of what organization each individual present as a delegate represented in documentary form is in the hands of the officials of the Red International, and will never be produced or printed for the examination of everybody concerned.

There were several points of division between the Communist majority and the Syndicalist minority at the Congress. Old differences reappeared that have always existed, and perhaps always will continue to divide the adherents of political and industrial theory; although this time it appears in new roles, bears new names, and is set in the scenery of revolutionary, Russia. But the controversy was as sharp and as irreconcilable as before. It split the First International and everything else. It is still the question:

The Basic Difference

"Is the industrial movement as a weapon, sufficient to overthrow capitalism and establish a Workers' Industrial Commonwealth, or is this function only possible through the direction of a political machine?"

Disputes on the "dictatorship of the proletariat," relations with the Communist International and the policy of boring from within the conservative trade unions were all bound up in the above question.

There was an underground current manifested against the Moscow interpretation of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" among the Syndicalist element, which revealed itself by their insistence in describing their position as: "The dictatorship by the proletariat through their economic organizations." The reason for this difference is plain. The Russian version means the supremacy of the political group over the industrial group. The Syndicalist version means the supremacy of the economic organizations over the political organizations. And the whole thing (putting it plainly) means that the two ideas cannot exist side by side. One or the other must go.

The question of the relations with the Communist International also brought into a sharp conflict the opposing elements. According to the Communist element the Red International must place itself under the ideological guidance of the Third International because they are the intelligent fighting vanguard of the revolution. The Syndicalists maintained that the Red International must be absolutely independent of any political group and left unencumbered to pursue their own policy of building

up revolutionary economic organizations for the construction of the New Society. This question also revealed the utter impossibility of agreeing and the question is as unsettled today as it was before the Congress.

The question of "boring from within the old trade unions" and an abandonment of the policy of setting up revolutionary organizations outside of, and independent of the conservative trade unions, was the point on which the sharpest debates arose, and on which the Congress divided itself into two irreconcilable camps with no hope of agreement. The policy of one meant the death of the other. In brief the Communist policy means that all independent organizations of any country that have opposed the larger conservative unions on the field of labor must liquidate into the conservative unions and by carrying on a systematic campaign capture these conservative unions. (I will discuss this together with the relations to the Third International later.) The Syndicalists opposed this energetically on the ground that it is impossible to capture the conservative unions, and moreover, they objected to destroying themselves and abandoning the field to the politicians.

There was but one result to a congress that separated itself so distinctly into two groups, and as the Communists had the majority in the open session of the Congress, the Syndicalists naturally took to closed sessions of their own. And during the last days of the Congress and those immediately following, the Syndicalist delegates, including myself, held meetings in a hotel room every night in an endeavor to formulate a program, and arrive at a common understanding as to what should be done in the face of their hopeless situation.

The majority of the Syndicalist delegates were actuated into holding minority conferences by the extreme necessity of clarifying their position. But while the minority Syndicalists were reluctant to adopt opposition methods, yet they were literally forced to at least make an attempt to check what was evidently a deliberate sabotage on the formation of an economic International by the Communists. It was along towards the end of the Congress before any attempt was made to bring the Syndicalists together, and only two meetings were held before adjournment. Several were held after.

The position in which the Syndicalists found themselves was one that called for action. The Communist element in the Congress, besides being bent on adopting a program that would destroy the smaller revolutionary labor bodies and place the Red International under the complete domination of the Third International, were advertising to the world that an unanimous opinion prevailed in the Congress on all points of discussion. The only way in which the Syndicalist opposition could extricate itself from this false position was to hold conferences and

define their program to the various revolutionary labor bodies of the world.

These conferences were not productive of much results, for many reasons. There was the difficulty of language, which made it almost impossible to understand one another. It was hard to get translators and what few were available could not always function. Very often we found ourselves without the aid of any translators.

Besides the difficulties of language there was a divergence of opinion among the delegates on what stand to take. Some (before the adjournment of the Congress) were in favor of immediately withdrawing from the sessions as a protest against the steam roller methods of the Communist Party. They argued that it was useless to stay, indulging in hopeless debate and always in the presence of inevitable defeat. Others maintained that the right course would be to stay in the Congress and oppose the Communist majority as an organized minority. Later, after the Congress, several conferences were held in an endeavor to reach an agreement before the delegates left, but, while several statements were drawn up and signed by everyone, it was found impossible to agree on a definite line of action. Of course, this was natural because participation in minority conferences outside of the regular sessions of the Congress was a thing that was entirely unlooked for and none of the Syndicalist delegates had power to act for their organizations in a case of this kind, consequently none of the delegates were willing to commit themselves to anything specific. But I will state here that every delegate that did participate in the conferences was strictly opposed to the tactics and the procedure of the Communist majority. The whole story of the minority conferences with its many hours of debate is too long to go into here in detail, and besides much of it is unimportant to the issue. Therefore I only intend to deal with the salient points. The end of the Congress caused many of the Syndicalist delegates to leave before anything could be decided upon, and left the remaining delegates still more uncertain about adopting a definite program.

Two Propositions

Considering the whole proceedings of the Syndicalist conferences the main points in the discussions were, basically, the two following positions:

First: "To renounce entirely the R. T. U. I. as an economic International because it was completely under the control of the Third International, and issue a call for a new International."

Second: "That while it was true that the First Congress of the Red International was dominated by the Communists, it was not the proper procedure to withdraw from the R. T. U. I.

and endeavor to set up a new International. It would be better to remain within it and by a well organized minority fight against the control of the political faction."

Those who supported the second proposition argued that an attempt to call a new International would result in creating a great deal of confusion in the revolutionary labor situation, which would manifest itself in great controversies that would occasion irreparable damages to the movement to internationalize labor. Better, the supporters of the second proposition said, to stay within the R. T. U. I. with its Communist control and fight them there than to enter upon a long period of organizing another International. The psychological influence of Moscow on the world's workers was such that an opposition now would gain no support. In short, while an economic International, free from political control, was most desirable, it was not the opportune time to broach new such Internationals.

Those who supported the first proposition (including myself) said that it was useless to even try and fight the prevailing majority of Communists by staying inside the R. T. U. I. because the Communists would always be assured of control by the simple expedient of seating enough of their delegates to outnumber whatever Syndicalists appeared on the scene. As long as Moscow was the place where the congress convened, just so long would they dominate the Congress. In view of the situation then, it would be useless to suppose that the majority in the Congress would be decided by a discussion on principles. Those who controlled the machinery of the Congress would control its deliberations. And, as for the calling of another International it is certain that those who intended to stay in the R. T. U. I. and obey its mandates would be cutting their own throats by dissolving into the conservative trade unions of their respective countries (which, of course, they wouldn't do) and would find themselves later on ousted anyway. So, obviously, a new International was needed to at least preserve the autonomy of the existing organizations, not to mention the impossiblity of surrendering the control of all the revolutionary labor organizations into the hands of a political faction.

Those who supported the second proposition were in most part the delegates of the larger Syndicalist organizations, like Spain, France and Italy. (The Italian delegates from the Syndicalist organization of Italy arrived in Moscow after the close of the Congress.) Their view of the Communist program was that they could not be forced into liquidation with any conservative union because of the conditions that were peculiar to their particular countries. In Spain, the Syndicalists, although driven underground at present, were the largest and most powerful body in that country, therefore the Communist attitude, as for instance towards the I. W. W. or the smaller German unions,

was not applicable to them. In France the situation was still different. There the Syndicalists were organized already as a minority in the C. G. T. and were closely linked with the Communists in a three-cornered fight for control of that body. In Italy, although there is a powerful conservative body, yet the Syndicalists are nearly as strong, having 700,000 members. They are too strong to pay any attention to the policy of joining the conservative trade unions. Indeed, the Communists steer clear of any discussion of their labor policy as applied to Italy.

The situation of Italy, France and Spain therefore was such that they participated in the Syndicalist conferences with only one problem confronting them. This was the question of political domination over the R. T. U. I. But their mandates called for an International free from political influence. And from that standpoint they supported the second proposition.

The supporters of the first proposition were the delegates from smaller Syndicalist unions of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Holland, America, etc.; and, as I have intimated before, their position was determined by more than a mere consideration of affiliation with a political party, but also from a standpoint of self-preservation.

The Communists, of course, in touch with the situation as explained above, in true political style set out to disrupt and split the Syndicalist faction. Persuasive emissaries from the other side worked hard on the Spanish, French and Italian delegates of the Syndicalist unions.

The Spanish Position

The position of the Spanish delegates was a peculiar one and deserves a word of explanation. The Spanish Syndicalist unions are in a death struggle with the reactionary forces of that country and as a consequence have been driven under ground. It is impossible, too, for the Spanish delegates who were present at the congress of the Red International, to return to Spain and make a report to anyone for fear of arrest. And to this day two of them, Arlandis and Nin, have not returned to that country. Here again the Communists have exploited the situation to further their political schemes in characteristic style. A mysterious committee somewhere in Spain sends approval (or at least it is so reported in Communist circles) of the R. T. U. I. and it is heralded as the approval of the whole Spanish Syndicalist movement. Several Spanish delegates, whom I have met in Berlin, deny that this unknown committee has power to act in the way it did and have denounced it as a frame-up to stampede the Syndicalists of Europe. This certainly appears logical in view of the single fact that no report from the delegates had ever reached Spain.

The French wavered but little and the Italians stood pat. Their evident intention was to capture the Spanish, French and Italian delegates and then force the rest of the delegates to abandon their position. But their tactless attemps, whatever their results, have still left them to undergo the microscopic examination of the world's workers. And they have nothing to face the ordeal with.

The result of all the conferences was three statements, all varying in opinion, but which, after all, was all that could be expected at that time. I herewith offer a resolution drawn up by the German unions, and read with great indignation by Losovsky, as though it was the height of treason to indulge in such views. This resolution by the Germans was signed only by themselves. It is interesting here only because it shows the attitude of the German delegates, expressed even before they knew who agreed with them on the proposition and before any conferences were held among the Syndicalists.

The Germans' Statement

"To the representatives of independent revolutionary organizations of every country to the first Congress of the Red Trade and Industrial Union International who have been forced into a minority.

"Comrades:

"The revolutionary unions of the whole world find themselves at the mercy of a dependent, uncontrollable minority, coming from within unions affiliated with Amsterdam, both ideologically and organically, and who now constitute the majority in this Congress.

"All decisions so far made in this Congress have been made at the dictates of those (Communist) minority groups. All coming decisions will naturally be of the same character.

"Our organizations have thus already been deprived of our right within this International. We are subject to the bidding of the Third International and also subject to the bidding of those who with their finances and numbers make up and strengthen the influence of the Amsterdam International.

"This subjection amounts to nothing more or less than that our organizations must give up their independence to a national and international Mass Staff. It is even demanded that our organizations disband. It is demanded that revolutionary organizations dig their own grave. Let again the tendency

"We find it necessary and exalted their aims in and in a bureaucracy of Amsterdam, yet it is entirely closed phalanx against s permitted that political tendencies secure

"The welfare of t hegemony over the fighting labor organ- require an Internation wn from the masses themselves and have International of self-s

"In case the revolution would not be served by our opposition being without results here and since another international grouping of independent unions outside of the Red Trade Union International would mean a further split of the labor movement, we do not proceed to such steps before every means have been exhausted in making our influence felt against the present character of the Red Trade Union International; and further because of the fact that the Red International being dominated by cell groups makes it a farce;

"Therefore be it resolved,

"The unions which constitute the opposition in this Congress form a united group as to purposes inside the Red Trade Union International with the aim of working together in close solidarity in case the leadership of the Red Trade Union International should expel one or the other of the organizations holding these views or otherwise exert its authority.

"The aim and purpose of our opposition shall be to transform the fictitious Red Trade Union International into a real International and to fight against all reformist, opportunist and other tendencies inimical to the movement, and to provide for its practical revolutionary character.

"For the welfare of the labor movement of the whole world we invite all delegates to join with us.

"Freie Arbeiter Union (Felsenkirchen), Allgemeine Arbeiterunion Deutschlands, Deutscher Shiffahrtsbund.

"Moscow, July 14th, 1921."

There were three other resolutions drawn up by the minority conferences, of which I have two for use in this report. The one quoted below is the last resolution adopted and is signed by most of the delegates that attended the conferences. It was drawn up by a Frenchman and translated from that language. It is of a rather ambiguous nature and not so strong and definite as the preceding ones, which were emphatic in their stand against the Third International.

This resolution reads as follows:

A CALL TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS OF THE WORLD

"Being gathered in Moscow, after the closing of the Red Labor International against its will, the representatives of the revolutionary Syndicalist and approval of the whole to from the left wing of the labor several Spanish delegates, who dicalist principles. The deny that this unknown committee has felt, but has become it did and have denounced it as a frame-u shall try to explain dicalists of Europe. This certainly appear single fact that no report from the dele by economic and pol- Spain.

itical factors, is now passing through a most critical moment. Like one doomed to death and wildly clutching at life, capitalism is making desperate efforts to prolong its existence. In every country of the world, the proletariat is becoming ever more conscious of its rights and is beginning to realize its historic mission. The end of the 19th century witnessed the miraculous growth of capitalism, which—thanks to industrial success—concentrated hundreds of thousands, even millions of workers in their class organization, in labor unions. The old forms of struggle, the struggle of political parties, proved themselves insufficient in proportion as industrial development grew day by day; it became ever clearer to the laboring masses that they must organize themselves into their own labor bodies—the labor unions. The beginning of the 20th century witnesses the growth of this class movement, which ever more clearly begins to realize its economic and political role. This class movement grows beyond the limits of pure and simple unionism; the labor unions are transformed into fighting labor organizations aiming at the abolition of the wage system. That becomes their economic problem. And the introduction of Communism their political aim.

"From this results the antagonism between the old political forms and the working class movement which is henceforth developing in the labor organizations, i. e., the labor unions. The conflicts which manifested themselves in the First International along ideologic lines, are now transferred into the field of facts, because of the industrial development. Not wishing in the least to interfere with the liberty of any individuals to form their political groups, nor with the liberty of action of any party, we demand the equal and just right to organize ourselves along Syndicalist lines, in our class organizations. We demand the acknowledgement of the right of these organizations to carry on their struggle for their two-fold aim: complete economic and political liberation, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, during the transition period, as is already being practiced by political parties. We left the Amsterdam International and are fighting against it for the very reason that there we found co-operation of the classes, which is in itself a denial of our program; and also because the political parties dominate there and seek, as always, to subject to themselves the working class. These are the causes which rallied us all around the red banner of Moscow, the symbol of the proletarian revolution, which has always been our final aim.

"But in Moscow we meet again the tendency of political parties—and however noble and exalted their aims in comparison with the Social Democracy of Amsterdam, yet it is entirely incorrect and not to be permitted that political tendencies secure to themselves exclusive hegemony over the fighting labor organizations, which have grown from the masses themselves and have been created by them.

"Considering such pretensions not only theoretically unjust and practically unreliable, but also fatal to the best interests of the working class, which alone can secure its emancipation, we found it necessary to combine on the basis of this principle of revolutionary Syndicalism, in the new Red Labor International. Our aim is to fight energetically along these lines for the interests of the working class against every attempt at domination by any political parties, be they even of the best.

"The working class, organized syndicalistically, considers itself thoroughly capable to manage its own affairs; it declares that it knows its interests and that it will be able zealously to guard its independence and autonomy.

"Our work and our tactics in the Red Labor International must consist in constantly and energetically defending—in the above indicated spirit—the basic principles of revolutionary Syndicalism, and in fighting at every step every attempt to pervert these principles.

"With this purpose and aim in view, we are hereby forming the Association of all the revolutionary Syndicalist elements of the world, represented by the following groups:

"Italian Syndicalist Union—700,000 members.
"National Confederation of Spain—900,000 members.
"Confederat. Revol. Syndic. of France—400,000 members.
"I. W. W. of America—75,000 members.
"Central Labor Organization of Sweden—35,000 members.
"General Labor Union (Germany)—100,000 members.
"Free Labor Union (Felsenkirchen)—150,000 members.
"Free Association of Farm Laborers—30,000 members.
"Association of Manual and Brain Workers—13,500 members.
"German Marine Workers—6,000 members.
"Federalist Association of Denmark—10,000 members.
"Workers' Federation of Argentina and Uruguay—300,000 members.
"Holland National Labor Central—40,000 members.
"Syndicalist Federation of Norway—2,000 members.
"Canada—13,000 members.

"A Bureau has been elected with secretaries whose headquarters will be in Paris. Its work will be to serve as the connecting link between the above named organizations; exchange information; take the initiative in arranging conferences; and to organize energetic propaganda in all the countries involved on the basis of this manifesto."

I shall also give another of the resolutions which has just been received by me and was the first one adopted. It has gone through the process of being translated twice, from

French to Swedish and then into English, and consequently has lost some of its original tone. There is noticeable, however, in all these resolutions adopted by the Syndicalists a very tolerant attitude in a situation that called for drastic action. I have pointed out before that opinion was somewhat divided among the Syndicalists and therefore it was but natural that those who composed the resolutions, having this in mind, were trying to please everybody. Then, too, it must be understood that very few among the signers of a resolution knew just exactly what was set down. A resolution written in French, for instance, would only be intelligible to the French delegates and the others would only know in a general way what the resolution contained. Those in English and German would present the same difficulties to those who could not read those languages and consequently the ambiguity of the resolutions offered here must be considered from that standpoint. None of them, however, but what are unvarying in their stand against political domination.

Syndicalist Manifesto

The following resolution was likewise signed by everyone present:

"A manifesto to the revolutionary Syndicalists of the world.

"After the congress of the Red Trade Union International, we, revolutionary Syndicalists, being the minority in the Red Trade Union International, have found it necessary to meet in a conference, in order to gather on the platform of revolutionary Syndicalism, the organized economic labor movement which is a part of—or in principle belongs to—the R. T. U. I.

"Although a minority at the constituent congress of the R. T. U. I., on account of a representation which deviates from true forms of representation for a trade union movement, we wish to state that we believe, due to the spirit that actuates us and the form of the organizations we represent, that the real power of the workers and their living expression are the really live economic organizations, through which alone the R. T. U. I. shall become what it ought to be: an active and actual power.

"Without desiring to minimize the power and the prestige of the Communist International in regard to the parties composing it, we have the deepest conviction that the power and prestige of the R. T. U. I. will not be increased but, on the contrary, decreased if it stands under the moral influence of the Third International or is subordinated to it.

"Partly for this reason, partly for other reasons which we will openly explain, it is absolutely necessary that we create a defense organization of elements within—and for the moment even outside of—the R. T. U. I., in order to thus battle for com-

plete independence of and complete autonomy from every political organization.

"Our consciousness of our historic role tells us, and our consciousness of our capacity for achievement in Western Europe and America confirms it, that only the economic organizations of the workers will survive capitalism, that only they can make a real social revolution, that only they can definitely organize a new society, based on the producers, through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which has its foundation in the trade unions.

"And these are the causes.

"The world is shaken by economic and political convulsions and is going through a most serious crisis. With the wild energy of a dying person, who clings to life, capitalism is making desperate efforts to prolong its existence. In all countries the proletariat is rising, more and more conscious of its rights and the historic role it has to play. The 19th century has seen a tremendous development of capitalism which, in direct touch with industrial development, has gathered hundreds of thousands and millions of workers in the class organizations, the trade unions.

"The old forms of the struggle, the party struggle, already then proved to be insufficient and as the class struggle became more pointed, due to a quickened industrial development, the necessity was emphasized for the working class to form their party, the party of labor, in its proper organization, the trade union movement. The 20th century saw this form of the class struggle aggrandized and becoming conscious of its power, of its political and economic role, and more and more stepping over the lines of craft organization, and thus the trade unions have been transformed into a militant organization for abolition of wage slavery and for the realization of Communism. In this fact we see an antagonism between the antiquated form of the politics of old and the labor movement which is organized in class organizations, that is, in trade unions. The opposition from the First International, when it only wished to manifest itself on the ideological field, finds itself today transferred to the field of reality due to economic development. Without desiring in any manner to encroach upon the liberties of those who have grouped themselves in political parties or upon the complete freedom of movement of those parties, we claim for ourselves the no less inviolable right to constitute ourselves as labor unions in accordance with the outlines of economic life. In our class organizations and through them we conduct our struggle for the realization of our double purpose: complete economic and political emancipation, by organizing, during the period of transition, the dictatorship of the proletariat, expressed through and exercised by the economic organizations.

"When we left the Amsterdam International and combatted

it, it was not only because we there found expressed the principle of co-operation between the classes, which is a negation of our historic mission and our program, but also on account of the dominating influence of the political parties, who have always been anxious to subdue the working class. It is exactly for this double reason that we have gathered round the red flag of Moscow, which symbolizes the proletarian revolution, which has always been our final aim. But in Moscow we have again been able to point to the existence of the same tendencies from the political parties for a purpose, which may be nobler and higher than that which social-democracy in Amsterdam strives for, but which, nevertheless, in our eyes remains fundamentally wrong and unacceptable, namely the conquest of an indisputable hegemony over the fighting organizations formed inside the working class itself and through the working class.

"Considering that the practical results of such pretensions—besides being impossible to theoretically excuse—would be fatal to the working class, which in reality is alone capable of achieving its emancipation, we have found it necessary to closely join one another on the basis of revolutionary Syndicalism, but inside the frame of the Red Trade Union International, in order to fight resolutely on this field for, and defend the fundamental interests of the working class against every encroachment from any political party, even if that party may be the best.

"The working class organized on the economic field feels of age, proclaims its self-sufficiency, and guards jealously its independence and its autonomy. But in order to carry out the grand work which it today feels called upon to perform, it consents to ally itself with every political party, and, for the rest, with every philosophical group which declares itself ready to work in a revolutionary manner. Our work and our tactics inside as well as outside the R. T. U. I. consist in defending, at all times and with energy, in the spirit expressed above, the fundamental principles of revolutionary Syndicalism, and step by step combat every deformation which it is tried to subject it to. For this purpose we have to unite all revolutionary Syndicalist elements inside the R. T. U. I., represented by the following organizations:

"I. W. W., Geo. Williams; Italian Syndicalist Union, Duilio Mari; A. A. U. (Germany), Bartells; Frei Land Arbeiter and German Sailors' Union, Otto Rieger; National Confederacion of Labor, Spain, Joaquin Maurin; Norway, Sweden and Denmark Syndicalist Unions, Frans Severin; Regional Federation of Labor for Argentina and Uruguay, Tom Barker; Revolutionary Syndicalist Committee(France), Michel Relenque.

"We have charged the Syndicalist Union of Italy with the task of securing the connections between all these elements and take the initiative to communication and organization of a con-

ference and an energetic propaganda on the basis of this manifesto in the respective countries.

"Adopted by the Secretariat of the Constituent Bureau."

The discussion on the Syndicalist conference can be summarized partly in the following fashion, as the following considerations are but the natural results of that situation. The fact that these Syndicalist conferences were held immediately gives birth to the two questions:

Which Theory Is Right?

(1) What was wrong with the R. T. U. I. Congress (from an I. W. W. standpoint) that the Syndicalists should separate themselves from the other elements in the Congress?

(2) If these two groups are divided on fundamental differences, what measure of right and wrong can be applied (from a revolutionary standpoint) to the dispute by the workers throughout the world? Either the Communist political theory or the industrial theory is right. Between the two there must be a selection.

In my opinion the industrialist theory is all the more strengthened by the mere fact that such a great number of Syndicalist delegates have gone to Russia; have looked into the very heart of the situation there: studied the Russian revolution closely, and yet they combat, in Moscow itself, the very theory that dominates the Russian revolution in its present stage, viz., the Communist political theory. If the Russian revolution is the criterion on which the Communists base their theory, then they have punctured their own arguments by not having in Russia a single fact which could be used to refute the industrial theory. Therefore it is worth noting that the industrialist theory is argued for as vehemently in Moscow as in capitalist countries, which proves that no revolutionary economic organization can ever accept domination by a political party regardless of what revolutionary disguise it is parading under. I have the happy memory of being told by scores and scores of workers during may stay in Russia, many of them former members of the I. W. W. in England and America, and too, practically all of them in Russia since the first days of the revolution that the I. W. W. position has proven itself correct to them by their experiences in Russia.

I have devoted more attention to the minority conferences than might seem necessary, but I have gone into this phase not because there was anything of importance attached to the results, but only to give the members of the I. W. W. an idea of the tendencies that prevailed in the Congress, and having this in their minds they can more easily interpret the final re-

sults of the Red International Congress. And also, to show that the opposition to the domination of the political sect was emphatic and not confined to myself. Every revolutionary Syndicalist organization demanded an independent economic International. They didn't get it. That much I think has been proven already, even if nothing more were said. I have pointed out that the split between the two factions was a decided one. The minority conferences, therefore, were not without their good function of indicating the inerasable line of demarcation that separated the two groups. Besides, I think that it has laid the foundation for an honest-to-goodness International because we now know where everybody else stands in the revolutionary labor movement regarding political parties.

"Resolutions and Decisions"

I now pass on to a discussion of "Resolutions and Decisions," adopted at the First Congress of the Red International. They are remarably few for such an important enterprise as an International of Revolutionary Unions. Indeed, it seems to me, that the whole set of resolutions are nothing but silly tirades against the leaders of Amsterdam and the leaders of the various conservative trade unions in the different countries. But if it reveals nothing of importance for the foundation of an economic International it at least gives a good conception of the motives of the authors of each resolution. Even a superficial study of these "Resolutions and Decisions" will show that but one thought dominates every printed sentence: *Power. "Oust the Amsterdam leaders," "Throw out the Gomperses, the Jouhauxs, the Thomases, capture their unions and bring them to Moscow. Turn them over to us, we will then lead you to victory,"* as though the elimination of some particular leaders were the only problem confronting the workers. It is the old moss-eaten philosophy of leadership again.

To get a good idea of the psychology that dominated the Communists who control the Red International, the Manifesto of the Congress to the workers of the world is as good a measuring stick as any. This manifesto, coming as it did from a Congress of International revolutionary labor unions, would certainly be expected by everybody to contain an important message to the world's workers. But what does it say? It starts out about "the criminal war" and touches on every wrong under the sun that is suffered by the working class, preparing the reader seemingly for a solution to the whole problem. . It then asks in the middle of the article:

"What is to be done?"

Apparently all the author could think of or at least all I could find is embodied in the following extracts:

"What are doing the *leaders of Amsterdam?*" . . "Let the indignant cry of the proletariat call out one single watchword: *Down with the yellow Amsterdam International!*" . . . "Get rid of the *yellow treacherous leaders* selling the cause of the working class." "A new epoch of glorious struggles has begun, when the proletariat becomes worthy *of better leaders* than the scabs of Amsterdam." (Get this!)—"The new leaders will know how to defend the proletarian trenches and will take the offensive."

Not a word here that indicates anything but a change of leaders. Of course, the question of throwing out the yellow leaders of the "yellow unions" suggests new leaders, and who would even imagine that any Communist would be so immodest as to offer himself to lead the workers to economic freedom? I ask this question for the benefit of those who perhaps have never appreciated the leadership qualities that exist in, and are peculiar to Moscow. Yes, Moscow has leaders for any kind of unions, from those unions that don't exist, to those about to be formed. In short, a full equipment for the business of leadership exists in Moscow, and only waits for the necessary organizations to which these self-proved leaders can attach themselves. And, naturally, in all other Theses, Resolutions or Decisions, this dominating idea "leadership" is the basis of all discussion. It is repeated over and over again in every article, until reading such "theses" becomes a monotonous study of repeated phrases. Every member of the I. W. W. should get a copy of these "Resolutions and Decisions" if possible. It is a study in the dilapidated dogma of pure leadership, but splashed over with a brand new coat of red paint.

There were only three matters adopted in the Congress that are worthy of any consideration here: "The Question of Tactics," "Resolution on the Question of Relations between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International," and the "Constitution." There were other things considered, but dealing as they did with superannuated topics are important to nobody but the author, who perhaps, got a kick out of exercising his peculiar talent for ambiguity. It is not my intention to get comical over a serious subject, yet one must counteract such bloodthirsty tirades with a relaxed mind, otherwise he will take the question of conservative labor leaders so seriously as to be drawn into an argument as to whether they should be dynamited or run into a machine gun trap.

Our sole consideration here is the machinery that was set up to create and operate the Red International (from an I. W. W. standpoint).

Relations with Communist International

The "Resolutions on the Relations with the Communist International" are somewhat misleading because they say nothing about the actual relations of these two bodies. But in the "Constitution of the Red International of Labor Unions" this point is settled. This being the case, I will only reprint them here with the request to the membership to carefully study the last paragraph about "Contact between Red Labor Unions and the Communists Parties."

"*RESOLUTION on the Question of Relations between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International.*

"(On the report of Comrades Rosmer and Tom Mann.)

"Whereas, the struggle between labor and capital in all capitalist countries has assumed, as a result of the world war and crisis, an exceptionally acute, implacable and decisive character,

"Whereas, in the process of this everyday struggle the laboring masses realize ever more clearly the necessity of eliminating the bourgeoisie from administration of industry and consequently from political power,

"Whereas, the above result can be obtained solely by establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a Communist system,

"Whereas, in the struggle to preserve the bourgeois dictatorship, all the capitalist ruling classes have already succeeded in consolidating and concentrating to a high degree their national and international organizations, political as well as economic, in a solid front of all the bourgeois forces, both defensive and offensive, against the onrush of the proletariat,

"Whereas, the logic of the modern class struggle demands the greater consolidation of the proletarian forces and the revolutionary struggle and consequently means that there must be the closest contact and organic connection between the different forms of the revolutionary labor movement and primarily between the Third Communist International and the Red Labor Union International, it is also desirable that every effort should be made, in the national field, towards the establishment of similar relations between the Communist parties and the Red International of Labor Unions;

"Therefore the Congress resolves:

"1. To take all steps for uniting together in the most energetic manner all the labor unions in one united fighting organization with one direct international center—the Red International of Labor Unions.

"2. To establish the closest possible contact with the Third Communist International as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement in all the parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both Executive Committees, joint conferences, etc.

3. That the above connection should have an organic and business character and be expressed in the joint preparation of pre-revolutionary action and in the concerted manner in which it could be carried out on a national and international scale.

"4. That it is imperative for every country to strive towards uniting the revolutionary labor union organizations and the establishment of the closests contact between the red labor unions and the Communist parties for the carrying out of the decisons of both congresses."

There was a resolution on the Italian question, the discussion of which took up two days' sessions. The gist of the affair is that the leaders of the General Confederation of Labor in Italy (this is the conservative union that belongs to Amsterdam and not to be confused with the Syndicalist union) had at one time promised to join the Red International but have still remained on the outside. The resolution on the so-called Italian question was therefore a condemnation of the leaders in the Italian conservative unions for their seeming duplicity. According to the time taken this should rank as the most important question. It took just twice as long to settle this quarrel as it did the other resolutions.

Resolutions on Organizations

The "Resolutions on Organizations" were the issue on which the opposing factions in the Congress indulged in the most heated debate. This resolution comprises the "boring from within" theory, a policy by which the Communists have such fond hopes of capturing the conservative labor unions. The whole philosophy of "boring from within" has sprung from one desire: leadership and power.

Take away the idea of controlling all labor unions from a center in Moscow and the whole theory falls as flat as a pancake. And, too, it is from this philosophy of leadership that the extreme antagonism towards the Syndicalists and the I. W. W. springs. Losovsky indicates this clearly in his theses on "Tactics" when he says: *"On the other hand we find in Syndicalism the principle of independence and neutrality towards all political parties, including the political party of the proletariat."*

This, I think, explains everything about "boring from within." The theses on "Tactics" give no other impression than that the main function of "boring from within" is to oust the old leaders. Says Losovsky in paragraph 24, "Theses on Tactics," speaking of English labor unions:

"The problem under such conditions is not to wrest individual prominent members from the mass of workers, from the unions in order to create certain extra-union organizations, but to see to it that all the most conscious, revolutionary active elements should work organically in the very thick of the laboring masses; in the factories and shops, in the lowest nuclei of the unions, striving to secure responsible, leading positions in the labor union movement from top to bottom"

It is a waste of time and space to attempt a detailed examination of the boring from within theory, its promulgators have advanced it evidently with their Russian viewpoint, and besides, know little about the conditions in America, or any other country for that matter. But, measuring it from the standpoint of capturing the leadership in the conservative unions, its reasons for existence are easily seen. I have searched everything published on this subject by the Communist tacticians and I have yet to find a comprehensive plan that would define a complete program for this theory. The following from the theses on "Organization" by Losovsky, comes the nearest to saying something on this subject that exists as far as I know:

"IV. The Conquest of the Old Trade Unions

"12. The counter-revolutionary part played, at the present time, by the trade union bureaucracy; the strangling of the revolutionary movement of the working class awakened in certain sections of the revolutionary proletariat in all countries the thought of leaving the unions and the creation of new, purely revolutionary unions. This is the origin of the watchwords 'destroy the unions' and 'out of the unions', which met with rather favorable reception among that section of the revolutionary elements who were rather despairing and in a pessimistic mood, having lost confidence in the masses. This policy of breaking off from the unions by the revolutionary elements, thanks to which the great masses are abandoned to the influence of the working class, plays into the hands of the counter-revolutionary bureaucracy and must be resolutely and categorically rejected. Not to destroy, but to conquer the unions, i. e., the great mass of workers who are still in the old trade unions, this should be our rallying point in the development of the revolutionary struggle.

"13. Meeting half way the slogan 'out of the unions,' the trade union bureaucracy of all countries began to expel the leading elements of the revolutionary trade union movement. This rendered still more acute the pessimistic mood and strengthened the slogan "out of the unions.' But it would be a great error on the part of the supporters of the Red International if, being drawn into this provocation, they were to abandon the

trade union movement and confine themselves in minute revolutionary unions.

"The workers expelled from the union should not be disintegrated. They must remain organized on the same plane as they were before the exclusion acting always as a definite, legal part of the union which had expelled them. By no means should they play into the hands of the trade union bureaucracy and facilitate it in the struggle against the ever-increasing revolutionary spirit of the masses.

"14. Our policy with respect to old trade unions should take into consideration that, at the actual moment, they embrace many millions of workers. The task of the revolutionary elements in the trade unions does not consist in wresting from the unions the best and class conscious workers in order to create small organizations. Their task should be to revolutionize the unions, to transform them into a weapon of social revolution by means of the everyday struggle in favor of all the revolutionary demands put forward by the workers within the old trade unions. Every kind of organizing work should develop along the lines of fighting the treachery and slackness of the trade union bureaucracy in the struggle for the every-day interests of the workers. To conquer the unions means to conquer the masses, and these can only be conquered by a systematically obstinate work, setting against the policy of class collaboration that of our steady revolutionary line of action. The slogan 'out of the unions' prevents us from conquering the masses to our cause and retards the advance of the social revolution.

"15. It would be similarly erroneous to consider the organization of trade unions as an aim in itself. They are but only the means to an end. By rejecting the motto "out of the unions' we must resolutely declare ourselves against the fetish of organization and the watchword 'Unity at any cost and under all circumstances.' The conquest of the unions does not imply the seizure of the union cash book or of its property, but the conquest of its members. The difference is easily forgotten and the union is often confused with its office, its cash and its officials. This 'trade union machinery' standpoint should encounter a resolute opposition on the part of the revolutionary class conscious unions. The revolutionary trade unions are against the split. They stand for unity, but they do not fear the split, this should be brought home to everyone of us."

The most striking feature about the above is the vagueness with which it treats this "pet subject," and being vague, it is but natural that inconsistency would abound. It is a masterpiece of childish dribble. It tells the workers to leave the "yellow leaders" of Amsterdam but stay with the "yellow leaders" of the various countries, seemingly unaware of the fact that sup-

port of the national leaders certainly does not weaken Amsterdam.

I leave it to the members of the I. W. W. to solve this riddle and arrive at an understanding as to where this "boring" is going to start and where it will end. It is like boring a tunnel without knowing where the tunnel will end.

Having, I think, established that the Red International was completely dominated by the Third International, it is to the point to call attention here to pragraph 45 of the Theses on Organization, under the section headed: "Conditions of Affiliation to the Red International." It is the "joker," clumsily disguised that has for its purpose the delivery of the world's labor movement into the hands of the Executive Committee of the Communist International via the international disciplinarians of the Red International.

45. "An international organization is only then properly established when its decisions are carried out by corresponding organizations in all countries. The experience of international organizations before, and especially during the war, shows that many organizations do not consider the decisions adopted by international congresses as binding on the national organizations. But the Red International cannot endorse their standpoint and therefore establishes the necessity of international proletarian discipline, i. e., that separate national organizations must abide by the decisions of the International Congresses and conferences."

One could go on without end in criticizing the "Resolutions and Decisions" for their lack of an intelligible plan for an International organization. However, it is useless to dissect everything, the ambiguity of the whole program is its chief strength, because it has a tendency to confuse the great majority of the workers, maintaining an ideological attitude towards the Russian revolution, confuse this wonderful achievement with a political party.

I will only deal with one thing more, "The Constitution of the Red International of the Labor Unions." To save space I will omit the introduction to this resolution, and commence with "Aims and Purpose."

"II. Aims and Purpose

"The Red International of Labor has for its aims:

"(1) To organize the large working mass in the whole world for the overthrow of capitalism, the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation and the establishment of the socialist commonwealth.

"(2) To carry on a wide agitation and propaganda of the principles of revolutionary class struggle, social revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary mass action for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist system and the bourgeois state.

"(3) To fight against the corruptive ulcer gnawing at the vitals of the world labor union movement, of compromising with the bourgeoisie, against the ideas of class co-operation and social peace and the absurd hopes for a peaceable transition from capitalism to socialism.

"(4) To unite the revolutionary class elements of the world labor union movement and carry on decisive battle against the International Bureau of Labor attached to the League of Nations and against the Amsterdam International Federation of Trade Unions, which by their program and tactics are but the bulwark of the world bourgeoisie.

"(5) To co-ordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries and organize international demonstrations each time, when the situation demands them.

"(6) To take the initiative of international campaigns about prominent events of class struggle, to open subscription lists for the benefit of strikers in great social conflicts, etc."

I don't think comment is necessary on the above other than to ask, what particular set of aims in any way clarifies the subject about which the matter is printed? To say that the "Aims and Purposes" are "to organize the working class in the whole world . . the emancipation of the toilers from oppression and exploitation" doesn't mean anything, because the yellow Socialists and Amsterdamers also recommend this same vague process Organize? Sure! But how? And by what logical process are the workers to get control of the industries? We don't want to leave anything to the imagination on this point. The fact of the matter is that this clause is another instance of studied and methodical nonsense. But if the author had written what was in his heart, too much would have been uncovered.

Conditions of Membership

Under the rules of "Membership" the doors and windows of the next Red International Congress are thrown wide open for another avalanche of Communist delegates representing their millions of phantom workers. But, of course, it could not be that the framer of this clause had this very thing in mind!

"Membership

"Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions:

"(1) Endorsement of the principles of revolutionary class struggle.

"(2) Application of these principles in its daily struggle with capitalism and the bourgeois state.

"(3) Recognition of the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism through the social revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the transition period.

"(4) Recognition and application of the decisions of the Constituent Congress of the Red International of Labor Unions.

"(6) The rupture with the Amsterdam yellow International.

"(7) United action with all the revolutionary organizations and the Communist party of the country in all defensive and offensive activities against the bourgeoisie."

Article IV, "International Congress"

This article is the "joker," and two interesting paragraphs that are particularly valuable to those Communists who, to determine the amount of the workers they will represent, need only a lead pencil that will write out the figures. The whole Syndicalist movement has perhaps 3,000,000 members, which would net them about 18 votes, a liberal estimate using article IV as a basis. The German Communist minority could match this alone, not to mention the potentialities of the American, French, English, Italian and a score of other countries. And, too, the usual "joker" is found in the next paragraph to that which fixes representation. It is morally certain that the conservative labor unions in the various countries will never join the Red International, and hence arises the necessity for a Communist minority. Here are the two paragraphs commented on above.

"Every national organization of trade or industrial unions less than 10,000 members, receives one consultative voice on the congress; national organizations having from 10,000 to 25,000 members send one delegate with a deciding vote; from 25,000 to 100,000 members—two delegates with deciding votes; from 100,000 to 250,000—four delegates with deciding votes; from 250,000 to 500,000—six delegates, and for each additional 500,000 members one delegate with a deciding vote is added. International revolutionary class organizations by trades or industries have the right to two deciding votes each.

Organized minorities in countries have the same representation, but all organizations of a given country affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions make up a single delegation, inside of which the votes are divided proportionally to the membership of the respective organizations. Organized minorities and fractions have representation on the congress only in the case, when the general labor union" (by this is meant the conservative unions) "organization of that country is not affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions."

The Central Council

By Article V, "Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions" on the Central Council the Russians are forever provided with four delegates, other countries two, and some one. I say forever because this particular Red International will never meet outside of Russia. However, this doesn't matter, as the Central Council as such will in the future carry on a paper existence. The real body is the Executive Bureau, which is elected by the Central Council, and the Central Council having made these provisions disbands until the next Congress. This Central Council, always assured of a Communist majority, will, of course, always elect safe and sane comrades to the Executive Bureau, etc., etc., and our attention attracted thus to this exalted center, it takes no mental effort to see that the powers controlling this particular body will be no other than the General Headquarters of the Third International. I quote this article:

"V. Organs of the Red International of Labor Unions

"The Red International of Labor Unions has two organs: the Central Council and the Executive Bureau.

"Central Council. The Central Council is composed as follows: England, United States, Germany, Italy, Spain, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland and France have two representatives each; Russia has four; all other countries having more than 25,000 have one representative with a deciding vote; countries having less than 25,000 have one representative with a consulting voice, international organizations by trades or industries have one representative with a consulting voice.

"The Central Council directs all the work of the Red International of Labor Unions from congress to congress; takes all decisions necessitated by the circumstances; represents the Red International of Labor Unions before the whole world; acts in its name,, gathers in its hands all the materials and documents related to the international labor movement; manages all funds including the International Fund of Militant Solidarity; publishes papers and magazines in different languages; in short, is the

organ invested with the power to direct the work between the world congresses.

"The Central Council meets at least twice a year, dealing mostly with the clearing of questions of principles, and leaving all current work to the Executive Bureau."

The present composition of the Executive Bureau and the methods used to place Andreytchine there are conclusive proof as to what element will always make up this body. And together with this is the fact that the Red International will be personified in these seven men. They will be the Red International. And with the plan of central control of all organizations that belong to the R. T. U. I., which is so plainly insisted upon in the adopted "Resolutions and Decisions," it is plain to see that this particular group will sit securely alone and run the Red International to suit themselves. And it can be depended on that this bureau will have the machinery of the next congress well oiled for future political travels.

The Executive Bureau

The Executive Bureau consists of seven members, elected by the Central Council, including two members of the country where the Headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is located.

"The Executive Bureau directs all the current affairs of the Red International of Labor Unions. It regulates the work of the departments and sections; publishes the official organs of the Red International of Labor Unions; represents the Red International of Labor Unions and the Central Council wherever and whenever it is necessary; and prepares all the questions for the sessions of the Central Council. The Executive Bureau meets at least once a week."

Provision for Funds

The provision for funds made in the Constitution I am going to leave to the conclusions of any mathematical genius that chances to read this report. The only thing I can make out of it is that the labor bodies who have a membership will supply the treasury. The Communist minorities will be deadheads, but, having all the votes, will spend all the money to wreck the very organizations that supply it. A bright future for an International of Labor Unions to face!

"Article VII. Funds

"The funds of the Red International are composed of regular dues paid by the national organizations affiliated with it and of special contributions. The quota of the payments is established as follows: at least 1 per cent of the total income of the organizations which receive into their central treasury 50 per cent or more of the membership dues: at least 2 per cent from those organizations receiving into their central treasury 25 to 50 per cent of the membership dues; at least 3 per cent from those organizations receiving from 10 to 25 per cent of the membership dues and at least 5 per cent from those organizations receiving less than 10 per cent of the membership dues. Until the creation of the necessary fund all financial means will be furnished by the general labor organization of the country where the headquarters of the Red International of Labor Unions is located."

I will finish with the subject of "Relations with the Communist International," by saying that this is a very clumsy decoy, and only meant for superficial examination. As a matter of fact, the Communists knew all along that they would control the Red International, but now try with the aid of this clause to "dummy up" on the Syndicalist organizations. But such transparent shams have fooled no one. This clause serves nicely as the official alibi of the Communists. With it they expect to prove that the Red International is independent of the Third International. But the question is: Whom could they prove it to?

"X. Relations with the Communist International.

"To establish close and unbreakable connections between the Red International of Labor Unions and the Third Communist International, the Central Council:

"(1) Sends three representatives to the Executive Committee of the Communist International with deciding votes and vice versa.

"(2) Organizes joint sessions with the Executive Committee of the Communist International for the discussion of the most important issues of the international labor movement, and for the organization of common action.

"(3) Issues, when it is warranted by the events, joint appeals with the Communist International."

This ends the discussions on the "Resolutions and Decisions," and having nothing more of importance to consider in connection with the Red International, I will make a few remarks on the "International Congress of Seamen."

World Congress of Seamen

Besides bearing credentials for the Red International, I also bore credentials for a World's Congress of Seamen, which was scheduled to take place in Petrograd on August 1st. This congress never materialized, but a so-called conference was arranged for and held in Moscow on August 12, 1921. According to the reasons advanced by Losovsky, the intended congress was annulled because in the light of the situation it was a wrong policy to organize a separate Seamen's International from the Red International. Together with this point of view there were few seamen's delegates present, and they represented but a small fraction of the workers in this industry. Delegates representing seamen were present only from four countries: Australia, Argentina, Germany and America. I made no objection to turning the intended congress into a conference for that reason. However, the German and Argentine delegates objected rather strongly against the new arrangement. Nothing came out of the conference worth covering here.

German Syndicalist Congress

Leaving Moscow I arrived in Berlin, where, having an enforced stay ahead of me, I accepted an invitation to attend the congress of the German Syndicalists (F. A. U. D.) in a fraternal capacity. Prior to the opening of this congress other delegates (who had represented various countries at the Red International) arrived and informal discussions were entered into regarding the international situation. Discussions in these conferences indicated an unanimous opinion that the Congress of the Red International was not at all satisfactory to the Syndicalist organizations, but opinion was divided as to what action to take. It was considered advisable to allow the general situation to clear up by waiting until the many organizations represented in Moscow could decide on the reports of their delegates. This, of course, would take some time. When I left Germany for home the situation, as it appeared to me, was as follows:

That practically none of the Syndicalist organizations of Europe will affiliate with the Red International and that these organizations are still very anxious to, in some way, establish connections with other revolutionary organizations. All that is needed is initiative by some organization and the necessary preliminary business for the establishment of an Economic International can be easily arranged. And I think that if the I. W. W. sponsored such a move it would get immediate responses.

The foreign delegates who attended the German Congress, including myself, agreed that the Holland delegates would act as the secretary of a temporary bureau, which would function as an information bureau, and keep the various revolutionary

organizations in touch with the situation. This ended my participation in anything pertaining to the labor movement in Europe, excepting a short talk to the German Syndicalist congress, which was printed in Industrial Solidarity.

Proof of Domination

I will add here some material that I think is conclusive proof that the Red International was dominated by the Third International. It is in the form of two documents dealing with the same subject. One of the documents was adopted as a part of a resolution by the Third International, the other was adopted in the same capacity at the first Congress of the Red International. Both these documents were written in the original, without doubt, by the same individual, but as they appear in the congresses mentioned above, one has been slightly altered by changing a few words or shows a reconstruction of a sentence. It is obvious that the one that was adopted by the Third International Congress is the original. It makes little difference who was the author, but it makes a world of difference what motive and influence caused it to appear embodied in a resolution that was adopted at the First Congress of the Red International, after being adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

The two documents are displayed below in parallel form, so that the reader can examine the selected paragraphs. The one on the left is that adopted by the Communist Congress and the other by the Red International Congress. You will, of course, see that the two documents are the same by comparing one paragraph with the one directly opposite.

PROGRAM OF ACTION FROM THESES AND RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE THIRD WORLD CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL, PAGES 69 TO 72, RUSSIAN EDITION.	PROGRAM OF ACTION FROM THE RESOLUTIONS AND DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE AND INDUSTRIAL UNIONS, PAGES 38 TO 44, AMERICAN EDITION.
Paragraph 3, pages 69 and 70.) The last year of the struggle has shown with a particular vividness the inability of strictly trade union organizations. The fact of the workers in one concern belonging to several unions produces a weakening effect on the struggle. It is necessary . . . and this should be the starting point of a tenacious struggle—	(Paragraph 46, page 38.) The last years of the struggle have shown with a peculiar vividness the inability for strictly trade union organizations to meet the situation. The fact that the workers in one concern belong to different craft unions weakens their efficiency in the struggle. It is necessary . . . and this should be the starting point of an implacable struggle . . .

(Paragraph 4, page 70.) Each factory and each mill should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members of the union and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others should be substituted by the formation of factory committees.	(Paragraph 47, page 39.) Each factory and each shop should become a citadel of the revolution. Old forms of communication between rank and file members and the union itself such as money collectors, representatives, proxies and others are insufficient; it is necessary to strive towards the building up of the union on the basis of shop committees.
(Paragraph 5, page 70.) The first question to be put before the workers and the factory committee . . . is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment at the expense of the enterprise. It should not be permitted that workers should be thrown out into the streets without the enterprise being in the least concerned . . . The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed.	(Paragraph 48, page 39.) The first question to be put before the workers in the shop committee... is the maintenance of the workers discharged on account of unemployment, at the expense of the bosses of the given branch of industry. Workers should not be permitted to be thrown out on the streets without the employers being in the least concerned . . . The owner must be compelled to pay full wages to the unemployed.
(Paragraph 6, page 70.) The closing down of enterprises and curtailing of the workers' hours are at present time the most efficient weapon for the cleaning of the concern from unreliable elements with the help of which the bourgeoisie is compelling the workers to accept the reduction of wages, increasing of the working day and the abolition of collective bargaining. The lock-out is taking more and more definitely a form of direct action on the part of the employers.	(Paragraph 49, page 39.) The closing down of concerns and shortening of the working hours are the most efficient means with the help of which the bourgeoisie compels the workers to accept lower wages, longer hours, and the abolition of collective bargaining. Lockouts take a more and more definite form of direct action on the part of the employers against the organized workers.
(Paragraph 7, page 70.) One of the ways of struggling against such closing of concerns for the purpose of a reduction of wages and standard of life should be the taking hold by the workers of the factories and mills and proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners' will.	(Paragraph 50, page 40.) One of the ways of battling against the closing of concerns for the purpose of the reduction of wages and lowering of the standard of life, should be the taking over of the factories and mills by the workers and the proceeding with production by themselves despite the owners' will.
(Paragraph 9, page 71.) In the case of such tendencies of reducing wages taken up by capitalists of an economic crisis in the country, the task of the revolutionary trade unions should consist in their endeavors to prevent the reduction in wages by turn in each separate concern, in order not to be defeated in parts.	(Paragraph 53, page 41.) When the tactics of wage reduction are resorted to by the capitalist class during an economic crisis, the problem of the revolutionary trade unions consist in defeating wage reduction in capitalist industries, in order not to be defeated piecemeal.

(Paragraph 11, page 71.) The belief in the absolute value of collective stipulations propagated by the opportunists of all countries must be met with a resolute and keen resistance from the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The collective stipulation, etc., etc.	(Paragraph 54, page 41.) The belief in the sanctity of collective bargaining propagated by the opportunists of all countries must be met with a resolute and decided resistance on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. Collective bargaining, etc., etc.
(Paragraph 13, page 71.) These militant organizations not only struggle against the attacks of the employers and the strikebreaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all the freight and products.	(Paragraph 56, page 42.) These militant organizations should not only resist the attacks of the employers and the strikebreaking organizations, but take the initiative by stopping all freight and goods, etc., etc.

I have gone through everything that I think is necessary in connection with the Red International. This report could have been made much longer by studied detail, but it would be of little use here. I think, too, that the reader will finish this report with the impression that I have dealt more with the Communist control phase than with the other matter. However, this is not a fault, but, as I see it, it was really the whole issue of the Congress of the Red International. What particular words or clauses are in the "Resolutions or Decisions" are important only in consideration of this control. And the question of control having been settled, it is obvious (especially with Communists) that these "Resolutions and Decisions" would make little difference in the policy pursued. But in this case (the Red International) it seems as though the Communists were so bent on camouflaging their position as to manufacture a set of resolutions that are wholly devoid of any meaning at all. For that reason I have commented very little on them, feeling that the membership would see the inherent weakness of everything adopted. The narrative of the conditions in Russia I am going to leave to a separate report, which I soon hope to present to the membership of the I. W. W.

This is all I have to offer as a report and I leave it to the judgment of the members of the I. W. W., confident that they will give it the careful consideration it deserves.

With best wishes, I remain your for Industrial Freedom,

GEORGE WILLIAMS.

Chicago, Ill., Dec. 12, 1921.

STATEMENT BY GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Chicago, Ill., December 10, 1921.

The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World recommends that this organization do not affiliate in any manner with the Red Trade Union International.

The Board has reached this decision after careful examination of the constitution and resolutions adopted by the first congress at Moscow; the preliminary report and numerous other documents transmitted by Fellow Worker George Williams, the only authorized delegate sent from the I. W. W. to this congress.

The Board regards affiliation by the Industrial Workers of the World with this so-called International as not only undesirable but absolutely impossible for the following reasons:

FIRST THE CONGRESS EXPRESSLY CONDEMNED THE POLICY AND TACTICS OF THE I. W. W.

In a "Resolution on the Question of Tactics," paragraph 26, appears the following:

> "The Industrial Workers of the World, an independent organization in America, is too weak to take the place of the old labor unions. The I. W. W. have a purely anarchistic prejudice against politics and political action, being divided into supporters and opponents of such a cardinal question as proletarian dictatorship. . . . Therefore the question of creating revolutionary cells and groups inside the American Federation of Labor and the independent unions is of vital importance. There is no other way by which one could gain the working mass in America, than to lead a systematic struggle within the unions."

In Resolution VII, "On the Organization Question," the congress explicitly declares for the policy of "boring from within" the reactionary trade unions and condemns all efforts to construct new and scientific revolutionary organizations. Under section V. of this resolution ("Problems of Organization in the Principal Countries") the work of the I. W. W. in England is described in the following terms (paragraph 18):

> "In England, irrespective of a powerful labor movement, which is undergoing a radical change, there are attempts at creating new organizations of the I. W. W., or One Big Union type. Such attempts should be absolutely and sharply condemned . . . To wrest out tens of thousands of revolutionary workers and form new independent organizations is

a crime against the working class of England and the whole world. Hence all the organizations which are in accord with the Red Trade Union International must concentrate all their efforts for the purpose of winning over the unions one by one, consolidate their ranks, not wasting time on the selected few, 'the top,' which are not in touch with the masses."

Unless we are prepared to admit that the British administration of the I. W. W. is "a crime against the working class of England and the whole world," we are certainly precluded from affiliating with the people who say so.

The next paragraph (19), referring to America, lays down as law a policy utterly opposed to that which has guided the I. W. W. from its beginning. It is as follows:

"In the United States of America, where we have the reactionary American Federation of Labor, some independent unions, the I. W. W. and others, the principle of staying within the old unions is prevailing here, too. The members of the I. W. W. should join their respective trade unions and spread their propaganda among them, explaining the working class problems. The longer they keep themselves aloof from the American Federation of Labor, the greater will be the sufferings and the harder will be the process of advancement of the unorganized workers there. The independent unions, which favor the Red Labor Union International should co-ordinate their activities, and come to an understanding with those labor councils which officially belong to the American Federation of Labor, but agree with our tactics. Co-ordination and unity of action among the local organizations of the American Federation of Labor and the I. W. W. favoring the Red International should also be established."

SECOND: THE RED TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL IS POLITICAL IN CHARACTER AND DOMINATED BY POLITICIANS. IT IS IN FACT THE COMMUNIST PARTY, THINLY DISGUISED.

The evidence of this is so abundant in the official transactions of the congress, not to speak of the character of its personnel as described in Fellow Worker Williams' report, that we need but quote, first, the constitution. Article III. ("On Conditions of Membership") says:

"Any revolutionary economic class organization is eligible to membership in the Red International of Labor Unions if it accepts the following conditions . . . Section 7. United action with all the revolutionary organizations and the Communist Party of the country in all defensive activities against the bourgeoisie."

And Resolution III. ("On the Question of Relation Between the Red Labor Union International and the Communist International") in which the congress resolves:

> "(2) To establish the closest possible contact with the Third Communist International as the vanguard of the revolutionary labor movement in all the parts of the world on the basis of joint representation at both executive committees, joint conferences, etc.
>
> (3) That the above connection should have an organic and business character and be expressed in the joint preparation of pre-revolutionary action on a national and international scale.
>
> (4) That it is imperative for every country to strive towards uniting the revolutionary labor union organizations and the establishment of the closest contact between the red labor unions and the Communist parties for the carrying out of the decisions of both congresses."

Turning again to the constitution, we find (Article X—"Relations with the Communistic International"—Section 1) that three representatives from the R. T. U. I. will sit with deciding votes on the executive committee of the Third (political) International, and vice versa.

Until our resolution refusing alliances with any political party is repealed, any connection between such an organization and the I. W. W. is not to be thought of.

THIRD: IT IS THE ANNOUNCED INTENTION OF THE CLIQUE WHICH CREATED AND WHICH CONTROLS THE R. T. U. I. TO "LIQUIDATE" ALL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS EVERYWHERE THAT REFUSE TO SUBMIT TO THEIR AUTOCRATIC DISCIPLINE.

Throughout the published resolutions are indiscriminate denunciations of this labor organization and that, in all the countries to which the influence of the R. T. U. I. extends. Commands are given with an air of papal infallibility. But the would-be dictators of the world's revolutionary proletariat go further than merely passing resolutions. They send their propagandists, plentifully supplied with money, to attempt the disruption of such labor unions as refuse to submit unconditionally to their sovereign decrees. Of this fact we have ample and convincing evidence.

FOURTH: IT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE R. T. U. I. TO "LIQUIDATE"—I. E., DESTROY, THE I. W. W.

We have already shown that this congress adopted resolutions disapproving the I. W. W. position and in effect advising

it to give up its separate existence and send its members on the wild goose chase of trying to "capture the trade unions."

We now submit from a document of the congress, entitled, "Summary of Report on Trade Union Policy in the United States" (prepared by Joseph Dixon) what amounts to a plan of action to be followed by R. T. U. I. adherents:

> "In the meantime the active revolutionists are in the One Big Union, and the Industrial Workers of the World and similar organizations. While their numbers are not large, they dominate the minds of the revolutionists who are in the trade unions, giving them an attitude of hopelessness towards these trade unions and rendering them inactive therein. Some way must be found to liquidate these 'ideal' unions and release the revolutionary energies among the masses; the idea is more important than the actual structure and membership involved. It must be recognized that this can be done only gradually. The first steps will probably be removal of the present prohibition of revolutionists holding office in trade unions; conceding the jurisdictions of the well-organized industries like mining to the established unions; and when this process has well begun, the consolidation of the remaining structures of the 'ideal' unions and their concentration on unorganized fields, especially the unskilled, and possibly a system of minority committees within the larger movement functioning, not to break it up, but to strengthen it and make it more aggressive, to give it revolutionary leadership."

And after referring to the "bankruptcy of the 'ideal' unions" and reiterating the old stuff about working inside the obsolete craft unions, the document concludes with the following suggestions for subtly and gradually undermining the revolutionary morale of the I. W. W. members, preparatory to their final "liquidation":

> "First we must recognize that the I. W. W. and the O. B. U. cannot be forced or cajoled into immediately abandoning their present policy; convincing them is about as hard. They have a religiously fanatic devotion to their organizations. It would probably be even harder to get them to unite; although upon that point representatives of the two organizations should speak. The most practical immediate step which promises success in winning their support will probably take the form of an agreement on their part, already agreed to in principle by a Communist minority, that efforts to invade the fields of coal mining, railroads and needle trades, with dual organizations, will be abandoned; and instead of prohibiting their members from participation in trade union administration and activi-

ties, they will be directed to work within the trade unions in good faith, not to disrupt them but to strengthen them and develop their best tendencies."

The G. E. B. does not expect the I. W. W. will care to be party to a carefully conceived plot for its own destruction.

FIFTH: THE MOSCOW CONGRESS WAS NOT GENUINELY REPRESENTATIVE OF THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY LABOR MOVEMENT.

It was a packed congress. Delegates were seated with votes who represent non-existent organizations. The makeup of the body was arranged so as to assure absolute control by the Communist Party. For evidence of this fact, especially as regards the American delegation, we refer to the preliminary report of Fellow Worker Williams.

SIXTH: EVEN IF IT WERE PERMITTED TO ASSOCIATE OUR ACTVITIES WITH ANY POLITICAL GROUP, THE I. W. W. WOULD FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

These "Communists," many of whom were members of the reformist Socialist Party until they were thrown out after unsuccessfully trying to gain control of it, have seemed to make the I. W. W. the especial target of their attack—probably because the I. W. W. refused to be interested in their phrasemongering and "underground" nonsense. They have wormed their way into our organization with no other motive than to rule or ruin. Their press incessantly attacks the I. W. W. position. They have even used the distress of the Russian famine victims for the purpose of their propaganda. Their speakers supposedly touring the country to solicit funds for relief (a project which the I. W. W. heartily supported) have abused their humanitarian mission by taking the opportunity to spread C. P. propaganda and to disparage the I. W. W. They are plentifully supplied with funds—which do not come from the pockets of the working class—with which to carry out the nefarious project above exposed to sabotage and destroy Revolutionary Industrial Unionism as exemplified by our organization. They are promoting a "unity" conference of independent unions, which has no other object than to supplant the I. W. W. Infatuated with their own egotism and their fancied role of saviours of the working class, they are ready to use any means, no matter how underhanded and dishonest, to destroy wherever they cannot dominate.

The G. E. B. reaffirms the internationalism of the I. W. W. The conception of our organization is world wide in its scope. In fact as well as in name we aim to be the Industrial Workers of the World. We extend the hand of solidarity to revolution-

ary, class conscious workers of every land. We invite them to examine our program, Preamble and plan of organization, and see if they do not establish a scientific basis for a revolutionary unionism in their respective countries. We welcome proposals for international affiliation that are not in conflict with our principles and policy, and do not call upon us to sacrifice our autonomy.

In concluding this report, the General Executive Board calls upon all members of the I. W. W., to whom the organization's name and integrity are dear, to rally to its support. It is being attacked not only by the capitalist class, but by professed revolutionists, some of whom carry its membership card. They have plentiful funds to prosecute their schemes of disruption. The I. W. W. has none to combat them except what its members supply. They have not failed in their revolutionary duty before; they will not do so now! And the I. W. W. will live and march on toward its goal of working-class emancipation when the very names of its detractors are forgotten.

Yours for Industrial Communism,

The General Executive Board of the Industrial Workers of the World.

John Grady, General Secretary-Treasurer.
Robert E. Daly, Chairman.
Calvin Green.
Alex. Kohler.
Martin Carlson.
Albert Bare.
Walter Smith.
John Jackson.

THE PREAMBLE

OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

I. W. W. PUBLICATIONS

Authorized by the General Executive Board of the I. W. W.

ENGLISH

INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

INDUSTRIAL WORKER

Box 1857, Seattle, Wash. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONIST

New York, Box 79, Station D. Subscription rates: 52 issues, $2.00; 25 issues, $1.00; bundle rates, 10 copies or over, 3 cents each.

RUSSIAN

GOLOS TRUZENIKA
(The Voice of the Laborer)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Once a week; $5.00 per year; 6 months, $2.75; 3 months, $1.50; 5 cents per copy. Bundle orders 3 cents per copy.

HUNGARIAN

A FELSZABADULAS
(Emancipation)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $3.00 per year; six months, $1.50. Weekly.

ITALIAN

IL PROLETARIO
(The Proletarian)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

SPANISH

SOLIDARIDAD

Semi-Monthly, 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. 26 issues $2.00; 5 cents per copy.

BULGARIAN

RABOTNICHESKA MYSL
(Workers' Thought)

1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. $2.00 per year; six months, $1.00. Weekly.

ROUMANIAN

MUNCITORUL
(The Worker)

Twice a month, $2.00 per year (26 issues). 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill.

CZECHO-SLOVAK

JEDNA VELKA UNIE
(One Big Union)

Monthly. $1.00 per year. Single copies 10 cents. Bundle orders 7 cents per copy.

FINNISH

TIE VAPAUTEEN
(Road to Freedom)

Finish Monthly. 1001 West Madison St., Chicago, Ill. Single copies, 25 cents. One year, $2.00. Bundle orders over 10 copies, 20 per cent allowed.

Industrial Union Papers

FINNISH

INDUSTRIALISTI
(The Industrialist)

Box 464, Duluth, Minn., Daily.

Working Class Education Demands That You Subscibe NOW!

FREE FERRERO AND SALLITTO

Fight Against Deportation

Vincent Ferrero and Dominick Sallitto have lived in these United States thirty and fifteen years respectively. They are, admittedly, of high moral character and clear record. Sallitto has a motherless, American born, three year old child who would be left alone, should he be deported.

Ferrero and Sallitto, in the spring of 1934, owned a small restaurant which they ran themselves. Above the kitchen there was a small mezzanine floor which they sublet for office space to various people, among whom was the editor of an Anarchist paper *"Man"*.

On the night of April 11, 1934, these two men were arrested by the U. S. Immigration authorities in Oakland, California. Their homes were raided in the dead of night; their premises were searched and their papers and personal letters seized without a search warrant.

Ferrero and Sallitto were charged with no crime, for they had committed no overt act of any kind. Nevertheless, after a sequence of star chamber hearings, they were ordered deported to Fascist Italy. The men were never given a public trial. Indeed, it would be impossible to bring a charge against them which might stand the publicity of an open trial. Star chamber hearings were the only "trial" ever given these two men. The hearings were held by the inspector in charge of the Oakland Immigration Service, one E. E. Benson, who also acted as arresting officer and prosecution witness.

In March, 1935, Ferrero was suddenly notified to be ready in five days to be deported to Italy. In view of the very short notice, an extension of time was obtained. Meanwhile, the Department of Labor granted him a permit for "voluntary departure" to a country of his choice. This is nothing but the rankest sort of bluff, since the Italian Consul refuses to issue a passport for any foreign country and insists that both men must return to Italy to meet the tragic fate that awaits there all those opposed to Fascism.

Finally, an order came from Washington for Ferrero to surrender for deportation on December 28, 1935. He gave himself up at Ellis Island on the 27th, but his scheduled departure was temporarily stopped by a writ of habeas corpus.

The case against Dominick Sallitto is even more flimsy. Not a particle of written or printed evidence was ever introduced against him. The "proof" of Sallitto's being an anarchist is the

disproved and refuted testimony of a stool-pigeon—one inspector Farrelly—that Sallitto acted as a chairman at a public, open, three-cornered debate in San Francisco, on the subject of the Reichstag Fire in Germany.

Sallitto was held for almost two months on Angel Island, California, until a writ of habeas corpus obtained his release. While in New York, he was ordered to surrender at Ellis Island for deportation on the 11th of January, 1936. However, a writ of habeas corpus stopped the departure.

Hearings on the writ of habeas corpus were held on February 4th in the Federal District Court in the Southern District of New York. On March 26, Judge Francis G. Caffey handed down his reactionary decision in denying a writ of habeas corpus. The men have been released on bail pending action on their appeal.

Deportation and Fascism

The deportation drive against workers coming from fascist countries has taken on a really terrible character. Imprisonment, if not secret death, awaits them at the hands of the black assassins who have achieved power by means of the knife, the axe and the firing squad. A special Italian law exists applying to deportees:

"The citizen who outside the territory of the State carries on activities detrimental to the national interests, shall be punished with a prison term of five to fifteen years."

It is a known fact that all Italian anti-fascists, either deported by foreign dictatorial governments or voluntarily repatriated, have been sent to jail or to the "confino" (Island confinement). We can fully realize, under these circumstances, what would be the fate of Ferrero and Sallitto should they be deported to Italy.

On December 23, 1935, a Labor delegation visited Assistant Secretary Mc Grady in Washington who at first refused to see the delegation. However, after pressure had been brought to bear upon him by prominent A. F. of L. leaders, he later consented to see the men. The delegation demanded that McGrady drop the proceedings and cancel the order of deportation against Ferrero and Sallitto. This McGrady refused to do. He claimed to know nothing about the cases despite the fact this "labor" man had personally signed the deportation order. The delegation was able to see at first hand the tremendous volume of written protests which had already swamped the Labor Department.

Frances Perkins has also been interviewed and, being pressed to review the cases, has sent the defense committee a letter in which she claims she has no power to go against the decision of her subordinates!

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

Stop the Deportation!

Although these workers were arrested in April, 1934, it has taken some time for the facts of their case to filter out and to reach the organized labor movement. Much progress has been made within the last six months.

Defense conferences have been organized in San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York and elsewhere. Thousands of protests have poured into the Department of Labor at Washington from unions, organizations and individuals.

The work for the defense has been supported mainly by labor unions, but also by such bodies as the New York and Brooklyn Federation of Churches, the General Defense Committee, the I. W. W., the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, the I. L. D., besides university and professorial groups and such prominent individuals as Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, Kate Crane-Gartz, Norman Thomas and a host of others. Tom Mooney has sent a letter to the defense, from his living grave in the same California that arrested Ferrero and Sallitto, to demand the release of these two fellow workers.

Among the unions that have protested and have endorsed the defense, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of workers in their organizations, are the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers' Union and numerous unions affiliated with

LIBRARY.O

the I.L.G.W.U., the Federation of Dyers, Finishers, Printers and Bleachers of America, the Toledo Central Trades, the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity, the Tri-City Labor Council, Clinton, Iowa, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio.

Hundreds of honest loyal workers are threatened with being thrown into the clutches of bloody European fascist dictatorships. It is high time that the workers, the liberty-loving people and public opinion in general put a stop to this monstrosity. It is high time that freedom of opinion be respected for all, whether natives or foreign born; that not only the medieval inquisition of individual conscience be expurged from American statute books and practice, but that the right of asylum be granted to political refugees of more unhappy countries.

What You Can Do

1. FIRST OF ALL: Tear off the following petition, sign it, and mail to the Department of Labor in Washington, D. C.
2. If you belong to an organization, see that it joins the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference nearest your city.
3. Send in your name and address and donations to the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference, Box 181, Station D, New York City; 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.; 415 So. 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.; P. O. Box 1589, San Francisco, Cal.; St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, Ohio.

Frances Perkins,
Secretary of Labor,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Madam:—

I emphatically protest the persecution of Dominick Sallitto and Vincent Ferrero who have for many years been legal residents of the United States and ask that the orders of deportation against them be cancelled.

Signed.....

FIGHT AGAINST DEPORTATION

FREE
FERRERO *and* SALLITTO

"... humbly and fervently to beseech the kind Author of these blessings... to render this country more and more a safe and propitious asylum for the unfortunate of other countries."

GEORGE WASHINGTON

Demand the Right of Political Asylum

Deportation Is a Weapon Against Labor and Liberty

GIVE ME YOUR TIRED, YOUR POOR,
YOUR HUDDLED MASSES YEARNING TO BREATHE FREE,
THE WRETCHED REFUSE OF YOUR TEEMING SHORE;
SEND THESE, THE HOMELESS, TEMPEST TOST, TO ME;
I LIFT MY LAMP BESIDE THE GOLDEN DOOR.

(Inscription on Statue of Liberty)

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY · CHICAGO ·

FREE FERRERO AND SALLITTO

The Facts

"Our Liberty depends on freedom of the press." — Thomas Jefferson.

Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto have lived in these United States thirty and fifteen years respectively. They entered the country legally and have since been working and supporting themselves while living the simple and honest life of workers. They are, admittedly, of clear record and of high moral character. Sallitto has a motherless, American-born, three year old child who would be left alone, should he be deported.

On the night of April 11, 1934, these two men were arrested by U. S. Immigration Authorities in Oakland, California. Their homes were raided in the dead of night; their premises were searched and their papers and personal letters seized without a search warrant. They were thrown and kept in the County Jail for three days and then released on a bail of $1000 each.

Ferrero and Sallitto were charged with no crime, for they had committed no overt act of any kind. Nevertheless, after a sequence of star chamber hearings, they were ordered deported to Fascist Italy. The men were never given a public trial. Indeed, it would be impossible to bring a charge against them which might stand the publicity of an open trial.

Why, then, have these men been so summarily condemned to deportation?

Because they are designate victims of the Deportation Laws, mainly and essentially meant to be a means of persecution against workers, organized labor and political dissenters with radical leanings.

Ferrero and Sallitto, in the Spring of 1934, owned a small restaurant which they ran themselves.

Above the kitchen there was a small mezzanine floor which they sublet for office space to various people, among whom was the editor of the Anarchist magazine "Man". This latter particular, however, was held to be a crime by the tools of reaction, and Ferrero and Sallitto became the target of persecution for having assumed to be sufficiently free citizens to rent office space to the editor of an Anarchist monthly which was sponsoring the cause of the workers and which was and still is circulating through the U. S. Mail.

The ruthless anti-labor attitude of the authorities in California—where the rabid red-baiting spirit of William R. Hearst reigns supreme—is well known. There the agricultural workers' unions have been brutally suppressed. There the year 1934 witnessed the strike of the longshoremen who were beaten, gassed and shot down. There, too, was witnessed the conviction of the Imperial Valley strikers. And to add to this torture inflicted upon workers by the same servants of Hearst, we cannot help but mention the San Francisco General Strike and the farcical trial and tragic convictions in connection with the Sacramento Criminal Syndacalism case. Any unorthodox opinion is persecuted in the attempt to defeat Labor's efforts to organize and raise its living standards. The Immigration Laws prove to be of great help in this attempt; in fact, of 103 workers arrested during the general strike, 73 were held for deportation proceedings.

In the early months of 1934 the Immigration Autorities—evidently after having obtained the mailing list from the local Post Office—hounded the readers of "Man". Anyone of them who could be accused or suspected of being foreign-born was annoyed and threatened with being driven out of the country. So it was as a part of the general proceedings of suppression that Ferrero and Sallitto, who had rented office space to so persecuted a journal, should fall victims of the drive and be arrested for deportation.

Star chamber hearings were the only "trial" ever given these two men. The hearings were held by the inspector in charge of the Oakland Immigration Service, one E. E. Benson, who also acted as arresting officer and prosecution witness. The procedures used by this Benson were such that he could be accused of crime himself with much more ground than Ferrero and Sallitto. The inspectors, in defiance of the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, had ransacked, not only the homes of Ferrero and Sallitto, but also their restaurant. The evidence thus illegally obtained—even if it were of any consequence, which it was not—could not have been properly introduced at the hearings. But of what value is the Constitution in comparison with the authority of an Immigration inspector? In fact, one of them, a certain J. Farrelly, testified that he was not familiar with the Fourth Amendment and that nothing in the Constitution could stop him from searching the home of a radical without a warrant. Besides, he added, this was the custom of his department.

The above statements made by people whose duty is to carry out the law even to the point of risking their own lives, gives us the opportunity to make an important conclusion. It is not the law alone that is bad, but worse than the law are the inspectors and officers, men and women whose sole duty by solemn oath is to apply the law, but whose sole practice and custom is to interpret it as they see fit and as it suits them, to the point of making it worse than it is.

Lest our statements on the summary, inquisitorial and autocratic methods of the Immigration Service hirelings seem too far fetched we shall quote from a speech (January, 1926) of the late Louis Marshall, one of America's leading constitutional lawyers:

"At any time an immigration inspector (salary $1800) comes to the conclusion that any person is an alien, that he did not observe to the letter every one of the numerous provisions in the immigration law

he may bring that man before himself. (Our emphasis—Ed.). Mr. Immigration Inspector becomes at once judicial officer. He is to determine the fate of the man whom he has arrested and brought before himself. He now becomes examining council. He begins to bullyrag the individual, to apply the third degree. He tries to get such evidence as he may from other persons. He makes a record such as he pleases of the facts he thus elicits. He then presents those facts with his conclusion to the Secretary of Labor. The Secretary of Labor submits that to a clerk (salary $2400) to consider as to whether or not, upon the face of the papers, there is sufficient ground for the deportation of that individual. He then decides that the person is to be deported..... There never has been anything more shocking than that in our legislation. It is practically allowing one official to determine whether or not a person is entitled to remain in this country without any chance to review his determination."

At one of the hearings Ferrero was questioned as to whether or not he was an Anarchist. To this he replied that he refused to recognize anyone's right to probe into his own thought and beliefs, an inquisitorial pretense against which a few years ago revolted Prof. Einstein, saying that he would renounce coming into the United States rather than submit to it.

We need only look on page 18 of the Dec. 6, 1932 issue of the N. Y. Times which reported an interview between Prof. Einstein and an American consul in Germany before he sailed for this Country, an interview in which he stated:

"What's this an inquisition? Is this an attempt at chicanery? I don't propose to answer such silly questions. I didn't ask to go to America. Your countrymen invited me; yes begged me. If I am to enter your country as a suspect I don't want to go at all. If you don't want to give me a visa please say so. Then I'll know where I stand. But don't ask me humiliating questions."

In Japan they have a law making it a crime to entertain thoughts against the Government. We are not far from this in our own country if two men can be arrested and deported for opinions they may hold, regardless of their acts and with complete lack of evidence of any sort against them—in fact, solely on *suspicion* of thought.

In March, 1935, Ferrero was suddenly notified to be ready in five days to be deported to Italy. In view of the very short notice, an extention of time was obtained. Meannwhile, the Department of Labor granted him a permit for "voluntary departure" to a country of his choice. This is nothing but the rankest sort of bluff, since the Italian Consul refuses to issue a passport for any foreign country and insists that both men must return to Italy to meet the tragic fate that awaits there all those opposed to Fascism.

Finally, an order came from Washington for Ferrero to surrender for deportation on December 28, 1935. He gave himself up at Ellis Island on the 27th, but his scheduled departure was temporarily stopped by a writ of habeas corpus. His release on bail having been refused, Ferrero, since that day, has been held at the Island.

The case against Domenick Sallitto is even more flimsy. Not a particle of written or printed evidence was ever introduced against him. The "proof" of Sallitto's being an anarchist is the disproved and refuted testimony of a stool-pigeon—one inspector Farrelly—that Sallitto acted as a chairman at a public, open, three-cornered debate in San Francisco, on the subject of the Reichstag Fire in Germany. At this debate the speakers were representatives of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the editor of "Man", while Sallitto acted as an impartial chairman. But in the eyes of this ignorant nitwit inspector this was an "anarchist meeting" and he declared that, had he known the people in the audience were foreigners, he would have arrested every one of them on the spot!

So weak was the case against Sallitto that the record was sent back from Washington with a request for more convincing evidence. Inspector Benson thereupon called another hearing and imperturbably *introduced into Sallitto's record excerpts taken from the record of another case.* The fact that there is not a bit of direct evidence in this case has also been acknowledged by an opinion rendered by the Washington Board of Review.

Sallitto was held for almost two months at Angel Island, California, until a writ of habeas corpus obtained his release. While in New York, he was ordered to surrender at Ellis Island for deportation on the 11th of January, 1936. But a writ of habeas corpus stopped the departure, and he also has been held without bail at the Island, since that date.

Hearings on the writ of habeas corpus were held on February 4th, in the Federal District Court in the Southern District of New York. On March 26, Judge Francis G. Caffey handed down his reactionary decision in denying a writ of habeas corpus. Immediate steps are now being taken by the Defense Conference to obtain an appeal and to have the men released on bail pending action on the appeal.

Deportation and Fascism

Ferrero and Sallitto are Italians. They are part of one of the largest immigrant nationalities in this country. They, like so many others of their contrymen, in the long period they have lived here, have worked hard, helping to build up the wealth of the country for those who own it.

Italian immigrants came to America at a time when the only jobs open were the poorest paid unskilled jobs, the roughest hardest jobs. And even to-day Italian workers are to be found in industry at the lowest end... as unskilled labor on the railroads, in the mines, in the textile mills, in the dye shops. They are mostly part of the basic unskilled

labor of the country, a section of labor which the employers want to keep down, making superprofits from their low paid work.

But Italian and other foreign workers are no longer resigned to their old lot and have gradually joined the great struggle of Labor for its emancipation. They begin to stir, they are quitting being passive. Are the bosses going to stand for that? No, American bosses will stop at nothing to choke the growing restlessness of the masses and to trample under foot any effort of Labor to stand on its own feet and take a larger part of what it has produced. So, while giving the natives the choice between jail or a bowl of cheap soup, they are engineering another deportation drive against the foreign born workers.

And who should come to the help of the bosses if not Fascism? Fascism which has destroyed every human and civil right of the workers; Fascism, which has reduced them to an even worse status than that of helots. It is a well known fact that the consulates of fascist countries here are nothing short of agencies of espionage. Fascist consuls very well know the workers' adversion to the bloody regimes of the black and brown shirts, and they work hand in hand with the Immigration Authorities to have as many recalcitrant workers as possible deported to the country of their birth, where severe punishment can be meted to them.

In the case of Ferrero and Sallitto the connivence of the Italian authority with the Immigration Service has come to light many times. The following letter excerpts, found in Sallitto's record, will give an idea of the sinister collaboration. They were in the form of notations attached to the record at Ellis Island, and were copied by the attorney in the case before they disappeared. One stated merely:

"The Italian Government wants to be notified of deportation date." The other, under date of September 8, 1935, Oakland, California, was a notation by the inspector stating in part:

"However, as a tip will state that I understand the Italian Consul is very much interested in the deportation of this alien and would be only too glad to issue a passport for alien's return to Italy."

Since the coming of Fascism in Italy, the deportation drive against workers coming from fascist countries has taken on a really terrible character. Imprisonment, if not secret death, awaits them at the hands of the black assassins who have achieved power by means of the knife, the axe and the firing squad. A special Italian law exists applying to deportees:

"The citizen who outside the territory of the State carries on activities detrimental to the national interests, shall be punished with a prison term of five to fifteen years."

It is a known fact that all Italian anti-fascists, either deported by foreign dictatorial governments or spontaneously repatriated, have been sent to jail or to the "confino" (Island confinement). We can fully realize, under these circumstances, what would be the fate of Ferrero and Sallitto should they be deported to Italy, once the cradle of free thought and expression, but now the complete negation of anything that spells individuality, anything that stands for the rights of the workers.

Under cover of "democracy", with the rankest hypocricy, the American Department of Labor joins hands with the fascist forces abroad. Frances Perkins herself declared against shipping munitions to warring countries and even urged workers to strike against such shipments. But she countenances and supports the deportation of men to Fascist Italy—men, who at the very best, will be sent to dig ditches for Mussolini's armies in the burning heat and drenching rains of Ethiopia. But we well remember the rousing welcome and the honors bestowed by the U. S. authorities on Fascist Ambassadors, Fascist students and other deputies from that country.

American Liberty or Persecution of Thought?

Are Ferrero and Sallitto being persecuted because they have perpetrated any crime? Are they being deported because they are unworthy citizens, because they are of low moral character? No, they are persecuted because they dare to think, to have ideas of their own, because they believe that there is such a thing as the right of free speech and free press. And does the California Immigration Service demand their deportation because they have been found guilty of some crime? No, the California office demands the deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto to appease the reactionary thirst of the Hearst mob and Vigilantes back home. They are not even appealing to the law; they are appealing to hatred and prejudice, to bias and descrimination. To realize this, we need only read the following letter under date of October 29, 1935, to Commissioner D. W. McCormack from Mr. Edward W. Cahill, District Commissioner of Immigration at San Francisco with reference to both the Sallitto and Ferrero cases:

"Some of the newspapers out here are calling frequently inquiring as to whether or not there has been a final decision on these cases. There are also a number of civic organizations showing unusual interest in the two cases.

"One of our Inspectors, who is very familiar with the facts in these cases, informs me that these men appear to feel rather proud of being labelled as anarchists. They are known in the community as anarchists, and should they succeed in overcoming the order of deportation, we shall have to be prepared to 'take it on the chin' as the publicity will be very much against our department."

Here we have a well organized, deliberate attempt of the reactionary forces to suppress every vestige

of liberty for militant workers. Has anybody heard of any attempt being made to deport the well organized Fascists undermining the very principles of democracy in this country? No—because the very essence of this wave of reactionary persecution is aimed at instituting and bringing about Fascism in the United States. And the political clause of the Immigration Law serves the purpose of the reactionary movement, as do the officers of the law who, by their short-sightedness and malignacy, aggravate the already too subtle intricacies of the law itself. And it is up to the workers to fight it back.

Let us ever remember that thoughts and ideas are in themselves incoercible, and they should be expressed and debated in an atmosphere of complete freedmon. The right to choose, accept or reject them rests with the people. Whenever the powers that be resort to discrimination, intimidation and suppression against them we are confronted with an incipient tyranny, with the hindering of progress and a return to barbarism—we are confronted with Fascism. So true is this, that we find the fundamental laws of this country based on and permeated by these principles.

The deportation laws against foreign born radicals, enacted during the World War hysteria, constitute the perversion, in fact and spirit, of the afore-enunciated truths. The wave of reactionary folly and the mass deportation launched during the Great War (to make the world safe for democracy) were buried under the pressure of popular indignation. This folly, this frenzy, reached a tragic climax in the tossing out of Andrea Salsedo from a window on the 14th floor of the Department of Justice Building in New York in 1920.

To-day, after fifteen years, the reactionary mob is again clamoring for new repressions and new victims. And they are so determined to get what they want that they go to the length of deeming the renting of office space to the editor of a radical magazine as sufficient evidence for the persecution

and deportation of two individuals. Can this fact alone, as is the contention in this typical case, determine the political views and ideas of an individual?

Stop the Deportation!

Although these workers were arrested in April, 1934, it has taken some time for the facts of their case to filter out and to reach the organized labor movement, which has the most power to force the government to free them. Much progress has been made within the last six months.

Defense conferences have been organized in San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, New York and elsewhere. Thousands of protests have poured into the Department of Labor at Washington from unions, organizations and individuals.

The work for the defense has been supported mainly by Labor unions, but also by such bodies as the New York and Brooklyn Federation of Churches, the General Defense Committee, the I. W. W., the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, the I. L. D., besides University and professorial groups etc. Such prominent individuals as Scott Nearing, Kirby Page, Kate Crane-Gartz, Norman Thomas and a host of others. Tom Mooney has sent a letter to the defense, from his living grave in the same California that arrested Ferrero and Sallitto, to demand the release of these two fellow workers. The Immigration authorities have been startled by the unexpected flood of protests and are beginning to awaken to the fact that they are not dealing with two helpless people whom they can shove out of the country without an eyelash being flickered . They realize that they will have to reconsider their actions, since the infamy created by the menaced deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto is so great that it arouses the indignation of a multitude of people.

Among the unions that have protested and have endorsed the defense, in the name of the hundreds of thousands of workers in their organizations, are the Joint Board of the Dress and Waistmakers Union and numerous unions affiliated with the I. L. G. W. U., the Federation of Dyers, Finishers, Printers and Bleachers of America, the Toledo Central Trades, the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity, the Tri-City Labor Council, Clinton, Iowa, the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, Cleveland, Ohio.

On December 23, 1935, a Labor delegation visited Assistant Secretary McGrady in Washington who at first refused to see the delegation by denying he had agreed to the appointment. However, after several prominent A. F. of L. leaders, resident in Washington, brought pressure to bear upon him—he did consent to see the men.

The delegation demanded that McGrady drop the proceedings and cancel the order of deportation against Ferrero and Sallitto. This, McGrady refused to do. He claimed to know nothing about the cases despite the fact this "labor" man had personally signed the deportation order. The delegation asked, then, on what ground were these two men to be deported. Flustered by this and other irksome questions, McGrady sent for the Department's files on the two cases and for an attorney of the Labor Department to advise him. He declared, then, that the men had been found guilty of advocating the overthrow of the U. S. Government. The only proof he could produce of this was the renting of part of the restaurant in Oakland to the magazine "Man". The delegation was able to see at first hand the tremendous volume of written protests which had already swamped the Labor Department.

Frances Perkins has also been interviewed, and being pressed to review the cases, has sent the defense committee a letter in which she claims she

has no power to go against the decision of her subordinates!

It is plain from the results of these interviews, as well as from the denial of bail and the continued detention of the men at Ellis Island, that the greatest possible pressure must be made, and at once, to save them from the clutches of the Black Shirts. Here are two workers, who have spent almost all of their adult life in this country, persecuted and threatened with deportation solely on account of their ideas, and not even as their ideas result from the record, but as they are supposed (or imagined) by an Immigration inspector moved by his own ignorance, his prejudice or by Hearstian or Consular fascist pressure. For nobody has been able to produce evidence of any criminal offense against these men, nor have they ever been anything except hard working, decent members of the community.

It is not only the foreign born who are involved here. Such sinister proceedings as have snatched Ferrero and Sallitto away from their friends and threaten to send them to a terrible fate in Italy are going on every day in underhand ways, hidden from the knowledge of the liberty-loving citizens. Attacks of this kind, while apparently aimed at the foreign born workers, are in fact a severe blow to the rights and freedom of the natives as well. The descrimination is only a rouge and if such trampling under foot of the most elementary rights of the foreign born will be tolerated, the ultimate result will be a complete defeat of the whole working class. The black shadow of Fascism looms ahead, and unless every force in the country will rally to the defense of Freedom and strike back at these bold strides of oppression, it will succeed in spreading its black deadly pall over America, These deportations must be resisted and must be stopped NOW.

The ill famed Alien and Sedition Laws which threatened to blacken the still fresh glory of the American Revolution were repealed by a tremend-

ous wave of popular indignation. So must the present inhuman and uncostitutional Deportation Laws be repealed. There is no other way.

Hundreds of honest loyal workers are threatened with being thrown into the clutches of bloody European fascist dictatorships. It is high time that the workers, the liberty-loving people and public opinion in general put a stop to this monstrosity. It is high time that freedom of opinion be respected for all, whether natives or foreign born, that not only the medieval inquisition of individual conscience be expurged from American statute books and practice, but that the right of asylum be granted to political refugees of more unhappy countries.

Published by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference
of New York
P. O. Box 181, Station D
New York, N. Y.

FROM CAPITALISM TO THE INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH

BY E. V. DEBS

PUBLISHED BY THE
Industrial Workers
OF THE WORLD

Epitomized By
Wm. E. Trantmann

Price 10 Cts.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor thru an economic organization of the working class, without affiliation with any political party.

The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands make the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trade unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. The trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making injury to one an injury to all.

Therefore, without endorsing or desiring endorsement of any political party, we unite under the following constitution.

THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY CHICAGO

Information Blank

Date.....190..

Name .....

Occupation .....

Trade .....

Street Address.....

City .....

State .....

Nationality .....

The above applicant wishing to become a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, and wishes to have all information how to become a member.

Send this card to W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

SUBSCRIPTION BLANK

INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN

ONE YEAR 50c., SIX MONTHS 25c.

WM E. TRAUTMANN, GEN. SEC.-TREAS.,

212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

I herewith subscribe for the **INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN** for ..... months, and remit.....cents in payment therefor.

Name .....

Street Address .....

P. O. ..... State .....

Labor is entitled to All it Produces.

FROM CAPITALISM TO THE INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH

BY

EUGENE V. DEBS

Epitomized By

WILLIAM E. TRAUTMANN

Price 10 Cts.

For further information write to W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Illinois.

INTRODUCTION

We are here to perform a task so great that it appeals to our best thought, our united energies, and will enlist our most loyal support; a task in the presence of which weak men might falter and despair, but from which it is impossible to shrink without betraying the working class....In taking a survey of the industrial field of today, we are at once impressed with the total inadequacy of working class organization, with the lack of solidarity, with the widespread demoralization we see; and we are bound to conclude that the old form of pure and simple unionism has long since outgrown its usefulness; that it is now not only in the way of progress, but that it has become positively reactionary, a thing that is but an auxil-

iary to the capitalist class.... We are here today for the purpose of uniting the working class, for the purpose of eliminating that form of unionism which is responsible for the conditions as they exist today....The trades union movement is today under the control of the capitalist class. It is preaching capitalist economics. It is serving capitalist purposes. Proof of it, positive and overwhelming, appears on every hand.

....The American Federation of Labor has numbers, but the capitalist class do not fear the American Federation of Labor; quite the contrary. There is certainly something wrong with that form of unionism which has its chief support in the press that represents capitalism; something wrong in that form of unionism whose leaders are the lieutenants of capitalism; something wrong in that form of unionism that forms an alliance with such a capitalist combination as the Civic Federation, whose sole

purpose it is to chloroform the working class while the capitalist class go through their pockets. There are those who believe that this form of unionism can be changed from within. They are very greatly mistaken.... There is but one way to effect this great change, and that is for the workingman to sever his relations with the American Federation and join the union that proposes upon the economic field to represent his class. Form a great, sound, economic organization of the working class based upon the class struggle, that shall be broad enough to embrace every honest worker, yet narrow enough to exclude every fakir.... The great body of the working class in this country are prepared for just such an organization.

* * *

We have met under the auspices and in the interests of the Industrial Workers of the World. Thousands of workers are enrolled as dues-paying mem-

bers, in a revolutionary, economic organization of the working class.

Why has such an organization been instituted? Why will not the old trade unions that already occupy the field serve the purpose? Why a new organization? These are questions that are up for consideration; that address themselves to all the workers of the country, whether they favor or oppose the Industrial Workers of the World.

For many years I have been connected with one and another of the old trade unions. Since February, 1875, I have been an active member of a trade union and during that time I have had some experience by virtue of which I trust I have profited sufficiently to enable me to determine whether a trade union is organized for the purpose of serving the working class or not.

The old form of trade unionism no longer meets the demands of the working class. **The old trade union has not**

only fulfilled is mission and outlived its usefulness, but is now positively reactionary, and is maintained, not in the interests of the workers who support it, but in the interest of the capitalist class who exploit the workers who support it.

* * *

An instance or two for illustration. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers has been organized about forty years. It professes to be a trade union, an organization of and for the working class. This organization has the favor and support of practically every railroad corporation in the United States. The late P. M. Arthur was its grand chief for many years. In the beginning of his official career he was true to the working class. As the organization developed in numbers and in power, and became a menace to the corporations, they realized the necessity of securing control of that organization. And how did they go about it? By making cer-

tain nominal concessions to that so-called brotherhood, by flattering its grand chief, by declaring that they had no objection to a labor organization such as this brotherhood, especially while under the supervision of so conservative a leader as Mr. Arthur. **Every time the corporations made a concession to the engineers, it was at the expense of poorly paid employes in other departments who were unorganized;** and when the men in these departments protested and when finally they went out on strike, the engineers have invariably been used by the corporation to defeat their fellow workers, who were in revolt against degrading economic conditions.

Mr. Arthur was, therefor, a prime favorite with the railroad corporations. They granted him annual passes over their lines; and when the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers met in convention, their delegates were provided with special trains to transport them to

and from the convention free of charge, as evidence that the corporation appreciated the value of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

Since the engineers were organized, the firemen, conductors, brakemen, switchmen, telegraphers and trackmen have also been organized, and several other departments have been partially organized, and they have practically the same form of organization. They are all conservative. They all operate within the bounds set and approved by the railroad corporations. Are they, can they be true to the men who pay the dues, to the workingmen who support them? I answer that they cannot. Not only are they not true to the wageworkers who support them, but they are pressed into service, politically and otherwise, when occasion demands it, in the interests of these corporations, and to the detriment of their own.

Only the other day, since this much discussed matter of rate legislation has

been pending, the grand chiefs of these various brotherhoods have been convened. By whom? By the railroad corporations. For what purpose?

Just after the grand chiefs of these labor unions met with the railroad officials, another meeting took place. Of whom? Of the representatives of the principal of these organizations, who acting under the advice of their grand officers, proceeded to the city of Washington, held a conference with President Roosevelt, and protested that the labor unions they represented, consisting of the railway workers of the country, were opposed to any sort of legislation that would have a tendency to reduce railroad rates in the United States. The announcement also went forth at the same time that these brotherhoods would make their political power felt in the interests of the railroad corporations; that is to say, against the common people, the toiling millions of the land.

What a picture, indeed!

One glance proves beyond the shadow of a doubt **that these unions are exceedingly useful to the corporations; and to the extent that they serve the economic and political purposes of the corporations they are the foes—and not the friends—of the working class.**

The United Mine Workers, in point of numbers, embraces a large majority of the coal miners of the country. Is this organization of any real benefit to coal miners? What has it actually done for them during the past few years? What have the miners, who have paid millions of dollars from their scant earnings in support of the organization, what have they to show in return?

These miners are well organized. They have the numbers. They ought to have real economic power. But they lack it. And why? **For the simple reason that the miners are not organized upon the basis of the class struggle.** Their union

principles are not right; and it is for this reason that their organization has the hearty support of the coal operators of the country, who openly declare that they will deal with the miners, not through the rank and file of their union, but through their national board.

This is a very important point for the union miners to take into consideration. These operators, these exploiters, who are conscious of their class interests, propose to deal, not with the union at large, not with the great body of the miners, not with the rank and file, not with the common herd, not with the black beasts of burden, but with their national executive board. They will fix things that are out of joint and settle matters generally. They will arrive at mutually satisfactory conclusions. They will harmonize beautifully. And when they do harmonize, it will be in the interests, not of the miners who do the work, dig the coal, who produce the wealth, but in the

interests of the operators who own the mines and exploit the slaves of the pits.

Why, the most zealous supporter of the United Mine Workers is the coal operator himself. The simple fact that the coal operator collects the dues and heavy fines, and discharges the miner who refuses to pay his dues, is sufficient evidence of this fact.

The coal operator does not collect the dues from the man who happens to belong to the Industrial Workers of the World. He knows enough to know what is good for him, and he knows that the miners, organized as they are at present, can do him little harm, but can do him great good. And this is why he wants the miners organized in the pure and simple old-fashioned way. He knows that if they are totally unorganized, they would spontaneously go out on strike. But they cannot strike as they are now organized without securing the sanction of their national, district and local offi-

cers; and so the operator keeps a friendly eye upon the union which fortifies and facilitates the exploitation of the coal diggers in his mines.

At stated periods the operators and the representatives of the miners meet; and sometimes the sessions are very spirited, the miners insisting on an increase, and the operators upon a decrease as was the case at the last interstate conference, when the union officials declared that under no circumstances would they accept a reduction, and the delegates voted by practically a unanimous vote not to accept any reduction, and for a while there was every indication of a strike. But the national officers met with the operators, and a reduction of wages was agreed to, and then the union officials went out among the rank and file and told them that if they were foolish enough to go out on strike, they would certainly be defeated, and the best thing they could do was to accept the reduc-

tion. So these union officials, backed by the operators, virtually forced the reduction upon the miners.

The operator, that is the coal mine owner, can well afford to support that kind of a labor union.*

*In order to explain the check-off system better, we reproduce here a copy of a check-ticket. The company, as will be noted, deducts the dues, as well as fines, from the pay of the miners, and turns over the money so collected to the United Mine Workers. On this ticket is also marked a fine of $20 which was imposed on each of 300 miners for laying a "dangerous mine idle, in which two men had been killed by accident, without consulting their district and national officers. With this same orgainzation, the United Mine Workers, the Western Federation of Miners, according to repeated authorized statements, made plans for an amalgamation that would eventually also introduce this checking-off system in the Western mines.

Form 22.

PAY-ROLL STATEMENT.

No. 135. Mar. 15, 1908.

Shoal Creek Coal Company
in account with
Moso Fennell.
Work.

78.05 Tons $42.92

Deductions.

Rent ..... $ 4.50
Blacksmithing ..... .45
Shot Firing ..... .85

The United Mine Workers, under its present policy denies and seeks to obscure the class struggle. President Mitchell used to be quoted as saying that the interests of the miners and the operators were identical. In an address the other day he claimed that he had been misquoted; he had not said their interests were identical, but that they were reciprocal. Mr. Mitchell has to show us in what way the operator who fleeces the miner, reciprocates to that miner. The simple fact is that the operator takes from the mine worker what the latter produces.

The Miners' union denies, in effect, the class struggle, and vainly seeks to harmonize the economic interests of these two antagonistic classes—the exploiting

Powder	5.25
Union	.85
Fines by order U. M. W. of A.	20.00
Collections	.25
Checks	.50
Total Deductions	$32.65
Balance Due	10.27

masters and the exploited wage-slaves, the robbers and the robbed. It cannot be done; not permanently at least; and if it be done even temporarily, it is always at the expense of the wage-slaves. Such an organization as that cannot truly serve the best interests of the working class. It is impossible.

* * *

There are many who concur in these views, yet insist that the organization must be changed from the inside; that it can only be brought to its proper position by boring from within. **I deny it.** It is historically impossible. That organization, the United Mine Workers has practically run its course. It has fulfilled its mission as a labor union, whatever that has been. It is now practically in charge of the mine owners; and the only way the miners can get away from that situation is to sever their relations with that capitalist-controlled union and join and build up one of their own upon the

basis of the class struggle; and then they will be in a position to fight the capitalist class with some chance of success.

The most important fact in all the world for working men to take cognizance of is the class struggle. The Industrial Workers of the World express economically the interests of the working class in that struggle. The Industrial Workers declare that there can be nothing in common between the exploiting capitalist and the exploited wage-worker; that there is inevitably a struggle between them, and that this struggle cannot end until the capitalist class is wiped out. Then and then only can there be an end to class rule.

Now, if you are a working man and if you believe that you have an economic interest in common with that of the capitalist who employes you, remain in the old trade union. That is where you belong. If that is your conviction we do not want you to join the Industrial

Workers of the World. You do not properly belong to us. You do belong to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations. But, if you believe that the working class have economic interests of their own, separate and apart from and in conflict with the economic interests of the capitalist class, then you should, and sooner or later will have to, sever your relation with the old trade union, and join the Industrial Workers, the only union organized upon the basis of the class struggle.

* * *

And now let me ask, have we a class struggle? The answer comes of itself. This struggle finds expression daily, hourly in strikes, in boycotts, in lockouts, injunctions, riots, assaults and bloodshed. It is not an unmixed evil, however, for in this great world-wide class struggle, that is shaking the foundations of civilized society everywhere, there are being wrought out the most important problems of our modern civilization.

The working class are in an overwhelming majority. They have the numbers. **They ought to have the power. And they would have the power, if only they were conscious of their interests as a class.**

Every effort is put forth by the exploiting capitalist to prevent workingmen from seeing the class struggle. The editor in the employ of the capitalist echoes "no class struggle." The teacher, professor and the minister, all of them dependent upon the capitalist for the chance to make a living, agree that there are no classes and no class struggle. In unionism they disclaim against class agitation and seek to obscure class rule so that it may be perpetuated indefinitely.

There is a class struggle, the working class must recognize it; **they must organize industrially and politically upon the basis of that struggle**; and when they do so organize they will have the power to

free themselves and put an end to the struggle forever.

Now, have not the workers had sufficient experience during the last few years? Have they not been defeated often enough to demonstrate the inherent weakness of the old trades union movement? Haven't they been enjoined by the courts often enough? Clubbed by the police and flung into jail often enough? Haven't they had experience of this kind enough to open their eyes to the fact that there is a mighty class struggle in progress, and there will never be any material change in their condition until they unite their class in every department of industrial activity?

Speaking for myself, I was made to realize not long ago that the old trade union was utterly incompetent to deal successfully with the exploiting corporations in this struggle. I was made to see that in craft unionism the capitalist class have it in their power to keep the work-

ers divided, to use one part of them with which to conquer and crush another part of them. Indeed, I was made to see that the old form of unionism separates the workers and keeps them helpless at the mercy of their masters

Object lessons are presented to you every day in the week. You have hundreds of thousands of workers organized, in every conceivable kind of a union, and under the direction of an infinite variety of leaders. I will not say that these leaders are all incompetent or corrupt. But many of them are corrupt, and in that capacity have it in their power to betray and sell out the workers who trust them. In this position the workers will remain—where there is no hope for them—so long as they cling to the outgrown old trade union and its inefficient methods.

We have had the proofs of this over and over again. Take all the great strikes that have occurred in the last

few years. Have any of them been successful? Have they not uniformly failed?

The capitalists have not entirely stamped out the defeated unions, that is true. They have had the power to do this in the hour of the workers' defeat, but they have refrained from doing it, **because they were shrewd enough to know that if thy destroyed those unions, another and better one would take their places.** Is it not a fact that they had the butcher workmen entirely at their mercy, and could have compelled the members to entirely withdraw from the unions before giving them employment? Did they not crush the unions out. When they had conquered they were satisfied. **They had driven the unionists back to their reservations and they were perfectly satisfied that they should build up again along some old lines.**

The Employers' Association had the striking teamsters of Chicago at their mercy, and could, had they seen fit, have utterly crushed out their union. They

did not do it. In the closing part of the negotiations the settlement hinged upon the alleged privilege of the teamsters wearing their union badges, and this the Employers' Association finally conceded and then the claim was put forth that the striking teamsters had come out victorious. The truth is that they lost everything; but the employer was not anxious to crush out their organization. He knew very well that if he did a stronger one would spring from the ruins; that a crushed union at least teaches working men to see its inherent defects.

The employer is shrewd enough to know that when you totally crush out organizations you drive the workers into solidarity.

The teamsters were entirely defeated, nothing left and yet their leaders boasted that they had saved their organization. It reminded me of the dispatch once sent from a field of battle by a general who had been completely routed:

"There is nothing left but honor and —little of that."

* * *

It is true that there are some employers who are opposed to unionism, even the old forms. But the great majority of capitalists, especially the shrewder, far-seeing ones, unqualifidely approve the pure and simple craft union. And now let me show that between these two sections of the capitalist class there is, after all, no vital difference with regard to the trade union movement.

C. W. Post, president of the Citizens' Industrial Association, and David M. Parry, president of the Manufacturer's Association, who are opposing the American Federation of Labor, have repeatedly said they are not opposed to trade unionism if it will confine itself to its legitimate functions. In other words, they are not opposed to trade unionism if it does not antagonize the capitalist class. That is their position. Now what

is the position of the great body of capitalists who avow their friendship for the trade union movement? Precisely the same. They are in favor of the trade union as long as it does not menace or attack the capitalist class; that is, as long as it doesn't do anything. And in its present shape it is not doing anything; and that is why the capitalists are not opposed to it. Let these trade unionists unite tomorrow; let them declare in favor of waging this fight along the lines of the class struggle and they will soon find out whether these capitalists are in favor of trade unions or not.

The very fact that the great majority of capitalists favor craft unionism proves that it is doing little or nothing for its members. Were it really doing something for them it would be antagonizing the capitalist class, and that class would fight it. **But the capitalists are not fighting the pure old brand of unionism; they have, in fact, formed an alliance**

with it and the union is the silent partner in the firm.

* * *

You have all doubtless heard of the Civic Federation. This federation is supposed to be fair and impartial. It is organized for the one purpose of dovetailing the interests of capital and labor, and every member of this body insists that these interests can be harmonized; that there is no necessary conflict between them. That is what Mr. Gompers says; that is what Mr. Mitchell says; that is what Archbishop Ireland and Bishop Potter say, and that is what they all say—that there is no necessary conflict between capitalists and wage-workers. I suppose then that that ought to be very easily eliminated.

A gentleman named August Belmont presides over this harmonizing body. Not long ago, in an address, he claimed that there was no better trade unionist in the country than he, and he proved it during

the Interborough strike in the city of New York, when several thousand employes of that corporation, of which he is president, went out on strike because they were driven to that extremity by his pernicious policy. He proved that he was a loyal trade unionist when he employed James Farley, the notorious professional strike-breaker, and his army of Hessians to take the place of his former employes. Just a little while after Mr. Belmont had thus defeated his employes and disrupted their unions, he met at the hospitable banqueting board of the Civic Federation with the national officers of the American Federation of Labor and its allied unions, and there made good his claim that he was a true trade unionist of the old school.

Do you think that a labor leader who is absolutely true to the working class could sit at such a banqueting board with such a capitalist as Belmont? Do you think he would be the guest of such an

organization as the Civic Federation. whose only purpose is by subtle schemes to reduce the trade union movement to harmless impotency?

It is for this and this alone that the Civic Federation has been organized. This is its real mission. The American Federation has fallen within the fatal influence of this emasculating alliance, and has thus proven that it is not organized to advance the true interests of the working class.

The American Federation of Labor is now holding its annual convention in the city of Pittsburg. What are its delegates doing there. Simply passing the same old resolutions. Once more they are going to petition Congress to enact an eight-hour law. They have done that over and over again, and their petition has been as repeatedly pigeon-holed. They have also resolved to petition congress to restrict the powers of capitalist courts in dealing with labor. They have

done that time and again, and what have they gained by it? Absolutely nothing. No attention has been paid to these servile supplications. They have been disregarded, thrown aside, treated with contempt; but the delegates solemnly meet in convention once more to pass the same hoary resolutions, to introduce the same stale petitions, with the same inevitable results. Now is not this a perfectly stupid procedure? Are these men incapable of profiting by experience? Do they not by this time understand the nature and essential functions of capitalist-class government? Can they not see that we have a capitalist-class Congress, and capitalist-class legislatures, **elected in every instance by an ignorant working class, kept ignorant, designedly, in the name of unionism, and with the aid of the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class?** And that is the very height of folly and depth of humiliation for a committee of the working class to beg the represen-

tatives of the capitalist class to legislate in the interests of the working class? They were elected to serve the masters. And they are serving them. And we have no right to find fault with them—at least those of us who are responsible for their being where they are.

Now, we who have organized the Industrial Workers have had enough of this kind of experience. We have quit the old unions. We have organized the Industrial Workers for the purpose of uniting the working class; the whole working class. **Not only the skilled workers, not only those who are favored, but the working class, skilled and unskilled, male and female, in every department of activity, are united upon the principle of Industrial unionism.**

The old unions were built up on tools that have been discarded and upon trades that have ceased to exist.

Half a century ago the trade union was right; it was adapted to the then existing industrial conditions. For illus-

tration a cooper shop was a cooper shop. It contained coopers and coopers only, and the Coopers' Union was organized. That embraced the coopers who were employed at their trade in the shop. Since then there has been half a century of industrial evolution. Compare the great cooperage establishments of today with the cooper shop of fifty years ago, in which the old hand tools were used, in which the apprentice learned his trade, and having mastered this, could seize the small tools with which work was done and virtually employ himself. There has been a marvelous change since that time. A modern cooperage establishment is the result of industrial evolution; and if you will visit one of them you will find that scores of different kinds of labor are performed there. Indeed, you will find almost any kind of worker there except a cooper.

Now, we hold that the form of the union must correspond to the mode of

industry. In other words, the union, like the trade, is subject to the inexorable laws of evolution. We want a union today that expresses all the various subdivisions of labor that are now engaged in a cooperage establishment. Suppose there are 500 such employes in a plant. We organize them all, and they are assigned to their various branches; and if one of them has a grievance it becomes the concern of every worker in that establishment. How is it now? Certain departments are organized in craft unions, meet with the officials and make an agreement or contract. They do not care what becomes of the rest, if only they can get what they are after for themselves. After they are thus tied up, the employes in some other department present a grievance and are turned down and out. They go out on strike. Those tied fast in an agreement say: "We would like to help you, we are in sympathy with you, but you see we

have an agreement, and that agreement is sacred; it must be preserved inviolate; and while we are in sympathy with you, and while we hate to see you defeated and lose your jobs, we cannot go back on our agreement." And in this way one union is used to crush another, labor is defeated and scabs are made by thousands.

It is a fact that nearly all scabs and strike-breakers are ex-unionists. Go among them and interrogate them and you will find that they will tell you in almost every case that at heart they are in favor of union labor, but that they were beaten by it and found this the only way of getting even. I know of hundreds of instances, of my own knowledge, of men who have been made scabs in precisely this way. Now, the trade unions feel very bitter toward scabs, and pursue them relentlessly until the unfortunates seek escape in suicide. And yet, while they so bitterly

oppose the scab, they support the union that makes the scab.

What we want today, above all things, is **united economic and political action,** and we can never have that while the working class are parceled out among hundrds, aye, thousands, of separate unions, that keep them divided for reasons many of which very readily suggest themselves.

Who is it that is so violently opposed to the Industrial Workers of the World? It is not the rank and file of the craft unions. It is their officers. And why are they so fiercely opposed to the Industrial Workers? For the reason that when the working class are really united a great many labor leaders will be out of jobs.

There are at present thousands of unions. Some of them have a few members and others have a great many; and every time, in the evolution of industry, there is a new subdivision of

labor, however minute, a new union must be launched, clear down to the Grand International Brotherhood of Peanut Peelers, Polishers and Packers, or whatever it may be. And they elect a staff of their own grand international officers, and their names are put upon the payroll; and let me say to you that their interests are primarily in keeping themselves there.

* * *

Why should the railroad employes be parceled out among a score of different organizations? They are all employed in the same service. Their interests are mutual. They ought to be able to act together as one. **But they divide according to craft and calling, and if you were to propose today to unite them that they might actually do something** to advance their collective and individual interests as workers, **you would be opposed by every grand officer of these organizations.** The payroll and expense account

of the officers of the railroad brotherhoods alone amount to more than a quarter of a million dollars a year.

There is an army of men who serve as officers who are on the salary list who get a good living keeping the working class divided. They start out with good intentions, as a rule. They really want to do something to serve their fellows. They leave the shops or the mines as common working men. They are elected officers of a labor organization and they change their clothes. They now wear a white shirt and a standing collar. They change their habits and their methods. They have been used to cheap clothes, coarse fare and to associating with their fellow workers. After they have been elevated to official position, as if by magic they are recognized by those who previously scorned them and held them in contempt. They find that some of the doors that were previously barred against them now swing

inwards, and that they can actually put their feet under the mahogany of the capitalist.

Our common working man is now a labor leader. The great capitalist pats him on the back and tells him that he knew long ago that he was a coming man, that it was a fortunate thing for the workers of the world that he had been born, that in fact they had been long waiting for just such a wise and conservative leader. And this has a certain effect upon our new-made leader, and unconsciously, perhaps, he begins to change—just as John Mitchell did when Mark Hanna patted him on the shoulder and said, "John, it is a good thing you are at the head of the miners. You are the very man. You have the greatest opportunity a labor leader ever had on this earth. You can immortalize yourself. Now is your time." Then John Mitchell admitted that this capitalist who had been pictured to him as a mon-

ster, was not half as bad as he thought he was; that, in fact, he was a genial and companionable gentleman. He repeats his visit the next day, or the next week, and is introduced to some other distinguished person he had read about, but never dreamed of meeting, and thus goes on the transformation. All his dislikes disappear and all feeling of antagonism vanishes. He concludes that they are really most excellent people and, now that he has seen and knows them, he agrees with them that there is no necessary conflict between workers and capitalists. And he proceeds to carry out his pet capitalist theory and he can only do it by betraying the class that trusted him and lifted him as high above themselves as they could reach.

It is true that such a leader is in favor with the capitalists; that their newspapers write editorials about him and crown him a great wise leader; and that ministers of the gospel make his name

the text for their sermons, and emphasize the vital point that if all labor leaders were such as he, there would be no objection to labor organizations. And the leader feels himself flattered. And when he is charged with having deserted the class he was supposed to serve he cries out that the indictment is brought by a discredited labor leader. And that is probably true. The person who brings the charge is very likely discredited. By whom? By the capitalist class of course; and its press and pulpit and "public" opinion. And in the present state of the working class, when he is discredited by the capitalist he is at once repudiated by their wage-slaves.

* * *

The labor leader who is not discredited by the capitalist class is not true to the working class. If he be unswervingly loyal to the working class he will not be on friendly terms with the capitalist

class. He cannot serve both. When he really serves one he serves that one against the other.

The labor leader who is in high favor with the exploiters is pronounced safe, conservative, wise and honest, and the workers are appealed to to look to him for advice, for guidance and leadership. The unthinking accept the advice with enthusiasm. And so the labor leader who serves the capitalist class instead of the working class is hailed deliverer and basks in the public favor.

* * *

But let me say to you that in spite of all this, the honest and discredited leaders will be lovingly remembered long after the popular ones of today are forgotten.

The very first need is that you open your eyes and see for yourselves. Take nothing for granted.

So many of you are satisfied to blindly follow where others lead; and

so you are deceived and betrayed; you have to pay all the penalties.

It is high time you were ceasing to depend upon someone to "lead" you; that you were opening your eyes; that you were doing your own thinking.

I have seen men by scores and hundreds and thousands, after striking for weeks and months lose their jobs. I have seen the poor wretches blacklisted and I have seen them persecuted until they were in rags, and their families were upon the streets, and I have said there must be another and better way. I have seen enough of this to satisfy me. There is a better way. But you will never find it by pursuing the old lines. You have got to unite the whole working class, and this can be done. It is not an impossible task. Every worker, however limited his mentality, ought to be able to see that there is little or nothing to be accomplished along the old lines; that, in fact, there is no hope; that you are engaged in an unequal

struggle , and that the ultimate outcome is certain to be defeat, despair and death.

The capitalists have at present ten thousand advantages over us. They own and control all the sources and means of wealth production. They are the masters of the tools; they act together. They control all the powers of government. They can at their own sweet will shut down their mills and factories and mines, and they can wait patiently weeks and months and even years, until the impoverished workers become hungry and are glad to be taken back at any terms. The capitalists have all these advantages, and they never hesitate to do anything. everything, that may be required to keep the working class in subjection. And they can and will keep them there just as long as they are divided.

There is but one hope, and that is in the economic and political solidarity of the working class; one revolutionary

union, and one revolutionary party. It is for this reason that the Industrial Workers of the World, an economic organization, makes its appeal to the wage slaves aspiring to be free. You cannot be satisfied to live and die as beasts of burden; to toil unceasingly to enrich masters who hold you in contempt; to be dependent upon these masters for your jobs and crawl like sycophants at their feet. You may not be satisfied, even though you have sufficient food and clothing and shelter. You are a human. not a hog; a man, not a mere animal. You have a manhood to sustain; you have freedom to achieve, and you have an intellect to develop; and these questions will apppal to you with ever increasing force and compel an accounting at last, if you have the pith and purpose of a typical, self-respecting working man.

In the capitalistic system a worker is simply merchandise; his master can at

his own will sentence him to idleness, his wife to want and his child, perhaps, to a brothel. You cannot be satisfied with such a slavish lot and now is the time to make up your mind to change it. In your heart you will feel the thrill of a new born joy. You will join the Industrial Workers, the one international labor union that proposes to unite all workers, that all of them may act together in harmonious co-operation for the good of all; a union that recognizes no aristocracy, but the whole working class; that insists that each member shall have all the rights that are accorded every other; a union built upon the class struggle, appealing to all workers to get together on the right side of that struggle and achieve the revolutionary solidarity of their class.

It is true that this is a stupendous task; that there are great opposing forces; that every falsehood that malignity can devise will be put in circulation to

defeat the object of this industrial organization, but nevertheless, those who have quit the old unions and organized the Industrial Workers have done so with the determination that no matter what opposing forces may be set in operation, they will stand together side by side in the true spirit of class-conscious solidarity; they will move forward step by step, in one solid body; they will speak the truth as they see the truth and defy all opposition that may be brought to bear against the Industrial Workers by all the capitalist class and all its vassals and emissaries.

This organization has a mission as high and as noble as ever prompted workingmen, or any other men, to action in this world.

The primal need of the working class is education. **By education I mean revolutionary education;** the kind that enables them to see that the twenty odd millions of wage-workers in the United

States are wage-slaves; that the economic interests of these many millions of human beings who do all the useful work and produce all the wealth are absolutely identical; that they must unite; that they must act together; that they must assert their collective power. When they reach this point they will cease to be slaves and become masters of the situation; they will wipe out the wage system and walk the earth free men.

They can do this, and only they can do it.

I cannot do this for you, and I want to be frank enough to say that I would not if I could. For if I could do it for you, somebody else could undo it for you. But when you do it for yourself it will remain done forever. And until you do it you have got to pay the penalty of your ignorance, indifference and neglect. You have got to pay it to the last farthing. Nobody on earth or in heaven can relieve you of the conse-

quences of your inaction. As long as you workers remain divided and at cross purposes, instead of closing up the ranks and acting together you will have to pay the penalty of defeat and humiliation and slavery and all their attendant brood of festering evils.

* * *

But day by day you are increasing the sum of your revolutionary knowledge. You are becoming wiser by your experience. The Industrial Workers of the World would not have been possible a few years ago. It is an outgrowth of the very conditions I have described. It has become an imperative necessity. The workers everywhere are beginning to recognize it, and that is why they are flocking to its standard. That is why they are subscribing to its principles; why they are working for it day and night with a zeal that has never been known in the history of the organized

working-class movement; and why it is rapidly spreading over the whole country, and increasing grandly in numbers and in power. Let me say to you that no matter what formidable or subtle opposition may be marshaled against it by the capitalist class the ultimate triumph of its principles is as certain as that tonight I stand in your presence.

There are a great many workers who insist that the old unions are good enough; and as long as they are of that opinion that is where they belong. So far as I am concerned I gave the old unions a fair trial. I am sure I had no prejudice against them. I am equally certain I did all I possibly could to build them up. For fifteen years I traveled almost continuously over this country organizing railroad men, and all kinds of working men, under the mistaken conviction that if we could only get them into the several unions of their

trades and ocupations we could in some way lift them out of their slavery. My mind was disabused. We had the railroad men, especially in this part of the country pretty thoroughly organized. We had the numbers and to some extent the power, but we didn't know about the class struggle. We had that to learn. Then came the great conflict with the combined railroad corporations. We defeated them; and then we learned that the corporations control the powers of government. We got our first vital lesson in the class struggle. All the corporations had to do was to press the judicial button in their private office and the judges acted promptly in obedience to the command of **their** capitalist masters; the police and militia and regular troops followed in regular order; the press and pulpit and deputy marshals did the rest—and that was enough.

I never knew exactly how it happened

until I understood the meaning of economic determinism and the class struggle, and then it was perfectly clear to me. And from that time I realized the imperative necessity for a different kind of organization. I then said, we have got to organize, not only the railroad employes, but the whole body of workers for concerted **economic** and **political** action; organize them all, so that all of them shall act together and assert the full measure of their power in the interests of all. As soon as a beginning was attempted the railroad corporations said, "This vicious thing must be stamped out of existence," and so, for two years, I scarcely traveled a foot without being shadowed by detectives of the railroad corporation. No matter where I went, the detectives were there. When I would reach the end of a certain line the detectives who had followed me would go back where they came from

and others would take their places. I remember when I got to Providence, Rhode Island, one night, I was conscious that detectives were watching me very closely. I learned that the railroad officials in New England had announced that the American Railway Union should never get a foothold there. There were two or three loyal men there I knew I could trust; I sent them word not to come to the hotel and not to hold a meeting, but to come to my room at midnight, and come one at a time. And they did come to my room one at a time and I organized them in my room at midnight. I left the city early next morning, and when I got to the next point I received a telegram reporting that they were all discharged, every one of them.

Notwithstanding our secrecy the corporations knew who had entered my room and for what purpose; and the men were summarily discharged. Why

was it that the railroad corporations would not allow the American Railway Union to organize? For the simple reason that the American Railway Union proposed to line up all the railroad employes as a beginning of a thorough reorganization of the working class in general, and the railroads did not propose to tolerate that kind of an organization.

They were and are entirely satisfied with the old brotherhoods, supplying their officers with annual passes and their delegates with special trains to take them to and from their conventions. To such an extent is this partiality carried, on some railroads, that if a member of one of the brotherhoods refuses to pay his dues and is expelled by the brotherhood, he is promptly discharged by the corporation. The corporation favors the organizations that divide, but is implacably hostile to the one that unites the workers.

For the same reason the capitalist newspapers are so ferociously denouncing the Industrial Workers.

They have warned working men that the Industrial Workers consists of anarchists, socialists, revolutionists and chronic fault-finders and peace disturbers, who have been kicked out of other reputable labor organizations; of discredited leaders who do not lead, in whom the workers have no confidence and for whom they can have no respect.

* * *

The capitalist press is a unit in denouncing the Industrial Workers, and practically a unit in commending the American Federation of Labor.

If you workers think that the capitalist press is a safe guide in such a matter, you properly belong with the American Federation of Labor. But if you believe, as I believe, and as every intelligent working man must believe, that the kind of labor organization that the capitalists endorse is not the kind that is

for your good—that the organization the capitalist press condemns is the one that has working class virtue an efficiency—then you will do as we have done, you will join the Industrial Workers of the World.

Think it over for yourself!

Take a backward look over the last three or four years; satisfy yourself by your own observation that there has been little but defeat for the workers in the struggle during all that period; that they have gained substantially nothing; that they are divided and disrupted and not organized in any true sense at all. The time has come for a real economic organization of the workers, and that organization is now in the field and makes its appeal to all workers and its principles and purposes deserve the encouragement, the support and the loyalty of every working man who has intelligence enough to understand his best interests and manhood enough to assert and stand by them.

I think that no great argument is required in support of our position. The preamble to the constitution states clearly and in few words the object of the Industrial Workers. You will find it written there that the workers and capitalists have nothing in common; that there are a few who have all the good things of life, while millions writhe in proverty and cry out in despair; that those who do nothing and produce nothing are rich, while those who do everything and produce everything are poor; that these two classes consist of capitalists who own tools that they do not use, and of workers who use tools that they do not own; that the capitalists who own the tools have it in their power to take and do take from the workers what they produce, and that the workers must organize both their **economic** and **political power to take and hold that which they produce by their labor.** This is brief and to the point, and every working man is

capable of understanding it.

The Industrial Workers has no object in concealing any part of its mission and while it proposes to ameliorate the condition of the workers in every way in its power so far as that is possible in capitalist society, its ultimate object is to entirely abolish the capitalist system, by making the workers themselves **the masters of their tools,** that they may work freely, unrestrained and unexploited; that they may secure to themselves and **enjoy all the fruit** of their own labors.

* * *

This is the object of the Industrial Workers, and if it has your approval, join and help it to fulfill its mission, and thus hasten the emancipation of the working class, and the brighter, happier day for all humanity.

QUESTIONS

Question—Is it true that the Industrial Workers of the World were organized because the Workers cannot gain anything by politcal action.

Mr. Debs—No; that is not true. The workers have never yet tried to get anything by united political action. They will some time, I do not doubt. The Industrial Workers was organized because under the old form of organization they could get little or nothing by economic action. If they had secured satisfactory concessions under the old forms there would be no Industrial Workers. It has been organized because of the failure of the old unions on the economic field. Now, if it can be shown that they have succeeded, or even measurably succeeded, then there is no necessity for th Industrial Workers. But if on the other hand, it can be shown that they have repeatedly and wretchedly failed, then there is an unanswerable argument in favor of the Industrial Workers.

LET IN THE LIGHT!

YOU WILL NEVER LEARN anything about the INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD by absorbing the dope its enemies hand to you; a good antidote for their lies is the TRUTH. Get the TRUTH by reading what the I. W. W. SAYS FOR ITSELF. Here is a good combination.

$1.00

"Handbook of Industrial Unionism"	5c
Constitution of the I. W. W.	5c
Report of Sec'y Trautmann	5c
Handbook, Means and Methods, Parts I and II	10c
Report of Second Convention	50c
Report of Third Convention	50c
Year's subscription to Bulletin	50c
Assortment of Leaflets	5c
	$1.80

ALL FOR ONE DOLLAR

212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Ill.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM, HAND BOOK NO. 2

By Wm E. Trautmann

PUBLISHED BY THE
Industrial Workers
OF THE WORLD

Price Five Cents

MEANS AND METHODS, PART I.

I. W. W.
LITERATURE

INDUSTRIAL UNION
HAND BOOK

Gives an outline of the Structure of Industrial Unionism and Analysis of the Preamble, by A. S. Edwards. Very useful in arriving at an understanding of the form of organization of the

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS of the WORLD

PRICE 5 CENTS.

Special Rates on Large Orders.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM.

HAND BOOK NO. 2.

PART II—NEW MEANS AND METHODS.

$3.50 per hundred, prepaid.

Italian or Polish Editions.

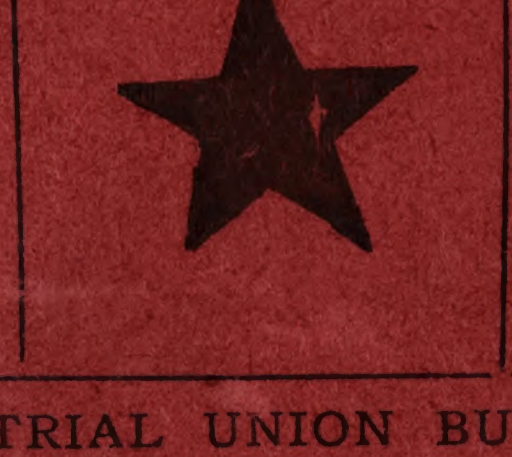
$5.00 per Hundred Prepaid.

WM. E. TRAUTMANN

Room 212 Bush Temple.

CHICAGO, - - ILLINOIS.

NOTE—The requisite amount of cash must accompany each order. All supplies sent by the General Office have the postage or express charges paid in advance.



INDUSTRIAL UNION BULLETIN

ONE YEAR 50c., SIX MONTHS 25c.

SAMPLE COPIES ON REQUEST.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

For further information write to W. E. Trautmann, 212 Bush Temple, Chicago, Illinois.

THE CO-OPERATIVE PRESS, OMAHA, NEB.